MODERN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

ASHLEY

Grow old along with me
The best is yet to be

Oh give me back
The good old days
When both the old and young
Conversed in plain
Old fashioned words
And slang was never
slung

Thalee

1844

Rosalee Adams

diale

Russia from gaining
Balkan
France with war
Germany

You made me what I am
today
I hope your satisfied
You dragged and dragged
me down until
My heart within me
died
You shattered each and
every dream
You fooled me from the
start
and tho youre not true
May God Bless you
Is the curse of an
aching heart

[illegible]

Here to the gates of Hell
Damn a boy that will kiss a girl
and run away and tell.

In the sunny lands of Spain
Where the waters made from rain,
and the women chew tobacco in
their sleep.

Oh how I miss you
little pal of mine
Each nite and day, I'll
pray you're always min
Sweet heart may God
Bless you,
angel hands caress
you
While sweet dreams m
rest you little pal of min

Exhausted from
wimming she made
quick start to enjoy
the sensation of letting
fresh-wave roll over
er back.
She could swim on her
ack and find for clams
he could hunt just
like any ~~[illegible]~~ her
it was ~~[illegible]~~
to the clams by the
sea shore

Shakespea

HCH

The deadly germ in
kisses is
But still the cost is small
It is better to have
kissed and died
Than never to have
kissed at all.

In the Spring a young
mans fancies lightly
turn to thots of love.

When the Golden sun
is sinking and your
mind from trouble free
And of others you are
thinking
Wont you somtimes

When land is gone
and Money is spent
Then learning is
quite Excellent

Knock it in
Pound it in
Childrens heads are hollo
Biology and Geometry
and still there more
to Follow
Knock it in
Pound it in
Press it in and caress
it in
Childrens heads are
hollow

Class D 1922-23-2
Hazel Albertson
Gladys Asher
Ruth Andreason
Willie Anderson
Fern Broadhead
Ellen Barrett
John Boosinger
Theo Burgess
Vera Hall
Howard Haller
Henry Iting
Flee Mahoney
Cordilia Nye
Richard Powell
Reta Peck
Otis Schmidt
Ora
Wanda Yearsly
John Rich

MODERN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

THE ASHLEY BOOKS

ON

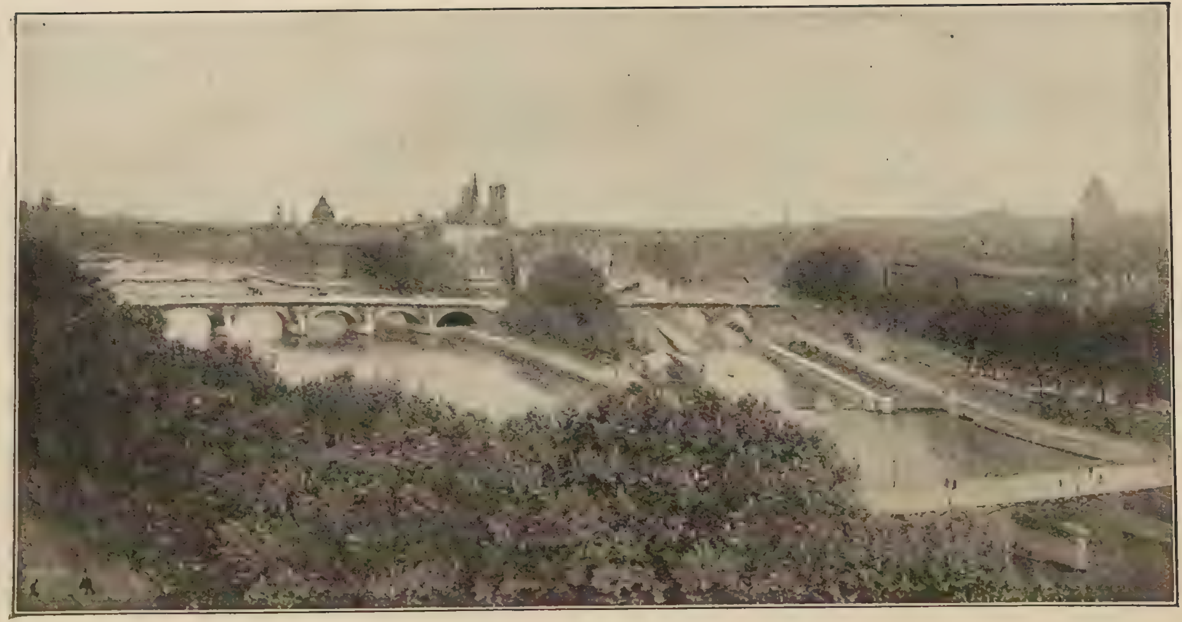
THE NEW SOCIAL SCIENCE

FOR

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

EARLY EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION	715 pages
MODERN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION	710 pages
AMERICAN HISTORY (REVISED)	580 pages
THE NEW CIVICS	420 pages

Paris, the capital of France, represents much that is finest in the civilization of the modern world. The culture of Paris, like that of France, reaches far back into the past ; it is mature and rich in all elements that made up the older civilization of Europe. To France we are under obligation for the transmission of ancient culture to the present world ; to her we are indebted for the ideas of equality and democracy which are the essence of modern political and social development. Without the French, modern European civilization would be very different from what it is. To them more than to any other people humanity must give thanks for the preservation of its civilization, old and new. To the idealism of France, to her heroism and foresight, more than all else to her high sense of honor, we owe our best.



The Heart of Paris

MODERN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

A TEXTBOOK
FOR
SECONDARY SCHOOLS

BY

ROSCOE LEWIS ASHLEY

AUTHOR OF
"EARLY EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION"
"AMERICAN HISTORY," "THE NEW CIVICS"

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1921

All rights reserved

Copyright, 1918,
By THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

Set up and electrotyped. Published November, 1918.

Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

PREFACE

AT no previous time has Europe been so close to us, or has recent European history been so important as at the present time. Our interest is attracted as never before to the conditions and problems in different countries, to changes of the last half century, and to causes, events, and effects of the Great War. Without a comprehension of the recent past, it will be far more difficult to study and to understand the work of reorganization and reconstruction in Europe that must follow the close of the war.

A large part of a book on Europe during the three centuries since 1648 can wisely be devoted to the history of the last fifty years or to a study of conditions in the early twentieth century. The author regrets that the limits of this volume have forced him to omit a great deal of material that he has used for years with his own students. In deciding what to discard and what to keep, he has tried to select those topics of permanent value which are also most vital to a comprehension of problems likely to arise during the next five or ten years. It has been necessary to retain some material, on the youngest and most aggressive of the nations, which most of us would have preferred to omit. Unless we know the history of middle Europe during the last century and study carefully conditions in those countries and characteristics of those peoples, we shall fail absolutely to understand why the world has been involved in a terrible war since 1914 and what peace conditions are likely to be permanent.

Following the plan of *Early European Civilization* this book puts stress upon great movements rather than upon minor historical changes. It gives a larger amount of material on social and economic conditions and on social and economic changes than any similar textbook. Since the main purpose of both books is to explain the present through a study of the past, it treats in considerable detail those changes which are most closely associated with the most important institutions in Europe at the present time. Since it does not cover the great period of time included within the first volume of the series, it has been possible to treat many topics in a much more complete way than was either possible or desirable in *Early European Civilization.* Those characteristics of style and treatment which distinguished *Early European Civilization* have been retained. In many secondary schools only one year is devoted to European history, and a text book is desired on the modern period alone. This volume forms a complete unit suitable for use in such a course. The earlier volume ought to be at hand for reference, and the author believes a brief introductory survey of early European history also to be desirable.

This book completes not only a series of texts for a modern two-year course in European history, but, with the companion volume on *The New Civics* and the revised *American History*, it gives material that represents fairly well the new three-year course in the social sciences in the high school, to which the writer has given his almost undivided attention since 1909. This course, completed by a fourth year of Social Economics and Civics Problems, represents his own slight contribution to the solution of a very important problem — the reorganization of the high school course in "history." Through the courtesy of the Pasadena school authorities and with the aid of his efficient colleagues, he has done an immense amount of experimenting and development work. His aims have been those of very many high school and college teachers — a more complete socialization of history and the establishment of a better relationship between the record of the past and study of the present on the one hand and the interest or needs of the high school pupil on the other. The writer hopes and believes that his work has been done thoroughly from the educational point of view; the scope of the field necessarily has prevented much intensive research work.

A list of the author's indebtednesses would include the names of all co-workers in this fascinating field, in which a good beginning has been made, and in which the future holds so very much in store. It would include the authors of the several hundred books of reference and editors of documents to whom he is really indebted for suggestions or material, besides a still larger number whose works he used casually. Among the former are the writers of at least a dozen college texts of which considerable use has been made by his advanced classes, as the course was being developed. Among these authors, without whose books the class work of past years would have been much more difficult, are Professors George Burton Adams, Charles M. Andrews, Charles A. Beard, Henry E. Bourne, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Charles Downer Hazen, Frederic Austin Ogg, James Harvey Robinson, and Charles Seignobos. His especial thanks are due to Miss Leonora Schopbach, teacher of medieval and modern history in the Pasadena High School, who has worked with him continually, to Professor Frederic A. Ogg of the University of Wisconsin, who has read the manuscript of the whole book and given valuable aid on many subjects, and to Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University, who has offered helpful suggestions on several chapters read in proof.

Acknowledgment is due for the use of maps prepared by Professors Coman and Kendall and by Professors Tarr and McMurry, to Professor Hayes for suggestions on one map, and to Professor Johnson for material on another, to Mr. Fred K. Hollyer for the use of photographs from his fine collection, chiefly of portraits in the Royal Portrait Gallery, London, and for the use of special but uncopyrighted photographs to the Bain News Service, Brown Brothers, International Film Service Co., Inc., Press Illustrating Service, Inc., Underwood and Underwood, and the Western Newspaper Association. Other special acknowledgments are made in the list of illustrations or in copyright statements.

Pasadena, Cal.
Sept., 1918.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE
I. EUROPE IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 1

PART I

THE AGE OF ABSOLUTISM (1603–1789)

II. ENGLAND (1603–1760) 31
III. ABSOLUTISM ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE . 64
IV. STRUGGLE FOR COLONIAL AND COMMERCIAL EMPIRE 85
V. REFORM 117

PART II

THE AGE OF REVOLUTION (1789–1849)

VI. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION 139
VII. NAPOLEON 172
VIII. RECONSTRUCTION AND REACTION (1800–1830) . 197
IX. THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND . 222
X. ECONOMIC REVOLUTION ON THE CONTINENT . 248
XI. POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS (1830–1849) . . 267

PART III

DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (1849–1918)

XII. NATIONAL UNITY (1849–1871) 295
XIII. FRANCE, ITALY, AND THE NETHERLANDS . . 325
XIV. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA (1870–1914) . . 364
XV. THE RUSSIAS 396
XVI. GREAT BRITAIN BEFORE 1865 420
XVII. GREAT BRITAIN AFTER 1865 445

PART IV

EXPANSION AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

CHAPTER PAGE
XVIII. The British Empire 481
XIX. The Far East 508
XX. Africa and the Near East 526
XXI. The Great Alliances and International Conflicts 550
XXII. The Great War 573

PART V

EUROPE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

XXIII. The People and Their Governments . . 617
XXIV. Commerce, Industry, and Labor . . . 637
XXV. Progress and Betterment 660
APPENDIX 687
INDEX 691

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE
The Heart of Paris . . . . *Frontispiece*
Watchmen and Lanterns 10
Refining Silver, from Hoover (ed.), *Agricola's De Re Metallica* 11
Old Market, Modern View 14
St. Paul's Cathedral, London 21
The Palace at Versailles — Gallery of Battles . . . 28
Westminster Abbey 30
A Puritan 33
Charles I, by Van Dyck 34
Archbishop Laud 36
A Cavalier, after Calthrop 38
Oliver Cromwell 39
The Old Parliament House 44
Sir Robert Walpole 47
The Quadrangle, Somerset House (Eighteenth Century) . 53
Caricature of a Macaroni, from Wright, *Caricature History of the Georges* 55
General View, Palace of Versailles 65
Colbert 66
Louis XIV 67
Duke of Marlborough 69
General View of the Kremlin, Moscow, Russia . . . 71
Peter the Great 72
Maria Theresa Monument, Vienna 78
Frederick the Great 80
Dutch Fishing Boats 87
New Amsterdam 95
Pitt, Earl of Chatham 103
Independence Hall, Philadelphia 108
Signatures, Treaty of Paris, 1783 110
Newgate Prison, Eighteenth Century 119
Bow Street Police Court, from Ashton, *The Dawn of the Nineteenth Century in England* 120
John Howard 121

PAGE
Elizabeth Fry Reading to Women in Prison . . . 122
Voltaire 127
Joseph II of Austria 131
Meeting of the States-General 138
Park of Little Trianon (With Marie Antoinette's Dairy) 148
Mirabeau 150
Oath of the Tennis Court 152
Place de la Bastille 153
The Lion of Lucerne 159
Danton 160
Robespierre 164
Napoleon 173
An English Cartoon, The Handwriting on the Wall, from Wright, *Caricature History of the Georges* . . . 175
Napoleon in His Coronation Robes 177
Nelson 180
Arc de Triomphe 181
Napoleon Threatening His Shipmaster because He Did Not Build Enough Ships to Run the English Blockade, from Wright, *Caricature History of the Georges* . . . 185
Duke of Wellington 186
"1814" 190
Tomb of Napoleon 191
Talleyrand 200
Stein 203
Congress of Vienna 210
Metternich 213
Canning 215
Spinning Yarn 224
Old-fashioned Hand Loom 227
Newcomen's Steam Engine 233
The "Puffing Billy" 237
The Gleaners 249
Making Pattern-Card for Jacquard Loom 254
The Hôtel de Ville, Paris 268
A Street Barricade 269
City Hall, Vienna 277
Kossuth 279
Mazzini 283
British Houses of Parliament 294
Cavour 296

PAGE
The Capitol, Rome, Italy 302
Napoleon III 312
Empress Eugenie 313
The Old Tuileries 318
The Count of Paris 327
Chamber of Deputies in French Parliament . . . 329
Gambetta 331
Boulanger 332
President Poincaré 338
The Bourse, Paris 342
Crispi 346
Pope Leo XIII 348
Queen Wilhelmina of Holland 354
King Albert of Belgium 356
The Reichstag Building, Berlin 370
Dropping the Pilot 375
Port of Hamburg 378
Ringstrasse, Vienna, Showing Houses of Parliament . . 389
Alexander II of Russia 400
Hut and Peasants, Russia 403
Count Witte 405
The University, Helsingfors, Finland 406
Winter Palace, Petrograd 409
Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, Petrograd 413
George III 420
William Pitt the Younger 422
Canvassing for Votes before 1832 425
Lord Palmerston 432
Sir Robert Peel 434
John Bright 438
William E. Gladstone 440
Queen Victoria 446
Joseph Chamberlain 450
King George V 452
Meeting of Coalition Cabinet in Offices, Downing Street, London 454
Docks at Yarmouth with Herring Fleet 458
Irish Cottages 466
Parnell 470
War Leaders — Foch, Lloyd George, Haig, Clemenceau, Joffre 478

PAGE
Bird's Eye View of Cairo, Egypt 480
The Public Offices, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia . . 486
Boers Trekking across River 489
Cecil Rhodes 490
Scene on Suez Canal 494
Taj Mahal 498
Great Iron Works, Hankow, China 509
Yuan Shih-kai 514
The Mikado Mutsihito 518
Port of Dalny 520
David Livingstone 527
Henry M. Stanley 528
Water Front, Algiers 532
Turkish Imperial Palace 535
Congress of Berlin 538
Saloniki and the Harbor from the Hill 543
Antwerp and the Scheldt River 554
Naval Base, Toulon, France 558
Delcassé 559
Edward VII of England 560
The Kiel Canal 561
The Blessings of Peace (Cartoon) 568
Market Place, Sarajevo, Bosnia 574
American Relief Depot in Belgium 581
General Diaz 590
The *Lusitania* 592
Peronne after Evacuation by the Germans, 1916 . . 597
General Pershing 600
President Wilson 601
Ship-building Plant at Newcastle on Tyne . . . 616
Lisbon, Capital of the Republic of Portugal . . . 621
Parliament House, Berne, Switzerland 623
Municipal Buildings, Glasgow 627
Cars on Municipal Railway in British City . . . 632
Wheat Elevators and Whaleback Ship for Wheat Transportation 639
Shipping and Docks on the Thames, below London . . 641
Largest Freighter in Use, 1916 643
The Bank of England, London 645
A French Lyceé, Paris 674
Charles Darwin 675
Herbert Spencer 677

LIST OF MAPS

COLOR MAPS

PAGE
Europe in the Early Seventeenth Century . *opposite* 1
Europe after the Treaty of Utrecht (about 1720) " 70
The World in 1763 . . . . . . *following* 104
Southwestern Europe, 1789, 1802, 1807, 1810 . " 182
Europe after the Congress of Vienna . . " 208
Industrial Resources of England . . . *opposite* 234
Growth of Prussia . . . . . . " 310
Europe, 1870 . . . . " 318
World Colonial Empires . . . . . *following* 336
Central-Western Europe in 1914 . . . " 352
The Races of Austria-Hungary . . . *opposite* 384
The British Empire . . . . . . *following* 482
Africa in 1914 . . . . *opposite* 530
The Dismemberment of Turkey . . . " 538
The Balkans in Recent Years, 1878, 1914 . " 544
The Western Front — Railway and Trench Map " 599
Physical and Economic Geography of Western
and Central Europe . . . . . *following* 648

MAPS IN TEXT

Eastern Boundaries of France 68
Partitions of Poland 76
Region of the French Great Salt Tax 143
Distribution of Population in England 238
Unification of Italy 300
The German Zollverein in 1867 303
Territorial Growth of European Russia 397
Ireland 465
Australia and New Zealand 487
British India 496
China 511
Greater Japan 521

PAGE

The Alliances and the Ententes 552

The Western Front — Topographical Map . *facing* 579

The Battle of the Marne 583

The War on the Eastern Front 586

The War in Southeastern Europe 588

The Italian Front 589

The Governments of Europe 619

Iron and Coal Deposits of the Rhine Region . . . 648

Our eyes have met!
Our lips not yet!
But oh you kid!!
[illegible] you yet!!!

SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

The value of a textbook depends less on the book itself than upon the purpose for which it is used and upon the way in which it is used. This book differs from the older type of text in medieval and modern history in several respects. First, it deals only with the last three centuries. Second, it devotes as much attention to the last fifty years as it does to the two preceding centuries, as much as most other textbooks do to the whole medieval period. Third, the historical account is socialized throughout in order that the events of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as those of the nineteenth, may be studied not simply as movements of those centuries but also in relation to the Europe of to-day and to America at the present time. Fourth, it gives more material than other high school textbooks do on social and economic conditions, occupations, and problems of twentieth century Europe. In short, as far as possible in an elementary text, the attempt has been made to prepare a book that really treats European civilization.

To secure the best results from this book it is advisable that the teacher keep in mind these facts and the general purpose which the book is endeavoring to serve. In general, the longer the course the more satisfactory the results, because a fairly long course gives opportunity really to study topics and problems, to which the text gives an introduction. In such a long course different teachers will wish to put emphasis upon different subjects and methods. The book is admirably adapted for the further development of the subject in that way.

In schools which can give only a comparatively short course in modern European history, a teacher may either cover the whole book, or he may put the emphasis chiefly upon either the narrative material or on the descriptive accounts. For example, if time is lacking for a careful treatment of everything, certain sections and topics may first be read by the student and then taken up in class with the books open. The remainder of the text, including all summaries, may be studied more carefully. If such a class wishes to concentrate on the outline of the history rather than on the life of the different periods, comparatively little attention need be given to sections 1–24, 44–52, 72–76, 94–106, 160–164, 178–184, 193–214, 268–273, 277, 278, 287–293, 302, 303, 308, 309, 316–318, 338–342, 353–355, 373, 378, 382, 395, 454, 456, 458–500. Possibly Chapters XVIII–XX, except sections 410–414, may be omitted altogether.

On the contrary, if a class desires to emphasize the social changes rather than the narrative, it may content itself with reading most of the narrative sections, studying carefully only those listed below, in addition to the summaries or those that are chiefly descriptive: sections 28, 29, 34, 37–40, 42, 59, 62–65, 68, 79–81, 83–92, 122–130, 137, 142, 143, 149–158, 170–175, 217–226, 229, 237–240, 243, 246, 254, 261–266, 276, 283–285, 296, 298–300, 307, 308, 313, 314, 319–326, 334, 335, 342, 343, 346, 349–352, 410–414, 416–452. These plans of discrimination also make it possible to use this book with the author's *Medieval Civilization* for a regular year's course in medieval and modern history. The same scheme, however, should be applied to the medieval text in order that the last two thirds of the year may be given to the last three centuries.

No one method is ever employed to the exclusion of any other, but the method to which chief attention is given must depend to some extent on both the purpose and the length of the course in which the book is used. Naturally the time of the class would be devoted more extensively to "recitation" in the first months of the year and on the more distinctively narrative sections. On the larger movements and on social conditions, it should be possible to follow the text less closely and to encourage more discrimination and more thought work. During the second half of the course question recitations should be replaced to some extent either by topic recitations or by development work. The latter should consist of series of questions which should lead to the development of a topic. If the development method is desirable, use should be made of all text material on the subject under consideration and of all earlier material on that topic, or those closely related to it; some other facts and suggestions gathered from books of reference should be presented by students or the teacher.

With a text of this kind there is little danger that classes will overlook the fact that modern European history is closely related to American life to-day. Comparison of times past and present should be encouraged continually. The broader the teacher's grasp of present organization and problems, European and American, the more successful this type of work is likely to be. Before the author was obliged to complete this text, he was able fortunately to gather, in simple form, in *The New Civics*, material on the present organization, methods, policies, and problems of the American people. In writing that book he kept in mind continually the material which was likely to be presented in *Modern European Civilization*, and in developing his materials for this book he tried to develop that which was most valuable from the modern and American standpoints. He would therefore recommend that, in connection with the use of this volume, teachers consider the fact that the two books are supplementary, that, whenever necessary, use be made of *The New Civics*, and that students be urged to make extended comparisons between conditions in Europe and America.

The following books are recommended for reference in connection with the text. Duplicate copies of especially valuable books are frequently preferable to a larger number of titles.

A SMALL LIBRARY

Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe.*
Hazen, *Modern European History.*
Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, 2 vols.
Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, Vol. II.
Cheyney, *Short History of England.*
Matthews, *The French Revolution.*
Harding, *Study of the Great War* (20 cents).
Ashley, *The New Civics.*
Robertson and Bartholomew, *A Historical Atlas of Modern Europe from 1789 to 1914.*

A MEDIUM-SIZED LIBRARY

(*In addition to the above*)

Adams, *European History.*
Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe.*
Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe.*
Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution.*
Day, *History of Commerce.*
Herrick, *History of Commerce and Industry.*
Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe.*
Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814.*
Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe.*
Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History — Select Documents.*
Slater, *The Making of Modern England.*
Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain.*
Montague, *Elements of English Constitutional History.*
Prothero, *English Farming, Past and Present.*
Ogg, *Governments of Europe.*

Tower, *Germany of To-Day.*
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII.
Seymour, *Diplomatic Background of the War.*
Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe.*
Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient.*
Shepherd, *Historical Atlas.*

A GOOD-SIZED LIBRARY

(*In addition to the above*)

Hassell, *The Balance of Power.*
Warner, *Landmarks of English Industrial History.*
Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols.
Beard (ed.), *Introduction to the English Historians.*
Woodward, *The Expansion of the British Empire.*
Lucas, *The British Empire* (six lectures).
Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India.*
Seignobos, *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization.*
Seignobos, *History of Contemporary Civilization.*
Johnston, *The French Revolution.*
Johnston, *Napoleon, A Short Biography.*
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI and *Atlas.*
Bracq, *France under the Third Republic.*
Guérard, *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century.*
Wallace, *Greater Italy.*
Fife, *The German Empire between Two Wars.*
Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, Vols. V and VI.
Hayes (ed.), *British Social Politics.*
Skrine, *Expansion of Russia.*
Wilson, *The State.*
Lowell, *The Governments of France, Italy, and Germany.*
Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics of the Far East.*
Porter, *The Full Recognition of Japan.*
Gibbons, *The New Map of Africa.*
Forbes, *et al.*, *The Balkans, A History.*
Chéradame, *The Pan-German Plot Unmasked.*
Hauser, *Germany's Commercial Grip on the World.*
Johnson, *Topography and Strategy of the Great War.*
Simonds, *et al.*, *The History of the World War.*
Howe, *The British City.*
Whelpley, *The Trade of the World.*

Rubinow, *Social Insurance.*
Phillips, *Poland.*
Ensor, *Belgium.*
Zimmern, *Italy of the Italians.*
Boulger, *Belgium of the Belgians.*
Boulger, *Holland of the Dutch.*
Barker, *Modern Germany, Her Political and Economic Problems.*
Kilner, Arnold, and Delisle, *Austria of the Austrians and Hungary of the Hungarians.*
Palmer, *Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country.*
Alden (ed.), *Hungary of To-day.*
Williams, *Russia of the Russians.*
Ross, *Russia in Upheaval.*
Aldon, *Democratic England.*
Dubois, *Contemporary Ireland*

Every woman should
keep a school
For every woman is
born a fool
Maker of Dream

MODERN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

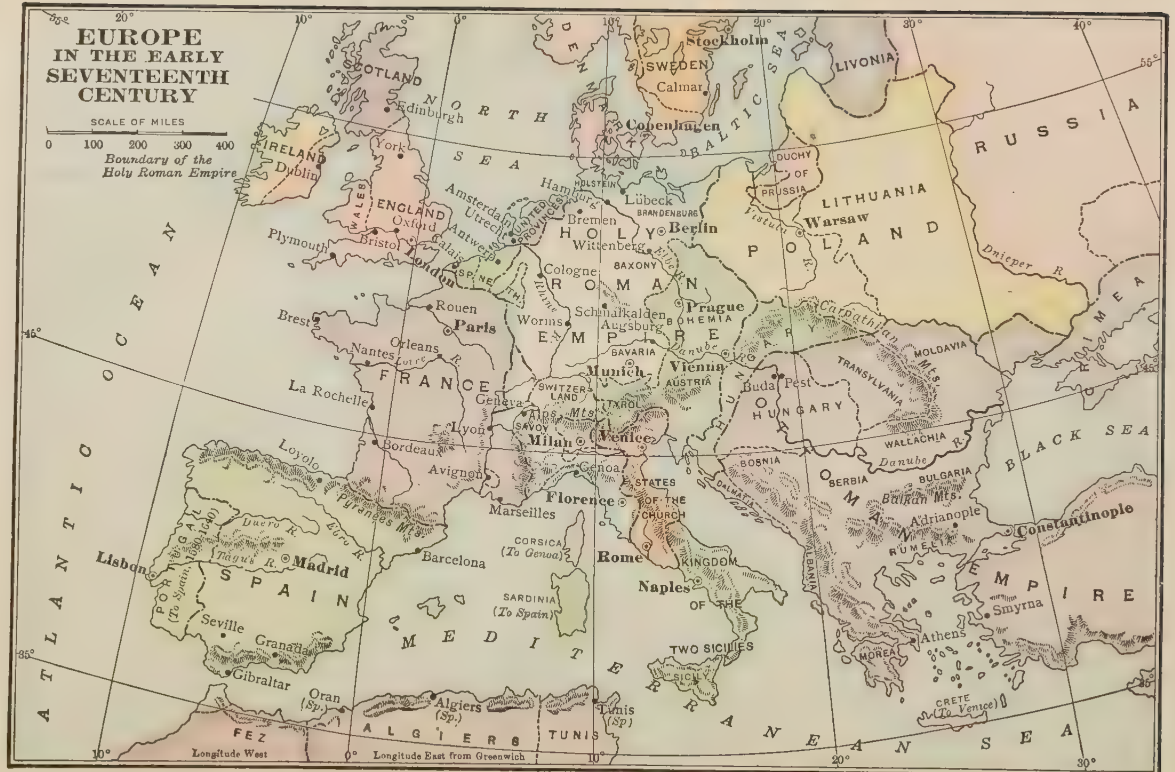
Love Cake

2 cups teasing
4 [illegible]
sealed on top with a k
bake for 4 hours [illegible]
[illegible]
(Serve in the dark

When I'm gone you'll
soon forget me
When I ask you dear just
across
You'll be happy in the
old home
That you've longed
for day by day
In your heart there'll
be no longing
For one dear one you'd
regret.
I will leave you
now forever. V
When I'm gone you'll
soon forget

I would love you wh
~~to~~ — friends make
love to [illegible]
and elephants ro
in trees

She baked the bread
and gave me the crust
She fried the meat and
gave me the [illegible]
She boiled the meat and
gave me the bone
She gave me a [illegible]
And sent me home



EUROPE IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

WILLIAMS ENG. CO., N.Y.

MODERN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

CHAPTER I

EUROPE IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Political Europe

Comparisons, 1600 and 1914. Western Europe.

1. The Map of Europe. — A comparison of a map of Europe in 1600 with one of that continent in 1914 shows more similarities than differences. *Western Europe* was much the same then as now,[1] although at that time England and Scotland were still separate kingdoms and Ireland had not yet been united with them to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Central Europe.

In *central* and southeastern *Europe* we find that great changes have taken place. Three centuries ago the center of Europe was occupied by the huge, loosely united feudal state generally known as the Holy Roman Empire. What is now the kingdom of Italy was then a group of separate states, two of which, Venice and Genoa, were still republics. In east-central Europe there were two states, Lith-u-a′ni-a and Poland, which no longer appear upon the map as separate countries.

Southeastern Europe.

The Turks controlled all *southeastern Europe* in the early seventeenth century. The map of that day did not show any separate states or principalities corresponding to Rumania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, since the people of all those countries as well as most of Hungary and southern Russia were under Turkish rule.

E. E. C. = Ashley, *Early European Civilization.*

---

[1] In 1600 Portugal was temporarily united with Spain.

Northern and eastern Europe.

In *northern* and *eastern Europe* we find the same names as to-day but a somewhat different division of territory. The kingdom of Sweden then included Finland, later a part of Russia. The Russia of that day governed about three fourths of the area in Europe that Russia did in 1914. In Asia it covered only a small part of the great distance to the Pacific Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

Relation of noble to king in the Middle Ages.

2. Historical Development of the Absolute Monarchies. — During the centuries preceding the Renaissance and the Reformation, central and western Europe was divided into a number of areas, each of which was ruled by a king. No one of these kings was an absolute monarch, but usually each was the most important noble of his country. He could call upon the other nobles to furnish him soldiers in time of war and give him necessary help in other ways. These nobles were free to render this service to the king or not as they pleased. Within their own domains therefore the great nobles of these countries ruled rather than the king.[1]

Beginnings of the monarchies.

During the latter part of the Middle Ages, especially in France and England, the kings tried to break down the authority of the nobles and to make themselves more powerful. Not until about 1450, however, did they, in France, England, and Spain, finally gain such power that they rather than the nobles actually ruled. In the three quarters of a century preceding the Protestant Reformation, Louis XI in France, Henry VII in England, and Ferdinand I in Spain really *united their dominions and consolidated the royal authority.*[2]

Divine right of monarchs in France and England (XVII Century).

The successors of these men in France and Spain added continually to their power until they became *absolute monarchs.* In France this story belongs rather to the seventeenth century than to the preceding epoch. With the death of Elizabeth, the English Tudor house came to an end, and a new line of monarchs, the Stuarts, came to the throne. The struggle between the Stuarts, who upheld their divine right to rule, and the people, who demanded some share in the government, is the story of England in the seventeenth century.

---

[1] E. E. C., §§ 478–479.

[2] E. E. C., §§ 646–650.

Arbitrary rather than absolute rule of the kings.

3. Absolutism and Liberty on the Continent. — It must not be imagined that, because we call these monarchs absolute, they really were all-powerful. To be sure, they did not need to call upon representatives of the nobles and the townsmen to help them make the laws; instead they contented themselves with issuing proclamations directly or through their councils. Their rule was not so much absolute, however, as it was arbitrary, because neither noble nor townsman nor peasant was free from *arbitrary interference* by the king and his agents.

Special privileges of provinces, towns, and villages.

The authority of the absolute monarchs was limited in part, especially in France and Spain, by the *special privileges* enjoyed by the provinces of their kingdoms.[1] In the seventeenth century many cities also still had many rights which they had gained in the Middle Ages. Even smaller villages were allowed a share in their own government which reminds us of the medieval English manor. We can see from this brief summary that, even if the common people were free, the centralized and absolute government of the king left them few rights in addition to those enjoyed under the self-governing cities or communes.

Arbitrary rule of the Tudors through Parliament and the Privy Council.

4. English Central Government. — Since the United States grew out of English colonies, the government of which in turn was influenced by the central and local governments of the mother country, we must study especially the government of England in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Although the *monarch* really ruled England, the king or queen governed through the *Parliament* and the Privy Council, for, under the Tudors, who ruled until 1603, these bodies were the tools of the monarchs. Henry VIII and Elizabeth, wishing to govern arbitrarily, had dominated Parliament; usually they had persuaded Parliament to do as they desired until the later years of Elizabeth's reign. The Stuart kings[1] found that Parliament was very far from being the tool that it had been for Henry VIII or Elizabeth.

---

[1] When the different duchies, counties, and other provinces had been united into countries by the kings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these provinces were allowed to retain a large number of customs and privileges. The provincial privileges were survivals of old rights of government enjoyed by these principalities when the nobles acknowledged their king not as a sovereign, but simply as an overlord. (Cf. § 113.)

Local government in England (1600).

5. Local Government and Individual Liberty in England. — In the local government of England the local aristocracy had considerable influence. The *counties* were ruled by justices of the peace, selected from the landed aristocracy by the king. The smaller districts, the *parishes*, had an assembly of rate-payers to levy taxes and elect parish officers, the only important local self-government of Tudor England.[2]

"Rights of Englishmen."

Although Englishmen had more liberties than people on the Continent, the term did not mean very much in 1600, in spite of Magna Carta and the system of jury trial. But, in time, more rights were gained by Englishmen.[3]

---

[1] See Chapter II.

[2] The county system was transplanted bodily to Virginia and to some other southern colonies. The parish meeting was modified by the Puritans in New England and survives in the New England town meeting.

[3] When the colonists later gained a larger share of self-government, it was worth while to claim the rights which had been guaranteed by the colonial charters. For these reasons much was said in America about the "rights of Englishmen" in the stirring years before our Revolutionary War.

It is interesting to notice that out of the semi-medieval English conditions in 1600 there was developed in *England*, within a century, a political revolution, that of 1688, which made England a comparatively modern country, politically, and that there occurred among Englishmen

LORDS AND PEASANTS

Political power of the nobles

6. Position and Privileges of the Nobles. — In *central and eastern Europe* the nobles had practically absolute control over the lives and property of the people on their estates. Most of the laws were made by them, although occasionally the customs of the localities limited these powers and gave the villeins and even the serfs some rights. When a peasant was accused of an offense, he was tried in the court of the noble. Even if he were condemned to die, he might not appeal to his king or to a higher court. The lord had also the right to levy taxes and to collect other charges from his people and from travelers.

The old-fashioned English squire.

Before the close of the Middle Ages the lords in *France* and *England* had lost their right to levy and collect taxes and to dispense justice as they pleased,[1] but the *English squire* of that day was of course the big man of his village. He owned or controlled most of the land on which the village stood and which his tenant cultivated. The church had probably been built by his predecessors, and he had the right to appoint the curate of the parish. He was expected and usually was willing to attend divine service, even though he slept through most of it. When the services were over, he was allowed to leave the chapel first, his people uncovering and courtesying before him. He spent most of his time on his own estate, rarely traveling abroad, and occasionally entertaining his friends with fox hunting or some similar sport. He had the right to hold any county office, and if he were appointed

---

in *America*, within a century and three quarters, a greater revolution, which represents even more perfectly the national democracy of the modern world.

[1] Before the beginning of the seventeenth century there were few lords in either England or France who could decide cases even between tenants on their own estates and make that decision final if either tenant wished to carry the case to the next higher court, which in England usually was presided over by justices of the peace.

as justice of the peace, could not refuse although the position carried no salary. He might even be honored by election to Parliament by the voters of the county in which he lived.

Social position of the greater French nobles.

The *French* monarchs, particularly from the time of Francis I and Henry IV, gained many of the political rights of the nobles. They allowed the lords who had formerly ruled their local estates to build magnificent châteaux, in which they gave lavish entertainments, or to attend those given by the king. Louis XIV carried this idea very much farther (§ 55).

The *open field* system of strips. ✓

7. Agriculture and Villeinage. — In the seventeenth century, as in the Middle Ages, most people lived in *villages* on the estates of the lords and cultivated the surrounding fields. It was customary to divide the cultivated land into *three great fields*. In any year one of these would be planted to wheat, another to barley, and the third would remain uncultivated. The next year each field would be used for a different purpose. Each of these large fields in turn was subdivided into *strips*, which were very much longer than they were wide and contained about an acre apiece. Approximately one third of the strips belonged to the noble.

Villeins and serfs. Obligations of villeins.

The peasants who were practically free were called *villeins;* they usually had the right to cultivate about thirty acres in strips widely separated, possibly ten in each field. The villeins owed a fixed amount of work to the lord, usually two or three days a week with additional time at planting season and harvest, together with such payments as a number of chickens on certain days of the year. Other peasants were serfs who were bought and sold with the land. Each serf family had its own cottage and garden, with four or five acre strips in addition.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century villeinage had practically disappeared from *England*. Those farm-

The English tenant farmer.

ers who remained on the estates of the nobles usually cultivated separate strips in open fields in common with their neighbors, and they paid for this land a very much higher rent than their great-grandfathers had been obliged to pay.[1] Because of the high rents and other agrarian changes a great many of the former tenants had moved to the cities, attracted thither also by the business opportunities of the growing towns.[2]

Extent of serfdom on the Continent.

8. **Serfdom.** — *In eastern, central, and southern Europe and in the Spanish peninsula practically all peasants were still serfs.* In fact, the ancestors of these people had been serfs during the Middle Ages.

Condition of the serfs.

The lot of the serf was an unhappy one. He was not a slave, for he could not be sold except with the land, but he was in no real sense free, since he must spend practically his whole time working for the lord, such days and in such ways as the noble demanded. To be sure he was allowed some time for cultivating his own strips of land, but he was likely to be called upon by the noble to plow or to weed, or to cut or thresh grain, at a time when he should have been doing those things for himself. Moreover, in eastern Germany, in Russia, in Austria, and to some extent in southern Europe, the boys and girls of serf families were compelled to spend a number of years in the house of the noble doing menial work, often without pay of any kind.

9. **Country Life.** — As stated above, the people lived in small villages, usually at the foot of the hill below the manor house of the lord. Because it had been impossible in the Middle Ages for people to live on scattered farms

---

[1] E. E. C., §§ 664, 720.

[2] In France the villein did not become a free man as in England, nor was he able usually to pay for his land in money. Later we shall study rather carefully the condition of the French peasants of the late eighteenth century (§§ 119, 199), and the changes in a century and a half before that time were not important.

Life in villages except for cotters.

without great danger from marauders, there were comparatively few scattered dwellings except those of "squatters," who had built huts upon the waste lands of the estates. In England these "cotters" were permitted, by a law of Elizabeth, to have not more than four acres of land.

Houses and their furniture.

The rest of the "country" people occupied huts or cottages on the village street, each cottage having its own garden plot. The homes were, of course, less crude than those occupied by the forefathers of these people in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, they were small, not very clean, and rather dark, since glass was seldom or never found in the windows. Dirt floors were still common, and rushes were used to a considerable extent instead of carpets. In cottages of the better class, as in the houses of the ordinary burgher, the floors were of stone or wood. Chimneys had come into use to some extent, even in the homes of the common people, but cooking was frequently done out of doors. The people slept on straw beds without springs and frequently without bedsteads. The furniture was simple and usually home-made, as were the wooden trenchers and other utensils used in cooking and eating.

Food and drink.

For the common people there was still too little food, although vegetables added abundance as well as variety to the average meal. Since the Dutch and the English fishermen made frequent trips to the North Sea fishing banks (§ 73), and the French and the English fishermen were bringing back cod and herring from similar banks off Newfoundland (§ 74), even the common people could afford to eat fish more frequently than in earlier centuries. Home-brewed beer or ale or mead was consumed in large quantities, sometimes serving for food as well as drink. In years of plenty food was abundant, yet on the Continent, where the excessive number of tolls (§ 15) made it impossible to carry grain any considerable distance, local famines occurred on an average every third or fourth year.

BUSINESS AND THE TOWNS

The economic renaissance and the growth of cities.

10. The Large Cities. — The Renaissance, the discovery of America, and the opening of new sea routes to the East caused business to expand greatly. Commerce between European nations prospered, and there was far more trade between Europe and the peoples of the far East and the New World than in previous centuries. This expansion of business led to the growth of towns and cities.[1] During the sixteenth century Antwerp had developed into a great commercial center. When it was almost destroyed by the Spanish in 1576, its trade was taken over by other towns, such as Amsterdam.

Growth of English trade and of London.

The development of England as a sea power during this period was due to her interest in colonization both in America and in India and to her defeat of the great Spanish Armada;[2] it was reflected particularly in the growth of the country's principal city, *London.* When Elizabeth became queen, in 1558, London had fewer than 100,000 inhabitants. Even then she was one of the largest cities, if not the largest, of western Europe. At the opening of the seventeenth century her population had almost doubled, and within two years after the Restoration (1660) she boasted a population estimated at a little less than a half million.[3]

---

[1] The medieval towns were small and none had a population that would compare with that of the modern city. In them were gathered artisans who usually belonged to craft gilds (E. E. C., § 557). Other gilds were made up of tradesmen or merchants who controlled the sale of certain articles within the town or the trade in those articles between towns. There was little international trade in the early Middle Ages.

[2] E. E. C., § 699.

[3] No other European capital had as large a population as London. Even as late as 1801, at the beginning of the brilliant Napoleonic régime,

Conditions in the cities.

Like their medieval predecessors these cities had rather narrow streets, which either were not improved at all or were paved very badly. Sidewalks were uncommon, and even to-day, in some of the older European cities, they are still practically unknown. Streets were not lighted at night and were patrolled usually by guards known as the "watch" (§ 94). A police force could quell actual disturbances, but was not able to stop street fighting or protect the unwary citizens who ventured forth unarmed or unguarded after nightfall. As a rule the only attractive buildings were the houses of the nobles, many of whom had their town houses at the national capital as well as manor houses or castles on one or more country estates. The houses of the poor were tenements several stories in height with few windows; they were made less desirable for habitation by their filth and general unsanitary condition.

WATCHMEN AND LANTERNS

Difference between early modern and present-day industry.

11. Industry Three Centuries Ago. — We must keep in mind that, whereas to-day goods are made by *large corporations*, some of which have immense capital, huge

---

there were only 547,000 inhabitants in Paris. Vienna, which at this period was the home of the emperor and the most important capital in Europe, contained with its suburbs in 1800 but 231,000. Two centuries earlier its population was considerably less than that of either Paris or London. In 1600 Berlin was small and the name Pet′ro-grad (St. Petersburg) did not appear on the map.

buildings, and thousands of workers (§ 480), in those days, even in the cities, the *small shop* of a master with a few assistants was the rule, even where the gild system no longer existed. Usually the people of the larger cities were interested in commerce rather than in industry.

Localized industries of seventeenth century.

At that time there were no manufacturing cities which devoted their energy to steel and iron trade, as do Pittsburgh in America and Sheffield and Leeds in England to-day, although Lyons and some cities of south central France were noted for their metal wares. The towns gave more attention to the *weaving of cloth*, always the most important industry of Flanders in northern Belgium, than to any other single industry. Those in England and northern Europe specialized in the weaving of wool. Some of those in southern France and Italy were particularly skillful in the weaving of silks, and in a few places fine cotton goods were made on a limited scale. Some of the towns of France were already beginning to specialize in fine pottery. Paris in that day took the lead in creating new styles in hats. She was also famous for her chocolate. In the Middle Ages and until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, and even at the present time in eastern Europe, *household industries* were common (§ 179).

The era of high prices.

During the sixteenth century manufacturing, commerce, agriculture, and standards of living were much affected by a great

Refining Silver

change in the value of money. In the Middle Ages money had been scarce and consequently prices had been low. With the importation from America of large quantities of silver and gold, and the opening of new silver mines in Germany, Spain, and southern France, the precious metals became much more common and *prices rose* to three or four times what they had been. Of course some people made large profits; others suffered extraordinary hardships.[1] We complained because prices rose 50 per cent in the twenty years before the beginning of the Great War. What would we have thought of a change several times as great?

Consolidation and decline of gilds.

12. The Gilds. — The medieval cities had been hives of industry, carried on usually by the craft gilds. With the expansion of business in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was impossible for the gilds to play as large a part as formerly in the manufacture and sale of different commodities. By the close of Elizabeth's reign the *gilds of England* had ceased to have an important place in the business life of that nation. They maintained their organizations in some cases for two centuries or more, but most goods were thereafter produced at home and much business was done by chartered companies. On the Continent, however, the gilds continued to be important.[2]

---

[1] Those who owned land, who could and did increase their rents (E. E. C. §§ 664–665) were fortunate, but their tenants were not. Those tenants, as in many parts of France, who continued to pay a customary rent made a large profit on their crops, as the price of foods and other commodities rose several fold. Laborers and others whose wages rose slowly therefore had lower standards of living than formerly.

[2] In the *Netherlands* and *Germany* the gilds were more powerful and continued for a century or two longer to control both the making and the sale of goods. In *France* the gilds were encouraged and were organized into large companies, chiefly for the purpose of furnishing revenues to the king. They lost some of their former business to chartered companies or to other capitalists who carried on industry on a larger scale than was known in the Middle Ages.

Some troubles of the gilds.

Besides their problems due to the rise of the monarchies and the growth of new industries, the gilds fought one another. The shoemakers objected when the cobblers made and sold new shoes instead of doing repair work exclusively. In Paris the meat cooks quarreled successfully at first with the gild cooks but unsuccessfully later with the poulterers. The French haberdashery corporation tried at the same time to get royal permission to make and sell new kinds of hats and to keep rival gilds from making substitute forms of headgear. The gilds not only quarreled with one another, but they sometimes fought with brotherhoods of workmen.

Beginnings of business regulation by the English government in the Middle Ages.

13. Government Regulation of Industry. — During the Middle Ages the gilds rather than the king's government regulated the method of manufacture for different articles and prescribed the minimum quality of goods that might be sold by members of the craft. Under the three Edwards in England, regulations were introduced to control both the manufacture and the exportation and importation of goods. These early tariffs placed duties on wools and wines.

Government regulations in France.

In France as in England royal supervision was developed largely for the purpose of bringing the king revenues. At the beginning of the seventeenth century regulation by the royal government was not onerous, but we shall see later (§ 56) how under Colbert, the great minister of Louis XIV, supervision of manufacture and of trade was carried to an extreme, even to defining the width of cloth and the number of threads per inch. Colbert's complete regulations filled several volumes and left the masters little opportunity to improve methods. In central and eastern Europe the regulation of industry was still controlled by the gilds rather than by the governments.

14. The Bourgeoisie. — The name bourgeoisie (boor-zhwa-zē′) is given to the business class which developed

Growth of the burgess class and its influence.

in burgs or cities. The expansion of business and the new commercial opportunities during the Renaissance made it possible for some of these merchants, especially those who enjoyed monopolies or other royal favors, to amass fortunes which were far beyond the wildest dreams of the medieval craftsman or merchant.

Bourgeoisie demands for position and privileges.

Rich as the bourgeoisie became and *powerful* as they were in the new branches of manufacturing, in commerce, and in banking, they frequently failed to gain the *privileges* which were even more to them than money. In France, for example, the so-called Hu′gue-not Wars were to a great extent due to the controversies between the old nobility, which was striving to keep its ancient privileges, prestige, and power, and the new merchant class, whose members sought to secure a social position corresponding to their wealth. It was impossible for a merchant to secure an invitation to the French court.

Markets and fairs in the seventeenth century.

15. Local and National Trade. — Everywhere in Europe during the early part of the seventeenth century

OLD MARKET, MODERN VIEW

the local trade showed characteristics similar to those that distinguished it in the Middle Ages.[1] The people of the villages still paid a large part or the whole of their rents in grain or other products. The remainder of the goods which they produced they either used themselves or they brought to a common place called a *market*, where on one or two days in a week the villagers and their friends gathered. Wheat might be exchanged for hay, or a pig for cloth, or a pair of shoes for a cask of ale. In these later days, when a wholesale merchant might have a larger business than had been possible in the Middle Ages, less attention was paid to the *fairs*, which were so prominent a characteristic of general trade in medieval times.[2]

Slow development of national trade.

Trade between English communities had always been comparatively free from *tolls* or dues. On the Continent, however, in the early seventeenth century as in the Middle Ages, trade between the different villages was hampered by tolls, which were collected at the borders of each estate. Consequently by 1600 national trade, that is, trade between distant parts of a country, had not developed greatly, although later in the seventeenth century some tolls were abolished.[3] A great many highways were built, and some canals were constructed.

---

[1] E. E. C., §§ 560–561.

[2] Even in England the fair at Stourbridge (E. E. C., § 562) was held throughout the seventeenth century and far into the eighteenth. On the Continent fairs continued to be a general means of exchanging products at a later date than in England, and in Russia fairs were rather common until very recent times.

[3] In France these unnecessary and objectionable regulations were abolished to some extent in the sixteenth century. For example by the ordinance of 1505 the tolls on the Loire (Lwar) river were reduced again to about 150 as in the Middle Ages (E. E. C., p. 473). Later (1571) the number was supposed to be limited to 7 and the river was to be freed from dams, obstructing piers, and other obstacles to navigation. Few tolls were abolished, however, before the time of Colbert (§ 56). Even in France a great many tolls existed, except on the main

Eastern trade of Europeans.

16. General Trade. — *National* trade,[1] as well as that with the East and with American colonies, developed considerably after the Renaissance. *Trade with the East* was carried on more extensively at this time than in the Middle Ages, because goods were now carried chiefly in vessels which sailed from European ports, especially in the Netherlands, direct to India and the East Indies. Enormous profits were made upon the spices, teas, silks, cotton goods, sugar, and other commodities brought from the far East, usually *via* the Cape of Good Hope.[2] In 1600 the English organized the famous East India Company, which established factories or trading posts on the shores of India and gained a share in the lucrative Eastern trade.[3]

---

highways, until long after Colbert's time. In Prussia tolls were not removed to any great extent until the time of Frederick the Great, and in general in central and southern Europe the abolition of medieval tolls did not take place until the last part of the eighteenth century or the early decades of the nineteenth.

[1] There was little *trade among the European nations* before the Renaissance. The *modern national tariff* was unnecessary in the medieval period for that reason and because there were no real nations at that time. With the development of the monarchies, however, and the need of revenues, duties were collected upon all goods brought into each country from any other European nation, or from countries in the far East, or from colonies in the New World. The main object of course was *revenue*, but an important object, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was the development of a new national policy called the *mercantilist system* (E. E. C., § 727). *The root idea of mercantilism was that a country becomes rich if it increases its supply of gold and silver.*

[2] During the Middle Ages this Asiatic trade was largely in the hands of the Saracens and the merchants of Venice and Genoa. In the later sixteenth century it had been almost monopolized by the Portuguese. In the later sixteenth and in the seventeenth centuries it was monopolized almost as much by the Dutch, but the English and French also sought a share in this eastern trade.

[3] The French had some trading posts on the coasts of the peninsula of Hindustan. The Dutch controlled not only the way station at the Cape of Good Hope, but also the Island of Ceylon and many of the East India islands themselves. The Portuguese still kept the Spice Islands, the Mo-luc'cas, and some of the other East Indies, although their trade had declined rapidly before 1600.

Articles imported from America in the early seventeenth century

17. Trade with the American Colonies. — In the early seventeenth century there was a growing trade between Europe and the *American colonies*. The most important commodities imported from the New World were the *precious metals*, from the Spanish colonies of Mexico and Peru; *sugar*, from Brazil, which belonged to Portugal, and from the Spanish, Dutch, and French colonies in the West Indies; *tobacco*, from the West Indies and later from Virginia; *fish*, from Newfoundland; and *furs*, which later were imported in large quantities from New Amsterdam and the French settlements along the St. Lawrence river. This colonial trade, which grew to considerable proportions and was of very great importance in the eighteenth century, will be described more fully in Chapter IV. We should note here, however, that no American colony was permitted to trade with any European country that it pleased; it was forced to trade almost exclusively with its own mother country (§ 81).

Stop

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Organization and work of the medieval Church

18. The Medieval Church and the Reformation. — In the seventeenth century, as at the present time, southern Europe was Roman Catholic, northern Europe with the exception of Ireland was Protestant, and eastern Europe was Greek Catholic. It will be remembered that during the Middle Ages there was only one Church in western and central Europe.[1] This Church was a highly organized body under the Pope, bishops, and lesser clergy. It was not only a religious organization, but it controlled a large part of the land, cared for travelers, education, the poor, and performed numerous other duties now attended to by governments. There had been protests against the *secular power* and to some extent against the *religious uniformity* maintained by the medieval Church. Among these were the movements led by Wyclif in England[1] and by Huss in Bohemia.[2]

---

[1] E. E. C., Chap. XVIII.

The Reformation: causes and leaders.

In the early part of the sixteenth century an upheaval occurred within the Church. This was due to many causes other than those distinctively religious: the rise of the monarchies, the new learning of the Renaissance, the demand that the Church should give less of its energy to secular interests, disgust with the abuses which had crept into the Church's administration of affairs, and the general desire of the time for change. This upheaval or revolution we call the *Reformation.*[3] It was led by Martin Luther, who in 1517 made the first decided break with the papacy by fastening on the church door of Wittenberg 95 theses against the sale of indulgences. Other leaders of the Protestant movement were Zwingli (Tswing'li) in Switzerland and John Calvin, a Frenchman who spent most of his life in Switzerland.

The Counter-Reformation.

The Protestant movement spread rapidly during the forty years following Luther's first attack; its progress was checked by a *Counter-Reformation*[4] within the older Church. The opposition to Protestantism was led chiefly by a new military order known as the "Society of Jesus," which was founded by Ig-na'ti-us Lo-yo'la about 1540, and whose members are called *Jesuits.*

Extent and organization.

19. The Roman Catholic Church. — In the early part of the seventeenth century five countries were still predominantly or absolutely Roman Catholic. These were Portugal, Spain, France, "Austria," and "Italy." The religious organization of the Roman Catholic Church was similar to that which existed in the Middle Ages and which prevails to-day. The head was the Pope, who was selected by a council of cardinals usually from the Italian clergy. Because of the Reformation his *religious* authority extended over a smaller area than had that of his medieval predecessors, but it was otherwise unimpaired. His *secular* authority on the contrary had been reduced greatly since the days when Innocent III[1] not only wielded great temporal power but claimed to be overlord of all European monarchs.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 619.

[2] E. E. C., § 620.

[3] E. E. C., §§ 676–681.

[4] E. E. C., §§ 687–689.

Lands, revenues, and business of Church organization.

In the early seventeenth century the Roman Catholic Church owned a large amount of land, most of which it let out to villeins or cultivated by the labor of serfs. In many Catholic states of Germany and in a few other countries, some of the church lands, particularly those belonging to the religious orders, had been secularized (frequently a polite name for confiscated) by the different rulers.[2] In addition to the produce or money rents secured from these lands, the church received from its members the great tithe and the lesser tithe,[3] as well as other contributions of different kinds. Attention was given by the Church to education and to dispensing charity or caring for the sick in the hospitals, which increased considerably in number during the seventeenth century.[4]

Independence of the French church before and in 1600.

20. Church and State in France and Germany. — The clergy of France had always been distinguished for their independent attitude toward the papacy. We see evidences of this during the barbarian invasions,[5] in connection with the Babylonian Captivity,[6] and especially in the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (Bourzh) (1438). In 1516, the year before Luther posted his theses at Wittenberg, Francis I of France made a concordat with the Pope by which the French Church remained Catholic but continued its independent position under the control of the king.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 533.

[2] In practically all Protestant countries, property of the old church was either taken over by the new churches or appropriated (secularized) by the government.

[3] E. E. C., § 521.

[4] Since the religious orders were less important than in the Middle Ages, comparatively little business was transacted in and by the monasteries (E. E. C., §§ 505–512), although the Jesuits were engaged in trade and had commercial and banking houses not only in European cities but in the New World.

[5] E. E. C., § 435.

[6] E. E. C., § 618.

Political and religious conditions in Germany after 1648.

In 1600 Germany included not only most of the German Empire of to-day, but also Austria proper and some other territories. It was divided into many states — kingdoms, principalities, free cities, and a large number of petty ecclesiastical or secular districts — each of which wished to be self-governing and was to a large extent independent. In the early part of the seventeenth century[1] a great politico-religious controversy broke out which lasted for three decades, and is known therefore as the Thirty Years' War. It ended with the Peace of Westphalia (1648),[2] which secured for the princes of each state or for each town the right to keep, as its own religion, any one of the three faiths, Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist.

Break of Henry VIII with the papacy.

21. The Anglican Church. — In England more than in any other ~~Protestant country~~ the break with Rome was the work not of the people under religious leaders, but of the king. It will be remembered that when Henry VIII wished to divorce Catharine of Aragon and the Pope withheld his consent, Henry secured a divorce through an English court and had Parliament pass an *Act of Supremacy*[3] which made him head of the English Church instead of the Pope. Henry suppressed the monasteries throughout the country, but it must not be supposed that he introduced reforms which made England really Protestant.

---

[1] In 1555, by the Peace of Augsburg (E. E. C., § 681), the right was given to all princes and towns to decide for themselves whether they and their people should be Catholics or Lutherans. All the people in each principality, state, or town were thereafter supposed to have exactly the same religious faith. Catholic rulers as well as Protestant proceeded to secularize a great deal of church property, because they wanted the lands and the revenues for themselves. The authorities found it impossible to keep some of their people from embracing other new faiths.

[2] E. E. C., § 707.

[3] E. E. C., § 685.

Modified Protestantism established by Queen Elizabeth.

Under Henry's only son, Edward VI, whose short rule closed with his death at the age of sixteen, Protestantism was really introduced in England, for many Roman Catholic customs and usages were abolished, and the English prayer book was introduced. But Queen Elizabeth, who was indifferent to religious questions, adopted a compromise which made her the unquestioned head of the Church as well as of the State and made the use of the English prayer book the basis of the church service. Under her direction Parliament passed laws against Dissenters, that is, against those who did not accept this "An′gli-can" Church. Prominent among these Dissenters were the Puritan (§ 26) leaders.[1]

St. Paul's Cathedral, London

Intolerance among all sects in the sixteenth century.

22. Religious Toleration and Liberty. — It would naturally be supposed that, since the Reformation was a revolt against arbitrary religious rule and privileges, as well as against the abuses of the Church universal of that day, the first Protestants would have established religious liberty or toleration; but they learned that did not work in practice.[2] Therefore in the sixteenth century not only were Catholics and Protestants intolerant of each other's beliefs, but every Protestant sect was exceedingly intolerant toward every other.

---

[1] In Scotland the Puritan faith spread so rapidly that the Covenanters, who agreed not to accept the old form of rule or worship, really gained control of the government and under John Knox established a Puritan church in the Presbyterian form.

[2] Luther at one time based his opposition to the Catholic Church on

Spread of religious toleration.

We must understand that when a country has a state church, *toleration* is simply permission granted by law to other sects to hold services of their own. The beginning of religious toleration as a doctrine is to be found among those religious sects which were not numerous and powerful enough to gain for themselves control of any state. The last part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century is distinguished for the rapid growth of the idea of toleration. In France, Henry IV, who had accepted Catholicism as the state religion, in 1598 granted religious toleration to Huguenots (Edict of Nantes (Nant)).[1] In Holland religious toleration was permitted for most Protestant sects. In Bohemia religious toleration was granted to some faiths in 1609. In England, although there was no religious toleration by law, there was considerable toleration in practice in spite of the declaration of James I in 1606 that he would make the separatist Puritans conform or force them to leave England.

Beginnings of religious liberty.

We hear it said that the Puritans came to America for religious liberty, which is a radically different thing of course from toleration. Under *religious liberty* there is no state church, and every person may worship as he pleases. Nothing is farther from the truth, for the Puritans came solely for the purpose of establishing their own church, and they did not tolerate any other Protestants, whether Baptists, Quakers, or any other sect. Not until

---

the ground that a man's salvation depends upon his true relation to God through his own personal faith (justification by faith). He found that he was obliged to modify that doctrine, which would leave to each member of a church the right to believe exactly what he pleased, for he learned that, if a church is organized at all, it must be organized by those who have practically the same beliefs.

[1] E. E. C., § 702.

Roger Williams, driven from Massachusetts Bay colony chiefly because of his religious heresy, founded Providence in Rhode Island, and declared that the state and religion must be separated, that the government should have no control over religion, and that therefore any one might worship as he wished, did religious liberty find its first foothold in the modern world.

Parochial schools.

23. Education. — The Renaissance gave an impetus not only to the study of the classics, but also to schools for the sons of burghers and the better class of farmers. On the Continent, especially in the country districts, education was conducted almost exclusively in Catholic countries by the parish authorities, either by the priest himself or by some one selected by the bishop. Very great attention was given therefore to instruction which we should call religious rather than secular.

Town schools.

In many towns in England and on the Continent schools were established under the control of the municipal authorities. A little broader education was given than had been done in the older church schools, but the pupils as a rule were obliged to pay rates for the support of the schoolmaster, whose salary was exceedingly low, averaging £16 a year in England.

The English and colonial grammar school.

In England schools of the early seventeenth century were very different from those which had existed two centuries earlier. Many of them were denominational schools; others were not under religious domination but were controlled by the local authorities.[1] Instruction was given in Latin, grammar, and numbers rather than in some of the older subjects. Ordinarily charges were made for instruction and rates were paid by those who attended the schools. In a few cases, as in that of John Colet's school, no charge was made and in a few other instances charity schools were founded. The schools which were established in almost all New England towns before 1650, and the schools that later were started by the colonies farther South, were in almost all cases closely patterned after the grammar schools of England of this period. Of course the day of free education, of education for girls in schools, of studying life and of training for life had not come yet, either in England, on the Continent, or in America.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 718.

Development of new scientific methods of study.

24. The New Science. — The new science was largely a product of the new spirit of the Renaissance; it was in turn a cause of the further development of democracy, a greater demand for liberty, and a fresh intellectual expansion. We must not suppose that the Middle Ages knew nothing whatever of science, because we know that the Saracen schools of Spain and southern Italy and the universities at Oxford, Cambridge, and on the Continent did study the science known to the Greeks and some science that had been developed later. They did not study this science, however, very carefully or critically; in other words, they did not study in a really scientific spirit. It was not until the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century that two great philosophers, an Englishman, Sir Francis Bacon, and a Frenchman, René Descartes (Day-cart′), taught that science and all other subjects should be studied at first hand, with an open and a critical mind.

Work of early modern scientists.

The beginnings of modern science may be traced back to Co-per′ni-cus, who died in 1543. *Copernicus*, a mathematician, proved by elaborate and accurate reasoning that the sun, not the earth, is the center of our solar system, and that the earth and planets revolve around the sun. It was not until after the opening of the seventeenth century that other scientists and astronomers carried on the work which he began. After 1600 *Gal-i-le′o* constructed a telescope and by his observations showed that the Copernican theory is correct. Still later the great English scientist, Sir Isaac *Newton*, worked out the law of gravitation. With these notable beginnings it was possible for modern science to develop, though slowly, throughout the eighteenth century. None the less, when we compare the scientific achievements of recent and earlier centuries, we are almost inclined to the belief that modern science is practically the product of the last century (§ 499).

General References

Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, 338–347, 401–426.
Prothero, *English Farming, Past and Present*, 78–129.
Stephenson, *The Elizabethan People.*
Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, 200–315.
Ashley, *Economic Organisation of England*, 88–139.
Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 136–198.
Warner, *Landmarks in English Industrial History*, 150–243.
Gibbins, *Industrial History of England*, 82–119.
Cunningham, *Western Civilization in Its Economic Aspects*, II, 146–224.
Cambridge Modern History, I, 493–531.
Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, I, 1–562.
Hoover (eds.), Agricola's *De Re Metallica.*
Hugon, *Social France in the Seventeenth Century.*
Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols.
Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century.*
Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, III (part II), IV.

Topics

BREAK-UP OF THE MANOR: Ashley, *Economic Organization of England*, 44–67; Warner, *Landmarks in English Industrial History*, 134–150; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 99–133.

ENGLISH AGRICULTURE: Prothero, *English Farming, Past and Present*, 78–102; Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, I, 100–119; Gibbins, *Industrial History of England*, 108–120.

BEGINNINGS OF CAPITAL AND TRADE: Ashley, *Economic Organization of England*, 68–87; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social*

History of England, 161–172; Warner, *Landmarks in English Industrial History*, 150–208; Cunningham, *Western Civilization in Its Economic Aspects*, II, 162–224.

Beginnings of Modern Science: Snyder, *The World Machine*, 161–266; Sedgwick and Tyler, *Short History of Science*, 191–229, 255–272; Williams, *Every Day Science*, I, 53–123, 192–251.

Studies

1. Sixteenth century enclosures. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 141–147.

2. The nobility two or three centuries ago. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 70–82.

3. Sports in England. Stephenson, *The Elizabethan People*, 102–109.

4. Merrie England in Elizabeth's Day. Synge, *Social Life in England*, 161–189.

5. Problems of London Life. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, I, 312–324.

6. Capital and labor for the colonies. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, I, 342–350.

7. Decline of the English gilds. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 147–161.

8. The Eastland Company and Muscovy Merchants. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, I, 234–241.

9. The greatest maritime people of the seventeenth century. Cunningham, *Western Civilization in Its Economic Aspects*, II, 196–206.

10. Religious toleration. Bury, *History of Freedom of Thought*, 92–127.

11. Seventeenth century schools. Parker, *History of Modern Elementary Education*, 49–64.

Questions

1. What were the most important countries of Europe three centuries ago? What countries appeared on the map then which have since disappeared? What countries have since appeared on the map?

2. What powers had the kings gained at the expense of the nobles? Give some idea of the privileges of provinces or towns

and liberties possessed by the people of that day. Have our American states privileges or rights corresponding to those of the seventeenth century province? Do American cities to-day possess any privileges corresponding to those of early modern towns? Name at least five respects in which we have more liberty to-day than our ancestors had three centuries ago.

3. How was the central government of England organized in 1600? What was the nature of English local government of that day?

4. Had the lords lost more *political* powers or more privileges during the later Middle Ages?

5. Is there any connection between the break-up of the manorial system and the abolition of villeinage? Where were there serfs in 1600, and to what extent were they better off than their ancestors? How do you account for the abolition of villeinage in some places and the retention of serfdom in others?

6. In what respects had conditions in the cities improved? (Cf. E. E. C., §§ 552–554.)

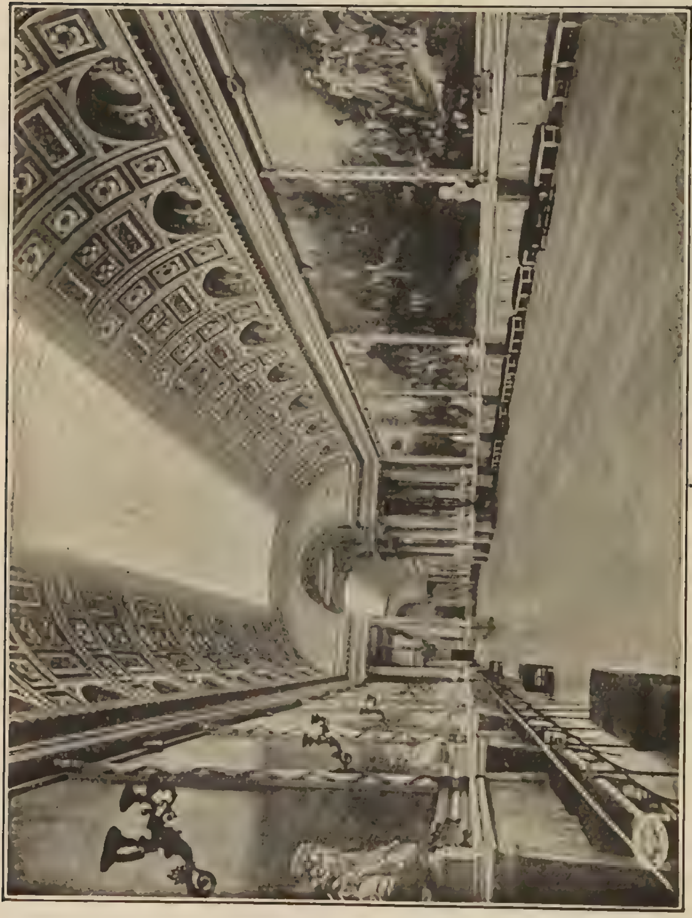
7. Under what conditions were most goods produced three centuries ago? To what extent were gilds still in existence? How much government regulation was there? Compare these three things in Europe then and America now.

8. Compare conditions in the Middle Ages and in 1600 regarding the following subjects: local trade, national and international trade, eastern trade, and commerce with the colonies.

9. Name at least three conditions which made it impossible for the medieval Church to retain its universal rule and extensive temporal authority in the early modern period. Give some idea of the organization, clergy, and work of the Roman Catholic Church at this time.

10. Explain why the rise of the nations created a problem of Church and State in both Catholic and Protestant countries. Explain why a separate church was organized in England and show the nature of the rule and worship within that church. Explain why religious toleration was an inevitable product of the Renaissance movement, but explain also why religious toleration and liberty were not allowed by either Protestants or Catholics in the sixteenth century.

11. Compare education of ordinary scholars in the Middle Ages, in the English or colonial grammar schools of the seventeenth century, and in America to-day. Why was a new science inevitable as a result of the Renaissance?



The Palace at Versailles—Gallery of Battles

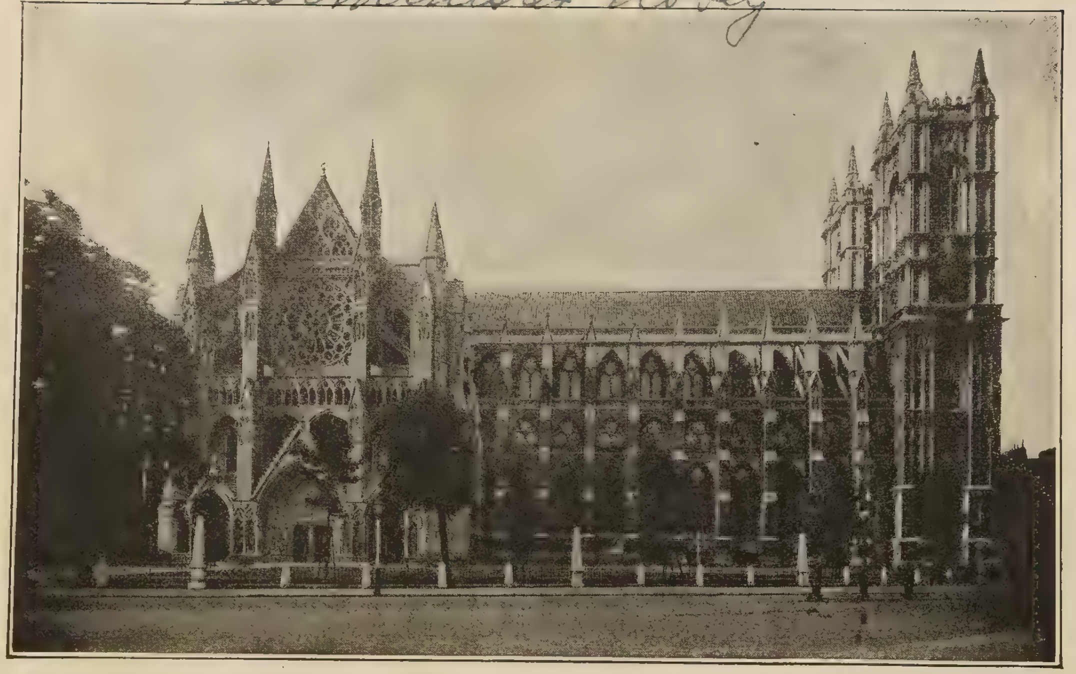
© Rare Art Studios

There was an old lady
called Parker
Who slept while her ship
lay at anchor
But she rose in drea
When she heard the
mate say
Hoist up the top sheet
and spanker

PART I

THE AGE OF ABSOLUTISM (1603-1789)

Westminster Abbey



Westminster Abbey

Monday

CHAPTER II

ENGLAND (1603–1760)

THE EARLY STUARTS AND PARLIAMENT (1603–1635)

"Personal union" of England and Scotland under the Stuart kings.

25. James I and Parliament. — On the death of Queen Elizabeth, James of Scotland became king of England (1603–1625), and for a century the two kingdoms were united simply because they had the same king. In 1707 their parliaments were combined and they were united under the name of the kingdom of Great Britain. Elizabeth was the last of the Tudor line; James was the first of the Stuart monarchs.[1]

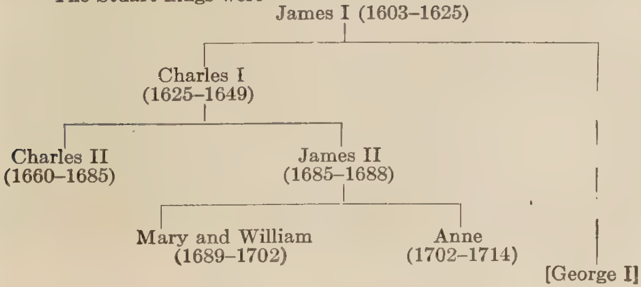
The "divine right of kings."

The new king was learned but not wise. He believed that he had a "divine right" to rule. He declared, "It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do."

It was not long before there was a sharp dispute between the king, ruling by divine right, and the Parliament,

---

[1] The Stuart kings were



Conflict between James and Parliament over "supplies."

made up largely of Puritans, who demanded a real share in the government. This conflict arose chiefly over the granting of "supplies," or royal revenues, by Parliament. Parliament ordinarily refused to give the king money unless he gave Parliament privileges in return. Consequently James went without money and Parliament did not meet often during his reign.[1]

Beginnings of the great Puritan movement and ideas of the Puritans.

26. The Puritans. — The Puritan movement [2] started when refugees fled to Geneva from the persecutions of Mary Tudor.[3] In Geneva, they gladly followed the suggestions of John Calvin. The Scriptures, especially the Old Testament, were studied with unflagging zeal. They favored the election of pastors by churches and often preferred the rule of churches by elders. They were narrow and intense, severe in self-discipline, moral and upright, and they attached an importance to simple forms that is amazing to a person of the twentieth century. Their desire to raise the low moral standard of the time made them go to the opposite extreme, and their opposition to amusements was rabid. We are almost tempted to believe the statement that they objected to the cruel sport of bear-baiting less because it gave pain to the bear than because it afforded pleasure to the spectators.

---

[1] James was anxious to make an alliance with Spain. In the end he failed to secure a Spanish princess for his son, Charles, because Spain demanded in return concessions to the English Catholics, which James dared not grant. Finally Charles married a French princess, Henrietta Maria, and both he and his father secretly promised Richelieu (Rish-lyu′) that the English Catholics should be treated more leniently.

[2] In Scotland, the Puritans were, almost without exception, Presbyterians, favoring the rule of the church by elders or representatives, but in England there were three different groups. The largest of these groups, the "*Puritans*" proper, remained in the established or Anglican Church, but wished to "purify" the church service of old or "papist" forms. A second group, the *Presbyterians*, wished a form of government by presbyters or elders to be substituted for the rule of the bishop, and a third group, called *Independents*, insisted that each church should be ruled by its congregation. Those Puritans who were willing to leave the Anglican church were called *Separatists*.

[3] E. E. C., § 686.

A PURITAN

St. Gaudens

Hampton Court Conference.

The Puritans of England hoped for great things from James, since he came to them from a land of Puritans, but James had had enough Puritanism to last him the rest of his life. At the *Hampton Court Conference* (1604), where the reforms desired by the Puritans were discussed, he angrily declared that Puritanism[1] " agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the Devil." He insisted that the Separatist Puritans should conform to the requirements of the Anglican church or he would "harry them out of the land." He was as good as his word; many Separatists were obliged to leave England for Holland, whence several years later many of them, known as "Pilgrims," came to Plymouth colony on the coast of Massachusetts.

---

[1] James meant Presbyterianism.

Why Charles needed a large amount of revenue.

CHARLES I, BY VAN DYCK

27. Charles I and Parliament. — When James I died, in 1625, his oldest son became king, with the title Charles I. Charles was radically different from his father, being handsome and attractive. Although honest, upright, and religious, Charles was silent, secretive, and unable to understand what the people wanted. From the first, he needed money, and his wars increased his need, but he did not get any revenue from Parliament.[1]

Charles was now forced to resort to any expedient to get *money*. He asked in every county for free gifts, but few were made. He then collected forced loans. He

---

[1] When Charles asked Parliament to vote him "supplies," Parliament responded by criticizing the king's favorite, Buckingham, and condemning the failure of a miserable campaign against the Spanish. The king dissolved Parliament. The next year, it was called again. Again it was dissolved, without voting funds, in order to prevent the impeachment of Buckingham.

Expedients used by Charles to raise money

saved expenses by quartering troops upon the people. He levied tonnage and poundage duties,[1] although Parliament had granted them to him only from year to year, not for the whole of his reign, as had been done with previous sovereigns for more than a century.

Provisions of the Petition of Right (1628).

28. The Petition of Right. — When Parliament met in 1628, the House of Commons insisted upon a redress of grievances. It drew up a Petition of Right, to which the king reluctantly gave his consent. This great document provided that (1) the king should not collect gifts, loans, benevolences, or taxes without the consent of Parliament; (2) people should not be kept imprisoned arbitrarily; (3) and martial law should not be used in time of peace. (4) Quartering of soldiers on the people was prohibited. This Petition of Right is one of the most important documents in the English Constitution.

When the Commons sought to discuss their religious grievances, Charles at once dissolved Parliament.[2] *For eleven years no Parliament met in England.* The king imprisoned Eliot and four associates who had opposed him in Parliament, Eliot dying in prison a few years later. By the use of arbitrary courts which did not allow jury trial, the Court of the Star Chamber[3] and the Court of High Commission, Charles ruled England about as he pleased.

29. Arbitrary Rule of Charles I (1629–1635). — With the aid of Laud, later archbishop of Canterbury, Charles

---

[1] E. E. C., § 592, *n.* 2.

[2] Just before adjournment, amidst intense excitement, Sir John Eliot introduced three famous resolutions. These resolutions declared that those who made innovations in religion, either of form or of doctrine; those who advised the levying of tonnage and poundage without the consent of Parliament; and those who paid tonnage and poundage, were betrayers of the liberty of England and enemies of the commonwealth. With shouts of "aye, aye" the Commons adopted the resolutions, as they dispersed.

[3] E. E. C., § 649.

Laud's high church policy for all churches.

introduced into the church service many *high church forms* that were odious to the Puritans. *Laud* was willing that men should interpret the Scriptures as they desired, but he insisted that all churches and all clergymen observe these new forms, such as wearing the surplice and keeping the communion table at the east end of the choir.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD

Unusual methods used by Charles to secure revenue.

Without a Parliament to grant him supplies, Charles was forced to obtain money in other ways. Under a very old law he compelled men to be knighted, the king's treasury profiting by the fees and fines. The Crown seized lands to which it had a slight claim under the old feudal law, or it left the lands in the hands of the holders in return for a money payment. Even these arbitrary assessments did not give Charles enough revenue. He then levied on the seacoast towns an assessment for the royal navy, called "ship money." As there was precedent for this in time of war, the people paid the tax.

Ship money and the Hampden case.

The next year (1635) a second levy of *ship money* was made. This time the inland towns were included also. John Hampden, a country squire, refused to pay the levy on the ground that it was a tax which had not been approved by Parliament. Since Charles controlled the court before which Hampden was tried, it decided against Hampden by a vote of seven judges to five. This was a legal victory for Charles but a moral victory for the opposition. This arbitrary government of Charles caused many Puritans to migrate to the New World. In New England they established colonies which they governed as they pleased; in them they had their own church (§ 79).

Puritan Revolution and the Restoration
(1635–1688)

Trouble with the Scotch.

30. Events Leading to Civil War. — In 1637 Charles tried to force the Scotch to follow Laud's policy, including the use of the English Prayer Book. The Scotch protested and finally raised an army. With the Scotch in northern England, Charles now summoned a famous Parliament, known in history as the Long Parliament.

How the Long Parliament abolished arbitrary government.

The *Long Parliament* met in no uncertain temper. It proceeded to attack Charles' chief advisers and finally beheaded the Earl of Strafford[1] and, later, Archbishop Laud. Parliament protected itself against the king. It provided for meetings of Parliament at least every three years, and the Long Parliament was not to be dissolved without its own consent. It abolished the Courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission. It declared illegal not only ship money, but tonnage and poundage, if the latter were collected without the consent of Parliament.

The grand remonstrance.

In November, 1641, the House of Commons passed, by a majority of only nine votes, a *Grand Remonstrance*, which was a protest against the misgovernment of the king. A few weeks later the king, aroused by the proposed impeachment of the queen, and hoping to rid himself of the leaders of the opposition, marched with his soldiers to the House of Commons, intending to arrest five objectionable members. The soldiers were left outside, and amid cries of "privilege, privilege," Charles withdrew, remarking, "Well, I see the birds are flown." Within a short time the parliamentary and royalist parties came to blows.

---

[1] Parliament first tried to impeach Strafford, or Wentworth, a former leader of the Commons. Then Parliament passed a bill of attainder against him and sent him to the block.

Victories of Parliament over the king.

31. Civil War. — Southern and eastern England, with its towns, prosperous farms, and large estates, supported Parliament. Northern and western England stood by the king. The king's supporters, gentlemen in fine dress, their hair in long curls, were called "*cavaliers*." Their opponents, with shaven heads and simple clothing, were known as "*roundheads*." For the disciplined, intensely religious roundheads the cavaliers were no match.[1] At Marston Moor and Nase'by the forces of Parliament were completely victorious.

A CAVALIER

Trial and death of Charles I.

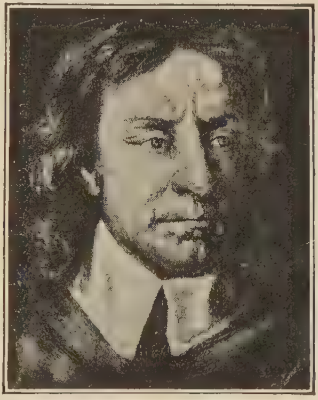
By 1647 Charles was driven to take refuge with the Scotch army, which surrendered him to Parliament. As the Presbyterians in Parliament were likely to be too favorable to the king, Colonel Pride of the army drove them out, an act known as Pride's Purge. The king was tried at once by the remaining members of this "Rump" Parliament, was condemned to death as a "tyrant, traitor, and murderer," and was beheaded (1649).

---

[1] The Puritan army, the "new Model," made up of sincere, earnest Puritans who prayed and kept their powder dry, was modeled after a regiment of cavalry, the famous "Ironsides" of Oliver Cromwell, "a lovely company," as their commander called them, without intentional irony.

Cromwell establishes order and dissolves Parliament.

32. The Commonwealth and Protectorate. — England was now declared a "Commonwealth." The first need of the new government was to establish order, a task which was completed by the great Puritan leader, Oliver Cromwell, with characteristic thoroughness. Ireland was subdued in a campaign of unusual severity (§ 362). A new insurrection of Scotchmen, loyal to the House of Stuart, who rallied to the support of the late king's son, "Bonnie Prince Charlie," was completely suppressed, but Charles escaped from England after weeks of hiding.



OLIVER CROMWELL

Cromwell as Lord Protector.

In 1653, Cromwell in disgust dissolved the "Rump" Parliament. Soon after he was made "Lord Protector." Although England still had a Parliament, Cromwell's was the master mind of both Commonwealth and Protectorate. This Puritan, a plain man of the plain people, by virtue of his honesty, his uprightness, and his thoroughness, stands out as the greatest Englishman in political life during the seventeenth century.

Popularity of Cromwell's firm rule and successful foreign policy.

33. The Puritan Commonwealth. — Cromwell's was really a military rule, a despotism greater than that of Charles I. He made the name of England feared abroad. His firmness toward the Dutch, French, and Spanish, and his successes in the wars with Holland and Spain, made him popular at home. Under him business prospered, as was natural, for the opposition to the king had been chiefly the opposition of the agricultural and commercial classes.

Constitutional rule in theory and in practice.

This Puritan Commonwealth was an interesting political experiment. In spite of the fact that it was despotic in character, it was presumably based on an "Instrument of Government," which was a written constitution, the first ever used by a large country. The government favored liberty of the press, for which Cromwell's secretary, the great poet, John Milton, had pleaded during the Civil War. It tried to establish religious toleration, but without great success. The Puritan revolution did not fail, although it seemed to fail, since it had stood for ideas that very soon made England the first modern constitutional monarchy of Europe.

The survival of Cromwell's policy after the Restoration (1660).

34. The Restoration (1660) and Reaction. — Cromwell died in 1658. Under his son, the Protectorate was a failure. All classes desired a return of the Stuarts, and in 1660 the *Restoration* occurred, "Bonnie Prince Charlie" becoming king with the title of Charles II. Many of the Puritan laws were declared null and void, but others — for example, the Navigation Ordinance of 1651 (§ 76), to build up the shipping of England at the expense of the Dutch — were reënacted to make them legal. In the next war with the Dutch, New Netherland became English territory.

Reaction against "Puritanism."

As the Puritans had been overstrict in everything, especially by enforcing a "puritanical" Sabbath and by interfering with sports and pleasures, there was a reaction from simple, severe living. People went to the opposite extreme, led by the king and the courtiers, who had grown accustomed in their exile to the lax moral standards of the Continent. Butler's *Hu'di-bras*, written at this time, caricatured the Puritans and all that they stood for. The decline of Puritanism was due to ridicule as well as to new legislation.

Quarrel between Charles II and Parliament over toleration for Catholics.

35. The Absolutism of Charles II. — Charles tried to obtain religious toleration for his Catholic friends, but Parliament passed many laws[1] against Catholics and Dissenters. In spite of the new Habeas Corpus Act[2] which protected the people against the king's judges, Charles ruled very arbitrarily; he took away the charters of London and of Massachusetts Bay colony.

The first Whigs and Tories.

The first English political parties appeared at this time. The great nobles and the merchants who opposed the king's arbitrary government united as *Whigs,* a name which was applied to them at first in contempt; while the conservatives, the gentry, and the clergy, who upheld the king, were known as *Tories,* from the name given to Irish outlaws. We can understand from these names that the political parties of that time did not love each other any better than do the parties of modern times.

How James II alienated his supporters and the nation.

36. The Absolutism of James II (1685–1688). — James II was the most narrow and the least able of the Stuart kings. In three short years he made enemies of almost all his subjects. He appointed in the army, in the church, and in the universities, Catholics who legally could not hold office under a law of Parliament, the Test Act, for he maintained that, as king, he had the right to suspend such laws as he pleased.

---

[1] The "Cavalier Parliament" of the Restoration was overwhelmingly royalist. Among the laws against Dissenters were the Corporation Act, keeping Dissenters from holding office in municipal corporations and to some extent in Parliament; an Act of Uniformity, requiring clergymen and teachers to assent to everything in the Book of Common Prayer; the Conventicle Act, forbidding Dissenters to hold religious services; and the Five Mile Act, that did not allow a dissenting minister to come near any place where he had been a pastor or within five miles of any incorporated town or borough.

[2] In 1679 Parliament passed the *Habeas Corpus Act.* No person accused of crime could be held in prison for years, as Eliot had been, but must be brought before a court within twenty days after a writ of Habeas Corpus had been issued in his behalf to determine whether there was a real case against him.

The petition and trial of the seven bishops.

In 1688, James II issued a Declaration of Indulgence by which still further favors were granted to Catholics and Dissenters. He gave orders that this declaration should be read in all churches. The Dissenters scorned privileges which they should have in common with Catholics, and seven bishops petitioned the king, asking that they should not be forced to read the Declaration. They were arrested for libel and tried in Westminster Hall. To the amazement of the king and the joy of all England, the jury brought in a verdict of " not guilty."

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND

Coming of William of Orange and flight of James II.

37. The Revolution of 1688. — Just before the trial of the bishops a son was born to James II. Hitherto, it had been expected that James would be succeeded by his Protestant daughter, Mary, who was married to William of Orange, the Protestant leader of continental Europe against Louis XIV. As James' son would undoubtedly be brought up a Catholic, a number of prominent nobles united in inviting Mary and William to come to England. When William accepted, James was deserted by every one, soldiers, courtiers, and advisers. He tried to leave England and was captured, but William made escape easy, as he did not wish James II to meet the fate of his father, Charles I.

Adoption of the Bill of Rights (1689).

A convention of prominent men, having agreed upon a Declaration of Rights, invited William and Mary to occupy the vacant throne. In 1689, a regular Parliament adopted a somewhat similar *Bill of Rights*.[1] It must be remembered that the English constitution does not consist of a single written law, such as our national Constitution, but is made up of a series of important documents, statutes, and customs. Of these documents three are more important than others, Magna Carta,[1] 1215 A.D., the Petition of Right, 1628 A.D. (§ 28), and the Bill of Rights, 1689.

---

[1] The Bill of Rights is a declaration of principles rather than a series of laws. It declared what ought to be rather than what is. It declared illegal the suspending or dispensing with laws, the raising of revenue or the keeping of troops without the consent of Parliament, and the denial of the right of petition. It favored free elections to Parliament, free speech in Parliament, frequent meetings of Parliament, free trials, and lighter fines. It recognized William and Mary as monarchs, to be followed by Anne, another Protestant daughter of James II.

The government of the aristocracy through Parliament (1688–1832).

38. Importance of the Revolution of 1688. — The Revolution of 1688 marks the end of royal absolutism in England. Since 1688 the English king has reigned rather than governed; *Parliament has been the real governing power.* In other words, England in 1688 abandoned the absolutism which continued on the Continent of Europe for at least a century longer and which still exists to a large extent in Germany. She became a constitutional monarchy, not a democracy. Since that time Parliament has governed the country, but Parliament, in turn, was controlled for a century and a half by the English aristocracy, usually the Whig aristocracy. The members of the House of Lords were aristocrats, and they controlled the election of members of the House of Commons most of the time until the Reform Act of 1832.

Civil liberty but not political liberty gained in 1688.

39. Influence of the Revolution of 1688 on Individual Liberty. — The Revolution of 1688 had an important effect upon individual liberty in England. It has been the boast of Englishmen that the English needed only to *retain* liberty, whereas other peoples were obliged to *acquire* it after a long struggle; yet during the seventeenth century the average Englishman was not free in the twentieth century sense. He did not have the right to vote, nor did he acquire that privilege until comparatively recent years; but, through the Revolution of 1688, he did obtain many personal or civil rights which he had not enjoyed before.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 590.

Civil rights that were granted to Englishmen only.

He obtained the right of petition, the right of free speech, and the right of free press. Religious toleration was granted to all Protestants. The privileges of jury trial and the writ of Habeas Corpus were of real value after 1688, since the king no longer interfered with the judges and the courts.[1]

Parliamentary control of succession to the throne and its own elections.

40. The Supremacy of Parliament. — The most important result of the Revolution of 1688, namely, the supremacy of Parliament over the king, was shown in several ways and in several laws. First of all, Parliament destroyed the doctrine of "divine right" by deciding in 1689, and again in 1701, who should occupy the throne of England. Parliament provided for new elections of members at least every three years; now elections

THE OLD PARLIAMENT HOUSE

---

[1] Strangely enough, these rights were not granted to Scotchmen or Irishmen, nor were they given to American colonists, with the exception of religious toleration to Protestants; but the fact that these rights thereafter were "rights of Englishmen," and that the American colonists had a good English precedent which they were not slow to follow, is of importance in the constitutional development of America as well as of England.

may be five years apart. Judges were to hold office during good behavior, unless removed by Parliament.

Complete control by Parliament of both sword and purse.

Parliament not only controlled the raising of revenue, but it decided the purposes for which that money should be spent. Before 1688, the kings had used as they pleased the money raised by themselves or appropriated for them by Parliament. Since the Revolution, money for their use has been granted in a Civil List which specifies the objects for which expenditures shall be made. By the Mutiny Act the king could keep troops only one year without the full support of Parliament. With the control of both the purse and the sword, Parliament was unquestionably supreme over the king. It later developed the cabinet system of government (§ 42) as a means of ruling the kingdom.

William and Anne and their ministers.

41. The Last Stuart Reigns. — William of Orange had been for years (§ 58) the leader of the Protestant coalition against the aggressions of Louis XIV along the Rhine. He was tactless and preferred Dutch ways and councils to Englishmen and English methods. William III was not in favor of constitutional government, but he found that by selecting ministers who were acceptable to the majority of the members of the House of Commons, he could rule better, and get more of the things that he wanted. His successor was still more careful to select ministers who were in favor with Parliament.[1] By the act of succession in 1701, Anne, sister of Mary, was designated to succeed William, and at her death, if she left no heirs, the throne was to pass to Sophia, the Electress of Hanover, and granddaughter of James I, or her heirs.

---

[1] In 1707, Queen Anne vetoed a bill. Since that time the veto has not been exercised by the English sovereign because the monarch chooses his ministers from the party which has the majority in the House of Commons and accepts any legislation which they consider wise.

ngland nd Scot- and.

The reigns of William III and of Anne were marked by the foreign wars ending in the treaties of Rys'wick and U'trecht (§ 59), and by several important constitutional changes in addition to the beginning of the cabinet just noted. In 1707 England and Scotland were really united in the *United Kingdom of Great Britain.* The Scotch people vigorously opposed for many years this union in which their national identity seemed to be lost, but *the union brought to Scotland numerous gains.* A stimulus was given to trade, as Scotch manufactures could now be marketed profitably in the English market, and Scotch ships were included under the Navigation Law of 1660. Not the least of the gains was the abolition of the Scotch Parliament, which had grown in previous years into an exceedingly unrepresentative and corrupt body of nobles. Scotland was fairly well represented in both the House of Lords and the House of Commons; Parliament therefore ceased to be English and became British.

evelop- ent under he minis- ries of Sir obert Valpole.

42. Development of Cabinet Government. — George I and George II were mature men before the death of Anne brought the House of Hanover to the English throne.[1] In consequence, they remained German so long as they lived, George I not even troubling himself to learn the English language. Since they had been made English kings by the Whig party, they put their trust absolutely in the Whig leaders. The most important of these was the prime minister from 1721 to 1742, Sir Robert Walpole. When Walpole came into power, the cabinet system of English government was incompletely organized. During his rule that system was further developed, since Walpole selected his own ministers and dominated the policy of the cabinet and ministry. Although the ministry was then, as it is to-day, nominally made up of the king's advisers, Walpole selected his colleagues from those who enjoyed the support and sympathy of the House of Commons. When the cabinet as a whole lost that support, the ministry resigned.

---

[1] George I ruled from 1714 to 1727, George II from 1727 to 1760, and George III (§ 328) from 1760 to 1820. The ablest ministers of these men were Walpole, the Earl of Chat'ham (William Pitt the elder), and William Pitt the younger (§ 328).

Sir Robert Walpole

Unrepresentative and corrupt government before 1760.

It must not be supposed, that because the House of Commons was the more popular branch of the English Parliament, and because *the ministry was chiefly responsible to the House of Commons*, it represented the English nation, for it did not until long after this time (§ 345). In the first place, only a few privileged persons were allowed to vote, and secondly, the boroughs which returned men to Parliament were in some cases old towns which had lost most of their inhabitants. Many of these boroughs, moreover, were controlled by some lord or noble who owned most or all of the land in the vicinity. Finally, the nobles who supported Walpole were kept subject to the prime minister by gifts of offices, pensions, and numerous other forms of bribery. So prominent, in fact, was this political corruption of members of

Parliament by Walpole, and later by George III, that the members of our constitutional convention in 1787 spent a quarter of their time discussing ways and means of keeping the executive department from corrupting the legislature and the legislature in turn from dominating the executive.

How the government tried to help business.

43. Business and Finance. — Since the Whig aristocracy included many large landowners and important merchants of England, business was encouraged by the government during most of this period. We shall note (§§ 83–87) some of the measures taken against the French in connection with trade, particularly in the West Indies. In order to help *English manufacturing*, export duties were removed from 136 manufactured articles, and import duties were abolished for a large number of raw materials. In order *to discourage smuggling*, Walpole attempted to levy an internal tax upon the consumption of liquors, in place of an import duty upon liquors brought into the country; but he was forced to repeal this measure because excise taxes were as unpopular as smuggling was popular. Walpole did succeed, however, in reorganizing the finances and in keeping down expenses by avoiding foreign wars.

Banking, new uses of credit, and speculation.

In 1694 the Bank of England was established. This gave the country a stable paper currency and showed the advantages of using credit in the development of business. Unfortunately, the abuse of credit led to many get-rich-quick schemes.[1] The mania for speculation was so absurd that enormous sums were paid for the stock of the South Sea Company, which was expecting to establish colonies, mine precious metals, and make fortunes. In fact, it never did any real business. When people realized that these ventures were purely speculative, the *South Sea bubble* burst, many fortunes were lost, and few were made except by the promoters.

---

[1] At this time, it was thought that immense fortunes could be made in colonization schemes. Consequently companies were formed for the purpose of exploiting the commerce of distant lands. The most important of these schemes was that tried by the Da-ri-en′ Company, which sought to make money by establishing a commercial colony on the Isthmus of Darien, or Panama, near the location of our present canal. Another adventure far more ambitious was that of the South Sea Company.

Commercial wars of the eighteenth century.

The commercial wars of the eighteenth century were the direct outgrowth of the attempt to use government influence to develop colonies, manufacturing, and trade. The story of the commercial rivalry, first, between England and Holland, and afterwards between England and France, is told in Chapter IV.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND, EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Expansion of the English capital.

44. London. — About one tenth of all the people of England resided in London, although there was no other town in the country which contained 30,000 inhabitants. London was an important seaport, the quays near the Tower being thronged with vessels from every quarter of the globe. Since the Middle Ages, the city had grown considerably to the north and west, so that Westminster, which in the days of the Edwards was a long way beyond the walls, was well within the city limits in the reign of Queen Anne. The palace of the Queen, since the days of Henry VIII the town residence of the English monarch, was at St. James, which was beyond Westminster; to-day St. James is in the heart of London. There was still but one bridge across the Thames, known as London bridge.

London streets.

In the time of Queen Anne, the streets of London were not much better than they had been in the Feudal Age. They were unpaved and not very broad. A row of posts separated the unpaved sidewalk from the dust or mud of the highway.[1] Ladies naturally were allowed the inside of the sidewalk because of the danger to dress from the mud of the streets or dripping water from spouts which extended from the roofs of shops out towards the gutters. In case of showers, however, every one hastened for shelter, for only those callous to ridicule carried the umbrellas which had come into use a few years before. At night, the streets were almost as unsafe [2] as they had been in the Middle Ages.

Use of the coffee house.

45. The Coffee Houses in Addison's Time. — Attired in the elaborate costume of the young dandy, the society man of Queen Anne's day repaired at his leisure [3] to one of the coffee houses, of which there were from two to three thousand in London. One gained entrance by the payment of one penny (1*d.*). Coffee was served for 1*d.* or 1½*d.* per cup. Here society men met their friends and discussed the latest gossip; here amateur politicians aired their views to all who would listen and debated the latest news from France, or from the army in Germany; here such writers as Addison, Steele, and their friends, or, later, Dr. Johnson, enjoyed the society of other litterateurs.

Some famous coffee houses.

The coffee houses of Addison's time have been much advertised in literature. At Button's, the open mouth of a lion's head was used by Addison and his associates as a post office for the exchange of letters; Child's in

---

[1] When coaches were driven recklessly, as they frequently were, through the heaps of refuse and puddles of the thoroughfare, the passersby fought for the inner side of the sidewalk. In the phrase of the day, every one wanted to "take the wall," for the walled gardens frequently faced the street. In the reign of the first Georges, it became a law and a rule for the person on the right to have "right of way."

[2] E. E. C., § 553.

[3] The day of the social favorite did not begin very early, since he was not often home before midnight. Before noon, he and his wife might entertain their friends in their chamber, the wife having breakfasted but not yet risen. The dinner hour, which had been at two before the Revolution of 1688, became later and later, first three and then four.

St. Paul's Churchyard was famous as the resort of doctors, ministers, and other scholars; on the Strand was the Turk's Head Coffee House frequented by Dr. Johnson. St. James was even more celebrated, and was later patronized by Goldsmith, and Burke, among others.[1]

Newspapers and pamphlets after the Revolution of 1688.

46. Newspapers and the Post. — When freedom of the press was established by the Revolution of 1688, a great impetus was given to the publication of pamphlets. The first English newspaper, *The Daily Courant*, was started the week that Anne was crowned (1702). Most of the papers, however, were printed but three times a week. They were tiny affairs, about the size of a lady's handkerchief, and frequently were printed on one side only. Some of them sold for a half penny or a farthing a copy. All contained far more scandal than news, so that the government in 1712 placed a stamp tax on all newspapers. This ruined some of the papers but did not stop the evils.

Private and public post offices.

Under the later Stuarts, the government had given some attention to the carrying of the mails, but the posts were irregular and expensive. During the reign of Charles II, a private organization established a penny post. If a letter, or package under a pound in weight, was sent by a person in London to another in that city, the sender paid a penny postage. If the letter or package went outside the city, the receiver paid an additional penny. Later the government stopped the penny post and established uniform rates of 3*d*. for a single sheet sent eighty miles or less, 4*d.* for one sent in England for a longer distance, and 6*d.* for a single sheet to the colonies.

---

[1] Some of the coffee houses were business places, where coffee was sold. Jonathan's devoted itself to stock jobbing. At Lloyd's in Lombard street, the Wall street of London, one could take out marine insurance and learn the latest news regarding the arrival or sailing of vessels. Lloyd's is no longer in Lombard street, but the company will now insure anything and everything insurable. Even Lloyd's, however, drew the line at London plate-glass windows during the suffragette outbreaks a few years ago. Of the five chocolate houses in London, one, White's, was particularly famous, making a specialty of gambling.

Artificial nature of the literature of the period.

47. The Augustan Age of English Literature. — The period following the Restoration was noted for its literature as well as its newspapers. Very properly it is called the Augustan Age, because, as in the days of Augustus, the monarch and those high in esteem at court helped authors and patronized literature. Unlike the Elizabethan Age, this period produced no original writers or thinkers. The poets and essayists of Queen Anne's time devoted their attention less to thought than to style. Like the elegant courtiers of the day, they were concerned chiefly with manners; not with ideas but with their expression.

Some prominent writers.

Alexander *Pope* expresses best the ideals of his time. His style, like that of John Dryden, a poet of the time of Charles II, is highly artificial, but his balanced couplets have charm and awaken in the hearer admiration for the way in which the thoughts are expressed. Joseph *Addison* is at his best as an essayist, especially in that mirror of the times, *The Spectator*, which was published daily. Jonathan *Swift* excels in satire, to which a life of misfortune lent bitterness.[1]

Beginnings of the English novel.

Somewhat later than this group of writers appeared the first English novelists. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) may be said to be the earliest English novel, but the development of fiction was the work of Samuel Richardson and Henry Fielding.

---

[1] Dr. Samuel *Johnson* is remembered best by his great dictionary of the English language. After 1715 the government had ceased to aid literature, as both George I and his minister, Walpole, had little interest in letters. Many wealthy men, however, continued to patronize authors to some extent. Dr. Johnson, after struggling several years without help, found that his patron, Lord Chesterfield, whose manners have ever since been considered ideal, was willing to aid him as soon as the publication of the Dictionary was assured. Naturally Johnson was indignant and wrote, asking if a patron was not like a person who stands on a bank watching a man struggling in the water and when he reaches the shore *encumbers him with his help.*

48. Travel and Country Estates. — English roads in the early eighteenth century were very bad. Many of them were almost impassable on account of mud in the spring and dust in the summer. Turnpikes were coming into use between important towns, but usually they were little better than the older parish roads. One royal prince, on a visit to England, spent six hours traveling nine miles; on another stage of his journey he sat almost all day in his stalled coach.

Poor condition of the English roads.

THE QUADRANGLE, SOMERSET HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

As the more traveled highways were improved, regular coach service was established. Near London, possibly the trips were daily, but more often they were twice or three times a week. On most roads there were inns, which were usually clean and well kept. The lower floor consisted, as a rule, of only two rooms, a parlor and a kitchen.[1]

Beginnings of regular coach service.

---

[1] After Queen Anne went to Bath early in her reign, that became the favorite social health resort. Under the strict rule of Beau Nash, Bath

New squires and old.

Besides the old-fashioned squire mentioned in section 9, there was another type of squire with whom we are much better acquainted through the pages of *The Spectator*, and who is typified by Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley. Sir Roger is, like the English squire of to-day, a careful landlord, a justice in the local court, a man accustomed to travel, spending a few weeks in season in London, and possibly attending the horse races at Ascot Park.

The food of the common people.

49. Food, Manners, and Pastimes. — The standard of living in England had been improved somewhat since the days of Elizabeth. Few new foods had been introduced and there had not been many improvements in agriculture, yet in the middle of the eighteenth century one writer reports that half the people ate wheat bread, the rest still being content with cakes of barley, rye, or oats. This is the more remarkable because the *price* of wheat then was about the same as it was before the Great War, although wages were less than one third what they are to-day. Meat was relatively cheaper than wheat, as it could be purchased for from five cents to fifteen cents a pound. In Ireland meat was less than two cents per pound. The English housewives and cooks did not know how to make good use of materials. Soups were almost unknown, and complaint was made that a Dutch family lived in comparative comfort on nine shillings ($2.17) a week, whereas an English family had less on a weekly income of twenty shillings ($4.86).

Lack of refinement.

Manners at table and elsewhere were unrefined. One book of etiquette stated that well-bred people did not wipe their knives and forks on bread or the table-cloth,

---

prospered, the manners of the people improved, and the nobility was properly entertained. Tunbridge Wells and Epsom attracted some visitors. Those who could afford to do so and were interested in travel took the "grand tour" through the Continent of Europe.

but on their napkins. Readers were urged not to pick their teeth at table with a knife or fork.[1]

Dances and places of amusement.

The theaters were favorite places of amusement, the plays often being exceedingly coarse. Lotteries were common, and gambling was sport practiced by every gentleman. London had its Vauxhall for celebrations and fairs, which were copied in every provincial town. The stately minuet was given by people of standing, but the commoner folk found more enjoyment in the reel and the country dance. In later decades, foreign fashions and dances were imported by the dandies known as "macaronis," a name which *Yankee Doodle* shows was used also in America.

CARICATURE OF A MACARONI

Increase in drunkenness.

50. Intemperance. — The early eighteenth century was notorious for its intemperance. In all earlier ages, the people had drunk immense quantities of beer and ale, but often this had been but half fermented and was therefore almost as much a food as a liquor. From the Dutch and other people of the Continent, the English had acquired a taste for stronger liquor. At this time, one third of the cultivated land of England was planted to barley, chiefly used in making malt drinks. The *total consumption* was about two and one half barrels per capita. As the children probably consumed less than their share, the average for each adult must have been at least three barrels.

One of the important disputes connected with the Hundred Years' War[2] had been the trade in Bordeaux (Bor-do′)

---

[1] Cf. with E. E. C., § 717.

[2] E. E. C., § 601.

Substitution of port for Bordeaux.

wines between the Ga-ronne′ valley and England. This traffic had continued with some interruptions but with comparatively light taxes until the War of the Spanish Succession (§ 59), when England placed prohibitive duties on Bordeaux wine. Thereafter, French wines were likely to be made "under the sidewalks of London." When the trade in *French wines* was stopped, that with Portugal increased, as Portugal and England were allies against France. For patriotic and other reasons, wealthy Englishmen began to consume large quantities of port.

The curse of gin drinking.

At this time, gin drinking developed into a national habit in the British Isles, and continued so until the outbreak of the Great War. As Lecky says, "Small as is the place which this fact occupies in English history, it was probably, if we consider all the consequences that have flowed from it, the most momentous in that of the eighteenth century — incomparably more than any event in the purely political or military annals of the country."[1]

Periods of religious enthusiasm. Different Protestant sects.

51. Religious Conditions in the Early Eighteenth Century. — We have already noted some of the moral conditions of this age. As we look back over the period from the beginning of the sixteenth century, we note that there seem to have been times of religious enthusiasm followed by times of reaction. This is particularly true of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century the English Dissenters were not numerous, but in the early seventeenth century their numbers increased greatly, and they formed many sects. Besides the *Presbyterians* and *Congregationalists* (Independents) (§ 26), there were some *Universalists* and *Unitarians.* Just before the Civil War (§ 31) English Baptists began to organize churches; Roger Williams founded a *Baptist* community in Rhode Island at the same time.[1] A few years later, George Fox established the Society of Friends, popularly known as *Quakers*. They were sincere believers in the importance of conscience and the equality of all persons. Many Quakers came to the middle colonies, especially after William Penn founded Pennsylvania.

---

[1] Lecky, *England in the XVIII Century*, I, 519.

Puritan strictness and the reaction against it.

The moral standards of the decade preceding the Restoration were not so much those of the English people as they were the standards of the Puritan faction in control of the government. Exceedingly strict observance of the Sabbath, excessive piety, and the prohibition of sports were characteristic of Puritan rule under the Commonwealth. Under the later Stuarts, there was a decided reaction against Puritanism and all its works, although the English nation did not go to the extreme affected by the court and many nobles.

Irreligion and indifference in the early eighteenth century.

With the advent of the eighteenth century, there was a greater rebellion against Puritanism. People considered religion as a more practical subject than formerly and in time grew indifferent. With the coarseness of the tastes and amusements of the time, this practical view of religion soon degenerated into positive irreligion and various forms of immorality. Particularly was this true in the mining, manufacturing, and seacoast towns where the Dissenters had comparatively little influence and the established church was losing all real hold on the people. This condition of the Church of England was due largely to the fact that many younger sons of the nobility went into the church even if they cared nothing for religion, and appointments of clergymen were made with little regard for religious qualifications. Parsons were selected because they were good fellows rather than because they were good clergymen.

---

[1] The Baptists believed in religious toleration, and, in the case of Williams, in religious liberty. They insisted on immersion as the only correct form of baptism.

Work of Wesley and Whitefield among miners, fishermen, and others.

52. The Rise of Methodism. — The times were ripe for a new religious movement, when, about 1730, a group of earnest and pious young college men, nicknamed by their fellows the Methodists, set for themselves higher ideals of living and thinking. By a strong emotional appeal to the hearts of their hearers, by preaching a gospel of deeper faith and better living, they gained in the worst communities a strong hold on the people, especially of the poorer class in seacoast and mining towns. The leader of this movement was a man of great organizing ability, John Wesley. Repeatedly, Wesley's life was endangered by the mobs which tried to prevent his preaching. With rare courage and real skill, he escaped the vengeance of the mob, and by his sincerity he made many friends. He was ably assisted by a famous orator, George Whitefield, who swayed large audiences.

Organization of a Methodist church

Wesley and Whitefield quickly lost the sympathy of the established clergy, who disapproved of the informality of their services and of the methods which they used for making converts. In time Wesley was refused the right to preach in regular Anglican chapels. Eventually Methodism was established as a separate religious body; it erected church buildings and also attracted to its membership a different class from that to which originally it made its strongest appeal.

The early Stuarts and Parliament (1603–1629).

53. Summary. — When Elizabeth died, James of Scotland became the first Stuart king (1603–1625). He tried to rule by "divine right," opposing the suggestions of the Puritans for simpler church services and refusing concessions to Parliament except in exchange for supplies. Charles I (1625–1649) was more attractive than his father but no more wise in dealing with Parliament. In 1628 Parliament forced Charles to sign the Petition of

Right which restricted his rights as king. Charles managed without Parliament for eleven years, establishing a uniform high church, levying taxes under the guise of ship money, and trying to force the English church service on the Scotch. This policy caused, first, the great migration to New England, and, later, the opposition of Parliament to the king.

The Puritan Revolution and the Restoration.

In the Long Parliament, the ministers and methods of Charles were attacked. In 1642 the Civil War began, in which the roundheads were completely victorious over the cavaliers. Charles was beheaded as a traitor, and a Commonwealth was declared. Under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, Cromwell ruled strictly but wisely. In 1660 the Restoration occurred. Charles II (1660–1685) became king, and most of the Puritan laws were repealed. Charles tried to rule absolutely. James II (1685–1688) suspended the laws, adopted other absolute methods, and was very unpopular.

Constitutional government.

When a son was born who would be brought up a Catholic, James was forced by the commercial aristocracy and William of Orange to flee from England. The results of this Revolution of 1688 were to make Parliament supreme over the king and to give individuals certain liberties, as speedy trials, freedom of speech, a free press, and religious toleration for all Protestants. New laws provided for the succession to the throne, assured frequent meetings of Parliament, and Parliamentary control of taxation, the army, and other subjects. Still later the House of Commons gained the right to control ministers, or the cabinet. After the Revolution of 1688, Protestant Stuart monarchs ruled England until 1715. In 1707 the personal union of England and Scotland was changed into a United Kingdom of Great Britain. In 1715 George of Hanover became king. Under him and his son, George II, the cabinet system of government already started developed rapidly, especially during the ministries of Walpole, who kept his power partly by bribery in elections and by giving offices to members of Parliament. The era from the Revolution of 1688 to the American Revolutionary War was one of considerable prosperity. New banking and credit methods were introduced, and naturally speculation was rife. English business and foreign commerce developed rapidly.

Social and moral conditions.

England two centuries ago was much more crude than it is to-day. There were no cities besides London larger than 30,000. Streets were badly paved and lighted; country roads were poor. Intemperance was the rule; irreligion a natural reaction against Puritanism. At this time Methodism started, its leaders working especially among the poor and the degraded.

General References

Coman and Kendall, *History of England*, 285–390.
Cheyney, *Short History of England*, 383–558.
Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, 418–590.
Lee, *Source Book of English History*, 333–455.
Kendall, *Source Book of English History*, 209–320.
Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution.*
Beard (ed.), *Introduction to the English Historians*, 331–491.
Gardiner, *Student's History of England*, 481–701.
Terry, *History of England*, 618–860.
Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, 427–675.
Smith, *The United Kingdom*, I, 404–650; II, 1–153, 460–734.
Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History*, 385–539, 587–604.
Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne.*
Roscoe, *The English Scene in the Eighteenth Century.*
Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century.*

Topics

CROMWELL: Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution*, 161–191; Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*, especially, 133–134, 174–190; Gardiner, *Cromwell's Place in History.*

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AFTER 1688; Montague, *Elements of English Constitutional History*, 150–152; Medley, *Manual of English Constitutional History*, 434–461, 470–479; Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History*, 587–604.

COFFEE HOUSES IN ADDISON'S TIME: Boynton, *London in English Literature*, 130–138; Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*, 161–179; Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London*, 297–305; Roscoe, *The English Scene in the Eighteenth Century*, 34–41.

THE CABINET: Montague, *Elements of English Constitutional History*, 163–173; Macy, *English Constitution*, 338–370; Medley, *English Constitutional History*, 112–120; Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History*, 526–539.

Studies

1. The Hampton Court Conference. Kendall, *Source Book of English History*, 209–211.

2. Grievances under James I. Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, 437–442.

3. Petition of Right. Hill, *Liberty Documents*, 66–77.

4. The Parliamentary crisis of 1629. Beard (ed.), *Introduction to the English Historians*, 347–354.

5. Religious controversy under Charles I. Macy, *English Constitution*, 274–282.

6. The trial of Strafford. Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, 467–472.

7. The art of war during the early seventeenth century. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, IV, 313–333.

8. Trial and execution of the king. Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, 485–491.

9. The great fire in London, 1666. Kendall, *Source Book of English History*, 270–274.

10. Church and State after the Restoration. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, IV, 483–488.

11. The Revolution of 1688. Cheyney, *Short History of England*, 500–513.

12. Taxes and finance after the Revolution of 1688. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V, 156–173.

13. Walpole and his system. Beard (ed.), *Introduction to the English Historians*, 466–477.

14. The Streets of London. Sydney, *England and the English in the XVIII Century*, I, 9–23.

15. John Wesley and Methodism. Beard (ed.), *Introduction to the English Historians*, 478–491.

Questions

1. What was meant by the "divine right" of a king to rule? Why did Parliament object to it? How did the doctrine of divine right affect the making of laws? the enforcement of laws? the collection of revenue?

2. Trace the rise of the Puritans. Show the differences between the different parties. What do we in America owe to Puritanism?

3. Give provisions of the Petition of Right. How did Charles raise revenue: before 1628; after 1628? Show how Laud's church policy, ship money, and proposed church changes in Scotland brought on a rebellion. Why was New England settled after 1629 and not at some other time?

4. What was the Long Parliament? What did it do? Describe Puritan rule under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate.

5. Why is the Restoration (1660) important in English history? Show how the government after 1660 changed its colonial policy, how it reflected the wishes of the people more than before, and how it did more for the commercial classes.

6. State the causes of the Revolution of 1688, the chief events, and the two general results.

7. Name and discuss at least three ways in which Parliament was supreme over the king after 1688; three respects in which people had more rights.

8. In the period before 1685 trace briefly the growth of Parliament. Notice what powers were gained by it as a result of the Revolution of 1688. Show why and how cabinet government was developed in England to a large extent before 1760.

9. What is a commercial bank like? Why does it help a government administer its finances, and how does it help business? If *credit* is so valuable, why were the South Sea Bubble and other radical credit schemes disastrous? Do the commercial wars between England and Holland and England and France prove that the English people rather than the government were interested in extending English business and trade?

10. Write an account of an imaginary visit to London in the age of Queen Anne. (Include something on travel, inns, and food, as well as on the streets, buildings, and coffee houses of the city.)

11. Compare the size of eighteenth century newspapers and the rates for sending newspapers or letters by post, with modern American newspapers and corresponding postal rates of the present time. Name at least three writers of that day; give a title of some book or poem of each, and describe at least one piece of literature.

12. Give some idea of intemperance in England two centuries ago, taking into account the difference between distilled spirits, wines, and fermented liquors.

13. What Protestant sects developed in the sixteenth century; which in the seventeenth and which later? Give some reasons for the lack of piety in the century following the Puritan Revolution in England. To what extent did Wesley and the early Methodists meet a real need?

The boy stood on the
burning deck
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

CHAPTER III

ABSOLUTISM ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

Long but unprofitable reign of Louis XIV.

54. General Character of Louis' Reign. — A year after the death of Richelieu,[1] Louis XIV, a lad of five years, became king of France. His reign of nearly three quarters of a century (1643–1715) is famous in the annals of courts and of wars. It will always stand as the most perfect type of absolutism; "but despite all its real and not inconsiderable success the reign was, in the larger sight of history, a reign of deceiving ambitions and profound failure."[2]

Ambitions and policy of Louis XIV.

During the boyhood of the king, the real ruler of France was the Italian, *Maz-a-rin′*, a cardinal who tried to carry out the policies of Richelieu. With the death of Mazarin, Louis became king in fact. The character of his rule is indicated in that often-quoted phrase, which Louis himself probably never used, "I am the State." To govern absolutely, to enlarge the boundaries of France, to be the center of the most distinguished court in Europe, to be the most prominent figure in world politics — these were the ambitions of Louis XIV.

Importance of Louis XIV's court.

55. Extravagance of Louis' Court. — Louis spent vast sums on his court. He erected at Ver-sailles′ a magnificent new palace which cost more than a hundred million dollars. This was the first truly royal palace of the French kings. To *Louis' court at Versailles* flocked all of the nobles of France.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 703.

[2] Adams, *Growth of the French Nation.*

The highest honor which a man of good birth could obtain was a position at court, for no burgher, however successful, was allowed a share in the festivities at Versailles. There was no disgrace so keen for a prominent noble as exclusion from the presence of the king. To accept Louis' favor at Versailles meant that the noble had absolutely surrendered not only his rights to rule as a feudal lord but his right to think for himself and to criticize the king. By this means Louis "imposed on the high nobility a gilded captivity." Political feudalism could make no stand against an absolutism supported by such prestige and splendor.

General View, Palace of Versailles

Influence of the French court and methods abroad.

This court was copied by all other ambitious monarchs. French became the language of diplomats. French methods of dress and of palace decoration, French ceremonials, and French literature became the fashion. Louis XIV's international as well as national preëminence was, in a real sense, that of an autocratic social leader.

Financial reforms a paternalism of Colbert.

56. Colbert. — The genius of Col-bert′, an expert financier and economist, was taxed to pay for the extravagances of the court and the heavy expenses of Louis' wars. He doubled the revenues of the king without adding to the taxes paid by the people. Colbert, however, was more than a minister of finance; he was the foremost advocate of mercantilism.[1] Being anxious to build up the manufactures of France, he created a series of protective tariffs which practically excluded from France all foreign manufactured articles that competed with French manufactures. By this protection Colbert built up many new industries, such as silk spinning and weaving. He also secured laws which regulated the making of many articles.[2]

COLBERT

Objections to paternalism in France under Louis XIV.

Such a system is called *paternalism*, for it looks after the people with the care that a father might show. So much supervision might have been helpful, if the old rules of the trade gilds had not still been in force in France, and if trade had not been restricted by the medieval systems of tolls. What France needed was more freedom rather than more regulation.

The loss to France of many skilled Huguenot workers.

57. Economic Effects of Revoking the Edict of Nantes (1685). — Soon after the death of Colbert, Louis XIV, influenced no doubt by his favorite, Madame de Maintenon, began to persecute the Huguenots. In the homes of those that refused to renounce their religion were quartered dragoons, who were allowed many excesses. In 1685 he revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which religious toleration had been granted to the Huguenots by Henry IV, the first Bour′bon king of France. The Huguenots, hard-working, industrious, and prosperous, were no longer permitted to hold religious services; yet they were forbidden to leave France. In spite of that prohibition, many did leave the country, carrying their skill and their thrift to Holland, Prussia, England, or America. Their emigration was a great economic loss to France.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 727.

[2] Colbert succeeded in lowering the price of wheat to consumers, but that caused many farmers to raise other crops. Under him manufactures, which formerly had been mere imitations of Italian or Flemish goods, became superior to the originals. Chief among these were laces, tapestries, gold-embroidered cloths, carpets, porcelains, and fine glass.

Louis XIV

Belgian and Dutch wars.

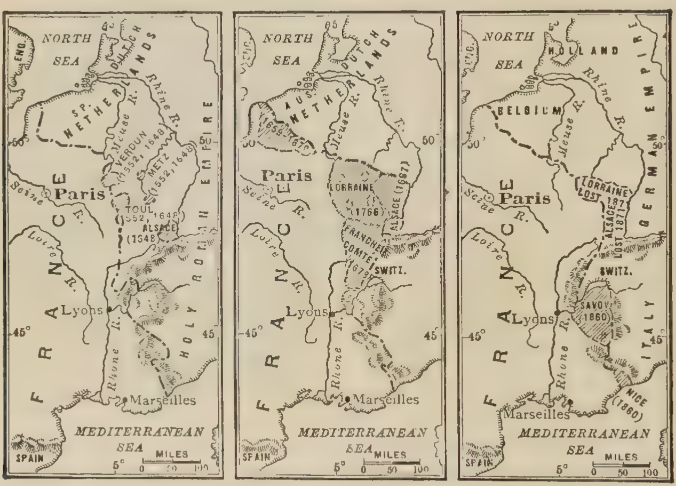
58. Wars of Louis XIV for New Eastern Boundaries. — Louis XIV wished to protect Paris,[1] which is only 110 miles from the northeastern boundary of France. He also desired new territories in the valley of the Rhine River. He tried first to seize certain districts claimed by his wife in the Spanish or *Belgian Netherlands.* He was victorious until the Dutch formed against him a successful coalition of several countries. Later, Louis made war upon the *Dutch.* Under the leadership of their new Stadtholder, William of Orange, the Dutch formed a new coalition against Louis and won the war, which brought Louis more enemies than victories.

---

[1] The nearness of Paris to the northeastern French boundary was an important cause of the German "drive" through Belgium and northeastern France at the beginning of the great European war in 1914 (§ 436), and of later attacks of the German forces (§ 439).

Beginning of the "Second Hundred Years' War" between France and England.

Louis' next move, some ten years later, was to seize the Pa-lat′i-nate along the Rhine.[1] This attempt was made just a few months before James II was driven from the throne of England, when Louis' chief opponent, William of Orange, became king of England as William III.



1648 1789 After 1871

EASTERN BOUNDARIES OF FRANCE.

England was now brought definitely into war with France, and the conflicts between these ancient enemies continued until Napoleon was beaten by Wellington at Waterloo in 1815 (§ 158). It was due to old rivalry and to dynastic jealousies, to competition for trade and foreign markets, but chiefly to a desire for colonial supremacy in America and in India.

---

[1] The War of the Palatinate, known in America as King William's War, ended with the Treaty of Ryswick (1697).

59. The War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713). — Louis XIV was not content to make France larger and more prominent. He persuaded the childless king of Spain, Charles II, to select Louis' younger grandson, Philip, as his heir.[1] Without delay an alliance of several countries, including England and Austria, was formed against Louis. Each ally wished to maintain the "balance of power," which should keep any one country from becoming too powerful. Led by the brilliant but unstable Duke of Marl′borough and by the able Prince Eugene of Savŏy, the forces of the allies won a notable victory over the French army at Blen′heim near the upper Danube (1704). When the triumphant allies sought to invade France, they were unsuccessful, because of a great chain of fortresses built by a French engineer, Vau-ban′. Their victories therefore did them little good.

Causes and events of the war.

Duke of Marlborough

In 1711 the Archduke Charles[2] became emperor of Germany. The allies could no more permit Charles to rule both Spain and Germany than they could allow Philip to

The Treaty of Utrecht (1713).

---

[1] Louis XIV's mother was the granddaughter of Philip II of Spain and his wife had been a Spanish princess. When Louis had received assurance from most European monarchs that they would not object to a Bourbon king on the throne of Spain as well as on that of France, he cried out in exultation, "The Pyrenees are no more."

[2] Austria put forward the Archduke Charles as the claimant of the allies to the Spanish throne. The Spaniards wanted Philip but feared that their country might be absorbed by France.

be king of Spain, with the possibility that he might also become king of France. They agreed, in the Treaty of *Utrecht* (1713), that Philip should be king of Spain on condition that the thrones of France and Spain should never be united.[1]

English gains and French losses.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada represented the first stage in the rise of England as a world power; this war, known in America as Queen Anne's War, marks the second. It left France in a state of exhaustion, hampered by a useless and extravagant court. After the death of Louis XIV in 1715, France no longer enjoyed the prestige and the power that had been hers under the "grand monarque."

THE RISE OF RUSSIA

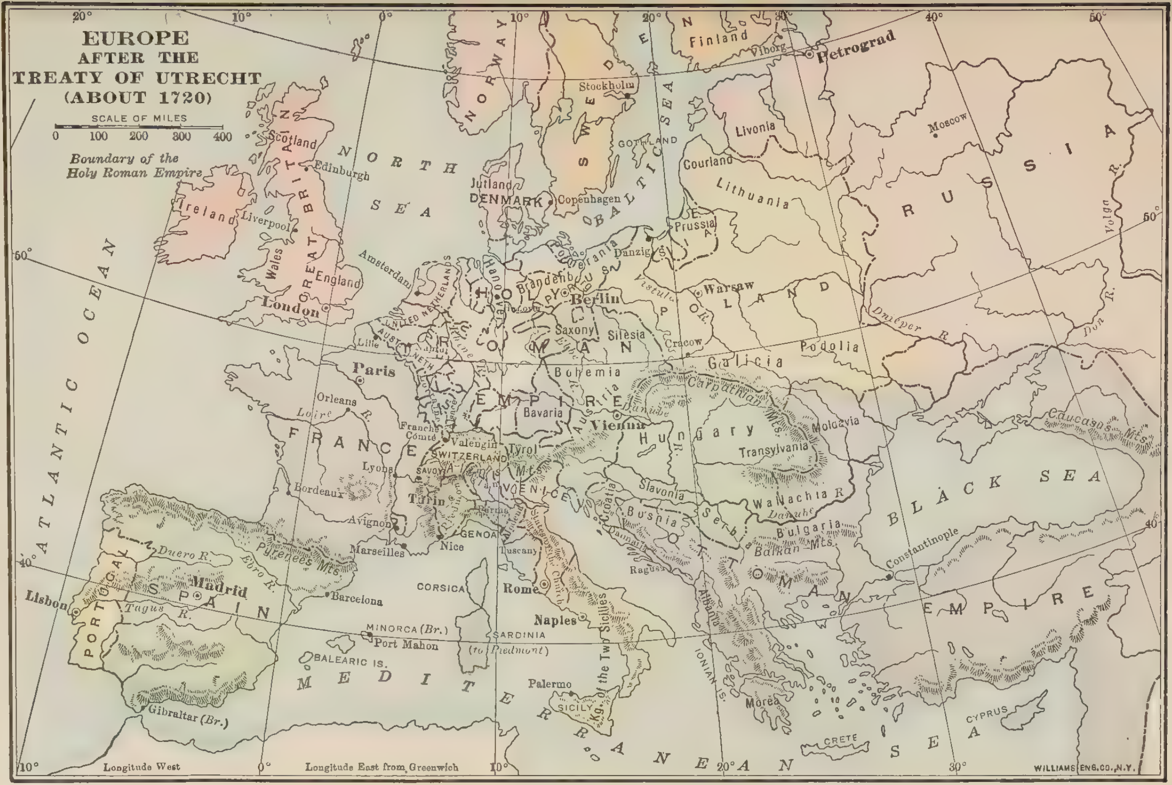
Russia under the rule of Norsemen and Mongols.

60. Russia before Peter the Great. — Under the successors of Ru′rik the Viking[2] the Russians were converted to the Greek Catholic form of Christianity and enjoyed considerable trade with the Byzantine empire. In the thirteenth century the country was overrun by the westernmost of the Mongols or Tartars, called the Golden Horde. To the leaders of the Golden Horde the princes of Russia paid tribute for more than two hundred years. Finally the *princes of Moscow*, having brought all of the neighboring Russian nobles under their sway, revolted against the rule of the Golden Horde. They had little difficulty in gaining their independence, for the day of Mongol supremacy was over, except in China and in India.

---

[1] As a result of treaties made between 1713 and 1721, Austria gained the Belgian Netherlands and Spanish territories in Italy. The house of Savoy acquired Sardinia, the beginning of the present kingdom of Italy. England kept Gibraltar, which she had captured during the war, and secured from France Acadia, all of Newfoundland, and territory around Hudson's Bay in America.

[2] E. E. C., § 463.



EUROPE
AFTER THE
TREATY OF UTRECHT
(ABOUT 1720)

It was a summer
day in winter
The snow was falling
down
The barefoot boy with
shoes on
Stood sitting on the ground

The happiest moment
of my life
Was spent in the
arms of another man's
wife
(My mother)

It was midnight in the
Ocean
Not a streetcar was in
sight
The sun was shining brightly
and it rained all day
That night

The new Russia under Ivan III and Ivan IV.

Under *Ivan the Great* and Ivan the Terrible, contemporaries of the Tudor monarchs, a new Russia arose in eastern Europe. The people were still barbarians and they still clung to Mongol customs. Although they had established a little trade with England through the Mus'co-vy Company, they were essentially an Asiatic people in their ideas, their interests, and their development.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW, RUSSIA

Personality and purposes of Peter.

61. Peter the Great. — The modernizing of Russia was to a great extent the work of Peter the Great. Peter became the sole ruler of Russia in the year 1689, at the beginning of the Second Hundred Years' War between France and England. He was a man of extraordinary personality and a hard worker. Though possessed with a determination to make Russia a European country, Peter was in many respects a barbarian to the day of his death.

Western experience and absolutism.

In order to understand western civilization Peter spent two years in Germany, Holland, and England, working as a common ship carpenter in Holland and studying everything with untiring interest and zeal. He tried to absorb European culture and civilization in order that he might know through experience what his people should have.

Peter the Great

Customs changed by Peter.

62. Reforms of Peter the Great. — On his return from the West, Peter persuaded or forced the Russians to *adopt many European customs.* In place of the long cloaks, he insisted that the people wear the short trousers and the hats in use in western Europe. He placed a heavy tax on beards. When many of the nobles sought to keep their patriarchal beards, it is said that he stood at a gate of Moscow and with his own hands cut off the offensive ornaments.

Economic, religious, and educational changes.

Peter brought to Russia thousands of able and skillful foreigners to teach his people. He tried to establish workshops or factories like those in the West and to build up trade with Holland and England. Many religious reforms were introduced that won him the dislike of some pious people at home and abroad. He established *schools* of an eminently practical character — engineering schools or business colleges rather than classical schools. He encouraged his subjects to read, to translate, and to print European books on history, agriculture, economics, and other subjects which would help them to understand European civilization.[1]

Opposition to Peter of the nobles and of his son Alexis.

Peter did not succeed perfectly, for the Russians really believed their proverb "novelty brings calamity," yet he hastened the Europeanization of Russia. To prevent the undoing of his work, in 1718 Peter caused the death of his son A-lex′is by torture, because Alexis stood for the "old order" and opposed the innovations of his father.

Russia's desire for seacoast and conflict with Sweden for the Baltic.

63. Expansion of Russia. — Inasmuch as Russia grew out of the principality of Moscow, she has always been an *inland country*, and a great deal of her history consists of attempts to gain seacoast. Large as she is to-day, Russia has very little valuable seacoast which brings her into close contact with the outside world. Although all of the Ro′ma-noffs[2] have felt the great need of desirable sea outlets, Peter the Great realized that need more than any other. The opportunity seemed to come to Russia when the king of Sweden died in 1697, leaving a son, Charles XII, only fifteen years of age. For a century *Sweden* had been the great power of the North, and her possessions around the Baltic kept other countries away from that sea. At first Charles defeated all of his enemies by his brilliant strategy, but his successes turned his head, and in the end he was completely beaten by Peter.

Russian struggle for Black Sea coast and for Constantinople.

In the north, on the Neva River, Peter founded a new capital, facing the West and in touch with western civilization. This was *Petrograd*, for two centuries called St. Petersburg. Peter also tried to gain a foothold on the Black Sea, but in this he was unsuccessful. The desire to gain an outlet from the Black Sea via Constantinople aroused the antagonism first of England and France, and later of Germany, so that *the struggle for Constantinople* has been an important feature of international diplomacy during the last century.

---

[1] Peter did not allow women to be kept in their former oriental seclusion, but urged them to appear in public without veils and in open litters. He insisted that engaged couples should be allowed to see each other, and to break off the engagement if they did not desire to marry.

[2] In 1613 a Russian noble, Michael *Romanoff*, became tsar. His descendants occupied the Russian throne until 1917 (§ 325). They are called Romanoffs.

Russia in Siberia and in Central Asia.

Before Peter's time traders and merchants had crossed the plains of *Siberia*. Like the French traders and explorers who at this time were gaining the Mississippi Valley for France, and the Hudson's Bay Company trappers who were securing British America for England, even in Peter's day the merchants of Russia carried her rule to the Pacific. A few years later, Bering's explorations brought Russians to Alaska, which later (1867) was sold to the United States. In the nineteenth century other lands were added in central Asia and on the Pacific coast near Japan. Trade was an important factor in the making of the Russian empire as well as in the formation of the British empire.

Catherine favored reform but accomplished little.

64. Catherine II of Russia. — The ruler of Russia from 1760 to 1796 was Catherine II. Catherine was a German princess who came to the throne after the sudden death of her husband, the tsar. She was a woman of considerable charm, but was ambitious and unscrupulous. Catherine attempted to carry on the work of Peter the Great in making Russia a leading European power. She really wished to introduce in Russia reforms by which laws should be improved[1] and justice should be given to all, a larger share in government should be extended to the people, and serfdom should be abolished. She tried to establish national schools taught exclusively by Russian teachers. Actually she accomplished very little, for at the end of her reign the serf was worse off than he had been at the beginning, and the people had gained only the forms of self-government.

---

[1] Catherine called a great commission to codify the laws. To the commission she asserted that the nation is not made for the sovereign but the sovereign for the nation. Equality consists in the obedience of the citizens to the law alone; liberty is the right to do everything not forbidden by law. War interfered with the completion of the code.

Catherine extended the territory of Russia.

Catherine was more in earnest, and more successful, in her foreign plans. *She seized territory* on the Black Sea and thus gained an outlet for Russian commerce through the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. She gained Baltic lands that gave Russia a seacoast on the northwest as well as on the south. Finally, with the coöperation of Prussia and Austria, she gained half of Poland.

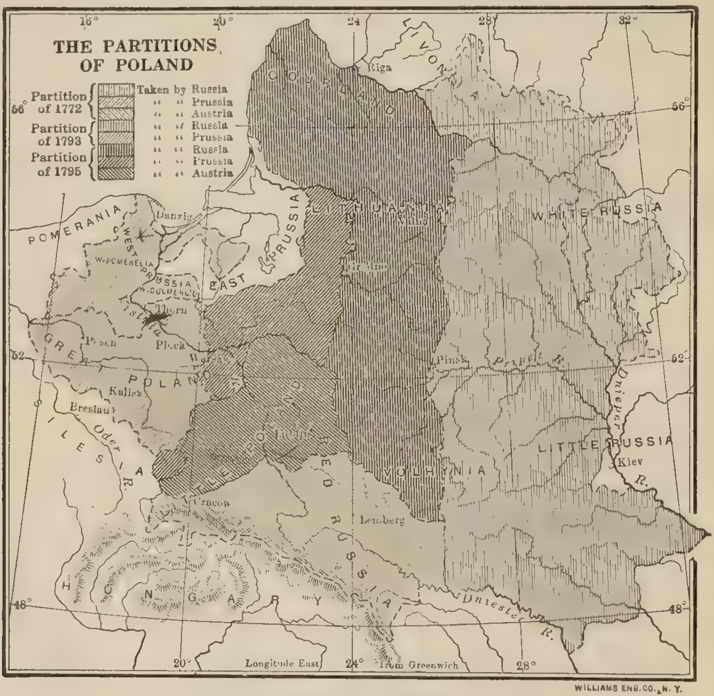
Disorganization, disorder, and former greatness of Poland.

65. The Partitions of Poland. — In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were two European countries whose governments were badly disorganized and which in consequence were a prey to their neighbors' cupidity. These two were Germany and Poland. As we have seen, the Rhine states of the Holy Roman Empire had not been able to protect themselves against Louis XIV, although the empire included the two powerful monarchies of Prussia and Austria. Poland, on the other hand, was an undeveloped country, backward in almost every respect and *misruled by a large body of nobles*, under the nominal leadership of a king. In the days of Queen Elizabeth, there had been reason to think that Poland might become one of the great powers of Europe. Her own people had begun to unite, she had acquired the "Baltic provinces" almost to the Gulf of Finland, and in 1569 she had almost doubled her territory by absorbing, on equal terms, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Just at that crisis her king died without an heir and the Polish nobles never gave the people a chance to become a united nation. So undependable was the government that in the last half of the seventeenth century the annual diet of the nobles had broken up in disorder every year but four.

Poland therefore fell an easy prey to the greed of her neighbors, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. In 1772 each

Division of Poland between Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

annexed a piece of the unfortunate country.[1] This high-handed act called forth much adverse comment from other nations, but none was willing to fight in order to protect the Poles. Later Russia forced Poland to elect her candidate as king, and twice later (1793,[2] 1795) Poland was further divided. Kosc-i-us′ko, who had fought with Washington, bravely tried to defend his country against the robbers, but without success. After 1795, Poland



Partitions of Poland

---

[1] Prussia in 1772 gained West Prussia which joined the old mark of Brandenburg to East Prussia. This annexation was exceedingly valuable in uniting Prussian territories. In the first partition, Austria gained Galicia, where so many battles have been fought in the Great War.

[2] Austria did not share in the second partition of Poland.

no longer existed as a separate country. Later, Russia (§ 171) gained most of the Polish territory that in 1793 and 1795 had been acquired by Prussia and Austria.

The Rise of Prussia

History before 1415.

66. Early History of Brandenburg. — Russia was not the only new power that arose in the eighteenth century, for, under Frederick the Great, the country that we know as Prussia began to play an important part in European politics. *Modern Prussia has grown out of the mark of Bran'den-burg,* which was established as a bulwark or buffer state against the invasions of the Slavs.[1] By the Golden Bull (1356) the ruler of Brandenburg was recognized as a regular "elector" of the emperor, and for several centuries was called the elector of Brandenburg. Since 1415 the rulers of Prussia have belonged to the House of Ho-hen-zol'lern.

Brandenburg under the early Hohenzollerns.

The Hohenzollerns were not received with open arms by their nobles, but they quickly put an end to opposition by using the fifteenth century prototypes of the Krupp guns which have been so destructive in the Great War. The second elector enlarged the boundaries of his mark. "From that day to this, with but one or two exceptions, each ruler in turn, by inheritance, by purchase, by conquest, or by peaceful annexation, has added something to his original domains."[2] In 1618 the elector became the ruler of the duchy of East Prussia, a feudal dependency of Poland.

Brandenburg becomes Protestant.

Most of the people of Brandenburg were Protestants, but the elector did not become a Protestant until after his mother had lived for several months at the home of Martin Luther.

67. Prussia before Frederick the Great. — The ablest ruler of Prussia before Frederick the Great was the

---

[1] E. E. C., § 462.

[2] Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, p. 2.

Rule of the "Great Elector" (1640–1688).

"Great Elector," who made himself absolute in his scattered possessions and by his skill in diplomacy gained important territories for Prussia. He encouraged the immigration of skilled artisans, especially of Huguenots who fled from France when Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes.

Grandfather and father of Frederick the Great.

In 1701 the elector of Brandenburg became the *king of Prussia*.[1] His successor, the father of Frederick the Great, saved money, *trained a large army*, and gathered a famous body guard of giant grenadiers.

MARIA THERESA MONUMENT, VIENNA

Frederick and Prussia.

68. Frederick the Great and His Wars. — Frederick the Great (1740–1786) became king of Prussia a quarter of a century after the death of Louis XIV, and fifteen years after Peter the Great passed away. Frederick was a man of ambition and intelligence, a warrior, a statesman, and a patron of the arts.

The War of the Austrian Succession.

Frederick had just become king when the Emperor died, leaving no son. The youthful Maria Theresa ascended the Austrian throne. Her father had tried to secure international agreements that her territories and power should be respected. Frederick the Great treated his written promise as a "scrap of paper"; immediately he tried to get the province of Silesia, to which he thought he had a fair claim. France and other countries joined him in his war against Austria. Maria Theresa found friends in England and Holland, but Frederick's victories in the field caused her to buy his withdrawal from the war by the cession of Silesia. This was the *War of the Austrian Succession,* known in America as King George's War.

---

[1] He now had no more territory than before, and of course Brandenburg was worth forty Prussias. Why then was he called king of Prussia and not king of Brandenburg? The reason is this: Within the Holy Roman Empire there was opposition to the creation of any more kingdoms, but Prussia, unlike Brandenburg, was outside of the empire. The emperor was therefore persuaded, in return for money and troops that he needed in the War of the Spanish Succession, to let the elector of Brandenburg call himself king of Prussia.

Seven Years' War and the conflict for colonial supremacy.

A few years later, in 1756, there broke out in Europe, in America, and in Asia a great international conflict known as the *Seven Years' War.* This war was started in Europe by Frederick, who invaded Saxony on a pretext similar to that used by Prussia against Belgium a century and a half later (§ 437). Prussia and England were arrayed against France, Austria, Spain, and other countries. It was a war between Prussia and Austria for supremacy in central Europe, ending with slight gains for Prussia. The world importance of the Seven Years' War consists in the contest for colonial supremacy, in the New World and the Old, between the decaying monarchy of Louis XIV and the new constitutional kingdom and empire of Great Britain. France lost all her colonies on the continent of America and in India (§ 86). The brilliant success of the English under the guidance of their great prime minister, William Pitt, marked the third step in the rise of England to the position of a world power. Frederick the warrior is one of the great heroes of the German nation, yet his activities in time of peace are far more deserving of our attention. In 1772 he joined with Catherine II of Russia in the treacherous partition of Poland.

69. Frederick the Great in Peace. — Besides the granting of religious toleration, Frederick II of Prussia intro-

Frederick II of Prussia as a reformer.

duced many reforms, for he was an intimate friend of Voltaire and had studied the works of other reform philosophers. Frederick was an enlightened despot, arbitrary, absolute, and paternalistic.

Legal Reforms.

One of his first *reforms* was an attempt to improve the laws of Prussia. Although many changes were made during his lifetime, a complete code of laws of the country was not published until after his death. He sent some of his ablest lawyers to different parts of his kingdom in order to settle lawsuits that had been dragging on for years.

Frederick the Great

Agricultural aid. Colonization.

He helped his people by draining the swamps and reclaiming the lands which had been waste. Upon some of these lands and some that were unoccupied, he settled immigrants, a few of whom came from outside the boundaries of Prussia. Many of the foreign immigrants were skilled artisans, who not only carried on their own crafts to the advantage of Prussia but also taught the people better methods, for example, in making butter and in weaving silk.

Protective duties and smuggling.

To *protect home industries and also to gain revenue* for those expensive undertakings and *for the army*, Frederick levied protective duties on the goods brought into Prussia. In spite of the fact that the government used more severe measures against smugglers than did the English government against Americans who evaded the Navigation Acts (§ 81)[1] very little revenue was secured and industry did not develop rapidly.

Attitude toward serfdom.

Frederick abolished serfdom on the royal lands in the eastern part of his domain. But even he found it impossible to do away with serfdom, or greatly to relieve the serfs, on the lands of the nobles.

Age of Louis XIV.

70. Summary. — The reign of Louis XIV of France was a period of display, the grande monarque being the first personage in Europe. Louis' minister, Colbert, improved the finances, created protective tariffs, and regulated industry. Louis counteracted the good effect of Colbert's work by spending vast sums on his palace and court at Versailles and on his wars, and by revoking the Edict of Nantes, thereby driving many thrifty Huguenots out of France. Because most of western Europe was united against him, Louis failed in four wars, those against the Belgians and the Dutch, and those fought for the possession of the Palatinate and to place his grandson on the Spanish throne. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) closed the period of French greatness but not of French absolutism.

The rise of Russia.

Modern Russia grew out of the principality of Moscow after the Moscow princes threw off the Mongol yoke. The Europeanization of Russia was due largely to Peter the Great (1682–1725), who made himself absolute, brought in foreigners, and introduced western books, schools, and customs. Russia enlarged her territories to the Baltic Sea, at the expense of Sweden; to the Black Sea, at the expense of Turkey; and across Siberia to the Pacific Ocean. Under Catherine II, formerly a German princess, Russia gained half of Poland in the three partitions of that misgoverned and unhappy country.

---

[1] Ashley, *American History*, §§ 121–123.

The rise of Prussia.

Brandenburg, under the Hohenzollerns, became Protestant and acquired the duchy of Prussia. In 1701 the elector of Brandenburg assumed the title of king of Prussia. The two great Prussian rulers before the nineteenth century were the Great Elector and Frederick the Great. At the middle of the eighteenth century Prussia's territories were much scattered, and in spite of the absolutism of her rulers and her dependence on militarism, she was inferior to Austria as a German power. Under Frederick the Great she was distinguished for her unscrupulous attacks on unoffending neighbors, *e.g.*, Saxony and Poland, and for many of the qualities shown by twentieth century Prussia.

General References

Schevill, *History of Modern Europe*, 200–247.

Seignobos, *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 345–386, 406–433.

Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 1–82.

Duruy, *History of Modern Times*, 311–433.

Wakeman, *The Ascendancy of France* (Periods, V), 184–371.

Hassall, *The Balance of Power* (Periods, VI), 1–279, 298–331.

Morfill, *Story of Russia*.

Dole, *Young Folks' History of Russia*.

Rambaud, *History of Russia*, especially II, 13–126, 203–220.

Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, 1–218.

Cambridge Modern History, V., VI.

Topic

PETER THE GREAT AND HIS WORK: Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 57–63; Seignobos, *Contemporary Civilization*, 17–28; Rambaud, *History of Russia*, II, 33–39, 76–105; Howe, *A Thousand Years of Russian History*, 84–123.

Studies

1. Louis XIV. Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 5–12.
2. Court and ceremonial at Versailles. Seignobos, *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 351–356.

3. Colbert. Duruy, *History of France*, 419–425.

4. Wars of Louis XIV on the Belgians and Dutch. Duruy, *History of France*, 430–439.

5. Warfare and armies on the Continent. Seignobos, *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 375–386.

6. The problems of the Spanish Succession. Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 39–46.

7. The sciences, literature, and arts on the Continent. Seignobos, *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 419–433.

8. Russia under the Mongols. Larned (ed), *History for Ready Reference*, IV, 2756–2758.

9. How Peter the Great forced his people to wear western dress. Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 61-63.

10. Charles XII. Schevill, *Modern Europe*, 221-226.

11. Government and reforms of Catherine II. Rambaud, *History of Russia*, II, 203–220.

12. Partitions of Poland. Phillips, *Poland*, 58–87.

13. Conditions in Europe at beginning of the eighteenth century. Hassall, *Balance of Power* (Periods, VI), 1–7.

14. Prussia before the Thirty Years' War. Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, 1–8.

15. Frederick the Great in time of peace. Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, 182–204.

Questions

1. In what way was Louis XIV famous? In what respects was he great? Show how his court at Versailles was valued by the nobles and by other monarchs.

2. What did Colbert do for France? Why was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes an economic as well as a religious mistake?

3. Discuss Louis' objects in making war. Why did he fail? In what respect or respects did he succeed? Give the provisions, and show the importance, of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713).

4. Trace the history of Russia before the time of Peter the Great. How did Peter learn western ways? How did he make himself absolute? How did he Europeanize Russia?

5. Discuss the expansion of Russia? Why is more seacoast a present need of both Russia and Germany? Will not the time come when Russia will seize the seacoasts that she needs?

6. Show why the Partition of Poland was possible in the late eighteenth century. Consider internal conditions (§ 65) and diplomacy of the period. Can you name any good results that followed the downfall of Polish rule?

7. Is the policy of the ruling Hohenzollern different from that of his ancestors as explained in section 67?

8. Why is modern Prussia largely the work of the Great Elector and of Frederick the Great?

9. What was the general nature of absolutism in England during the seventeenth century and later on the Continent? How did it pave the way for revolution? Give a résumé of the old order (consult §§ 111–119).

10. Compare the absolutism of Frederick II of Prussia with that of William II of Germany (§§ 291, 297). Show how the paternalism of Frederick has been developed since his time (cf. § 302). Compare Prussian militarism of the eighteenth century with that of other countries in that day and with that of Germany to-day.

The [illegible] and her teeth were
like stars
that shine [illegible] night.
The child know that like
the stars
her teeth came out at
night.

CHAPTER IV

STRUGGLE FOR COLONIAL AND COMMERCIAL EMPIRE

How the struggle for trade became a contest for territory.

71. Periods of International Conquest. — The struggle of the European nations for trade began earlier than that for territory. It was connected especially with the contest for a share in the eastern trade. After Columbus discovered America, however, in order that any people might have *commerce*, it was necessary that they should hold *territory*. In consequence large areas were seized and kept by the competing nations, not for homes, but for profit. *Practically all of the colonizing was done by great commercial companies.* Even among the English, who were the only distinctively colonizing people, that is, people who sought homes, the early colonies were established by commercial companies such as the Virginia Company.

Great rivals in the different centuries.

Before the close of the sixteenth century the contest was particularly sharp between *Spain* and *Portugal*, although even before that time the English, French, and Dutch were interested in distant trade. In the seventeenth century the conflict was primarily between the *Dutch* and the *English*. From the Revolution of 1688 to the overthrow of Napoleon in 1815, the great international contest was between the *English* on the one side and the *French* on the other.[1]

---

[1] Although both France and England were particularly anxious to extend their foreign business, the contest was not simply a struggle for trade, but it included a world-wide effort to extend colonial dominions.

CONTEST FOR ATLANTIC TRADE BEFORE 1700

Division of the non-civilized world between Spain and Portugal.

72. Spain *vs.* Portugal. — Before the close of the sixteenth century Columbus and Ves-pu′ci-us had carried the flag of Spain to the tropical islands and mainland of the New World, Vasco da Gama had led the Portuguese around Africa to India,[1] and the Pope had divided the uncivilized world, giving *Spain the western half* and *Portugal control in the eastern hemisphere.*[2]

Reasons for the successes and failures of Spain.

It will be seen from these statements that the rivalry between Spain and Portugal did not bring them actively into conflict. Spain found that the New World contained more land than she could occupy; the mineral wealth of Mexico and Peru and the agricultural products of the West Indies furnished for her all the articles of commerce which her merchant marine could handle. In fact the great area of America dissipated rather than concentrated the colonizing strength of Spain. In like manner her ability to seize the treasures of Mexico and Peru made her dissatisfied with the slower process of acquiring wealth by growing sugar, tobacco, and other tropical products on the plantations of the West India Islands. Coupled with the narrow policy of Spain toward business in the Spanish peninsula as well as in the colonies,[3] the development of Spain was superficial and her commercial prosperity was not solid or lasting.[4]

Fisheries as a training for maritime power.

73. Dutch and English Fisheries. — In order to understand how different industries were connected with the international rivalry and contest for colonies, let us study some of them, the fisheries, the fur trade, tobacco,[5] and sugar. In a very true sense the commercial greatness of Holland and England had a very humble origin. Long before the sailors and merchants of either nation gained control of the trade of northern Europe and of distant commerce with the East and America, they were learning the terrors of the deep through their fishing experiences in the *North Sea.*

---

[1] E. E. C., § 656. [2] E. E. C., § 654. [3] E. E. C., § 693.

[4] Portuguese development was likewise superficial. We need not take up again the unfortunate methods used by the Portuguese in the East (E. E. C., § 656); we need simply note that because of those methods the Portuguese colonies fell an easy prey to the enterprising Dutch traders after the organization of the Dutch East India Company in 1602.

[5] Tobacco in Virginia is considered later (§ 78).

How Dutch fishing supremacy yielded to the English.

The Dutch made use of these fishing opportunities before the English appreciated their value. It is said that within three days, in the first year of the seventeenth century, fifteen hundred fishing boats sailed from Holland for the herring shoals of the North Sea. A few years later it was estimated that the value of the fish caught by the Dutch exceeded in value the manufactures of England and France combined.[1] English supremacy in

DUTCH FISHING BOATS

---

[1] With their usual thoroughness the Dutch perfected means of catching, drying, and curing fish which were far superior to those in use among the English or any other peoples. The superiority of the Dutch methods

the fisheries of the North Sea did not begin until, during the later seventeenth century, England in a series of wars (§ 76) sought to destroy Dutch commerce.[1]

Reasons for French supremacy in the Newfoundland fisheries.

74. Influence of Fish and Furs in the Development of America. — When John Cabot and later voyagers brought word that the western sea around *Newfoundland* swarmed with fish, sailors from northern France and from western England set out for these more distant fields in which there was an abundance of fish for all comers. The French rather than the English took advantage of these opportunities[2]; since the large number of holidays authorized by the Roman Catholic Church created a demand for fish which did not exist in Protestant England, after she separated from the church of Rome. The first serious attempt at colonization on the part of the French, which was made under Cartier and Roberval in 1540, was not successful; but the fishing business developed throughout the sixteenth century, and, in the early part of the seventeenth, made possible the first permanent French settlements in Acadia and at Quebec in Canada.

Importance of the fisheries in the settlement of New England.

When the Pilgrim Fathers established (1620) the first permanent settlement in New England, there were some fishing huts used by transient fishermen on the New England coast. The food supply of the Pilgrims and of other Puritans who later settled in New England came

---

and their skill in finding new markets for fish and other products made it impossible for either the English or the French to compete with them.

[1] The North Sea fisheries were more than an important source of wealth among the people of Holland, England, and other countries. The fishing fleets of each nation were convoyed and protected by armed vessels, which sometimes clashed. Out of this conflict grew international difficulties which have had an important influence on *the development of international law.* In connection with the fishing rights of the Dutch in the North Sea, Gro′ti-us, sometimes called the father of international law, wrote one of his most important books.

[2] On account of their location England and Holland made use of the North Sea fisheries, while the French took chief advantage of those off Newfoundland.

very largely from the sea, and the only profitable commodity of commerce, which they sold in Europe and in the West Indies, was secured from the ocean. Without these fisheries it is therefore probable that the New England colonies would not have been very successful.

Areas exploited by different European countries.

The *fur trade* with the Indians of the interior of the northern states and Canada led to extensive explorations and to a well-developed trade. In the North, French fur traders went far inland, penetrating the Great Lake region and the northern tributaries of the Mississippi river. The Dutch and later the English, through the powerful Iroquois Confederacy, gained control of an extensive fur trade south of the Great Lakes. There was developed later by the English in the Hudson Bay region a fur-trading company which was destined to bring under English dominion all western Canada. The fur trade was, therefore, a source of profit and led to exploration and even to armed conflicts between rival nations.

Reasons for the international importance of sugar.

75. Sugar and Slavery. — During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the most important import of the United States was sugar. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the same thing was true of England, since sugar was the most valuable commodity imported. Sugar cane grows only in a very hot climate. It calls for labor which Europeans are unwilling and unable to furnish. Sugar has played an important part in the development of commerce and in international relations, because cane sugar, the only kind used before 1850 (§ 204), cannot be grown in any part of Europe and therefore must be transported from tropical countries, preferably a country's own colonies. The growth of the sugar cane demanded a large supply of menial or slave labor, and therefore was largely responsible for the development of African slavery in America. For these reasons it caused an international struggle for the islands and possessions where it could be grown most successfully.

Causes and extent of the African slave trade.

The Spanish tried to make use of the Indians as slaves on their plantations, but the natives did not prove hardy enough for such heavy work. In consequence, the Portuguese and Spanish traders soon sent to Africa for a supply of slaves to be employed on plantations for the cultivation of sugar, rice, tobacco, indigo, and other products. Native African princes at first sold the captives taken in war; then a regular slave trade was organized with the interior of the Dark Continent, the purchasers being Portuguese, Spanish, or English traders. In spite of great loss of life on the terrible "middle passage" from Africa to America, large numbers of negroes were imported into the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English colonies, especially those in tropical and semitropical lands. It is said that the annual number brought to American plantations was about twenty-five thousand before 1700 and was four times that number a century later. In time the English gained practically a monopoly of this slave traffic.

Extent of the Dutch carrying trade in the seventeenth century.

76. The Dutch Carrying Trade and English Laws. — During the seventeenth century the best of these trade opportunities in the Atlantic area were seized by the Dutch. The Dutch traders carried most of the commodities exchanged between Europe and the Spanish, French, and English colonies, as well as those of Holland in America. In addition, the Dutch practically monopolized the *carrying trade* between the countries of northern and western Europe.[1]

By the middle of the seventeenth century the English were determined to break this Dutch monopoly of the

---

[1] Half of the vessels which went to the Baltic were controlled by Holland; nine tenths of those that entered English ports flew the Dutch flag.

English laws against Dutch carriers in England and America.

carrying trade for English goods. When Cromwell came into power, in 1651, a navigation act was passed. This was reënacted in 1660. It forbade the carrying of goods to or from England or her colonies except in vessels built in England or the colonies, or in ships of the country with which they were trading. This was the first important law in a series of *acts of trade* which caused the decline of Dutch shipping and commerce, and which had so much influence later in arousing the opposition of the American colonists to England.[1] The Dutch monopoly of the carrying trade, however, was not broken entirely by economic means. In a series of *wars*, begun under Cromwell and continued under Charles II, the English temporarily destroyed the Dutch fisheries in the North Sea and interfered greatly with their trade in northern Europe and in America.[2]

Decline of Dutch commerce.

English and French Colonies in the Seventeenth Century

Policy of European countries toward colonies.

77. Motives and Methods of Early Colonization. — The European countries wished colonies chiefly for the purpose of increasing their exports and adding to their wealth, particularly the supply of the precious metals.[3] In consequence the mother country almost always sought to secure from her colonies *raw materials*, which by the process of manufacture would increase greatly in value. She also sought to make her colonies markets for her

---

[1] Although Dutch shipyards continued to build about half the vessels constructed in Europe, the American colonists could build ships better and cheaper than even the famous shipbuilders of Holland. The reason for this was the abundance of excellent ship timber on the shores of New England and the Middle colonies, and the abundance also of naval supplies in the southern colonies.

[2] By the conquest of the Dutch colony of New Netherland in 1664 they also gained control of the fur trade with the Iroquois Indians.

[3] E. E. C., § 727.

surplus manufactured products. In order to carry out this rather short-sighted colonial policy, it was necessary that the mother country should absolutely control all commerce between the colony and the outside world.

Commercial nature of the early colonies.

As profits of colonial enterprise were at first uncertain, the earliest colonies were established by commercial companies such as the East India Company and the Virginia Company. These commercial companies secured land grants, which gave them control of certain territories and a monopoly of the trade within those territories. Because most of these were organized for trade, they frequently possessed only a few scattered trading posts, about which a few homes of settlers were grouped.[1] The *English companies* usually had the right to control their own affairs and govern the territory or colony which was established in the new lands.

Religious motives of colonization.

Colonies were established not only for trade but for religious reasons. People who had no religious freedom or toleration in Europe wished to gain for themselves a place in the world where they could worship as they pleased. In no case was it the intention of those colonists to have *religious freedom,* since their whole desire was to have colonies in which *their* church should be the only church and all people should worship as they dictated. Almost without exception these groups of religious refugees were forced to depend upon the cultivation of the soil rather than upon trade for the maintenance of their colony.

Only two types of colonies ever developed into real provinces. (1) One type consisted of colonies founded

---

[1] The Dutch settlements along the Hudson and Delaware rivers, and those of the French in the St. Lawrence, Great Lake, and Mississippi basins, were really trading posts, as were practically all of the colonies, or more exactly "factories," in the Hudson Bay region, as well as those in India and the East Indies.

Two types of real colonies.

by religious refugees; of these the New England colonies were the best example. (2) Other provinces were agricultural settlements developed, as was Virginia, through the opportunities to establish profitable plantations and homes.

Attempts of the English to colonize.

78. Early History of Virginia. — At the close of the sixteenth century, Spain occupied all of the territory from "Florida" to southern Peru, including most of the islands of the West Indies. On the boundary of Florida Sir Walter Ralegh and his associates had sought to establish colonies, but three attempts on the part of the English left no permanent trace on the coast of the Carolinas. In 1606 a new company, the Virginia Company, was organized for the purpose of colonizing the eastern coast of the present United States. One branch of this organization, the London Company, in 1607 made its first settlement at Jamestown, in the present state of Virginia.

Importance of the first Virginia legislature.

About ten years after Jamestown was founded, two things occurred which had a great influence upon the history of England and America. In 1619 a representative assembly of twenty-two burgesses was allowed to meet with the governor and his counsellors in the *first American legislature.* This assembly was afterward made permanent because King Charles thought it would be a convenient means of raising revenue in the new land.

Tobacco in Virginia: commercial, political, and social results.

More influential in the history of Virginia, if not more important in American development, was the beginning of *tobacco* cultivation. The valleys of Virginia are wide and filled with a rich soil; the rivers are broad and navigable for sea-going vessels for some distance. Consequently *plantations* were established along the shores of Chesapeake Bay and the banks of the adjacent rivers by Englishmen who provided a large amount of *capital* and needed an abundant supply of *labor*. These tobacco plantations made Virginia wealthy and prosperous.[1] At the beginning labor was furnished by indented servants and later by negro slaves. Naturally social distinctions were prominent. The size of the plantations caused Virginia to adopt the *county system* of government which was in use in England (§ 5).

The Great Migration to New England (1630–1640).

79. The New England Colonies. — The struggle between Charles I and the Puritans, which culminated first in the Petition of Right, then in the struggle with Laud over the form of church service, and finally in the contest with Charles over the levying of taxes in the form of ship-money (§ 29), led to the establishment of several Puritan colonies in New England. In the year after the Petition of Right was adopted, a group of English Puritans, believing that the king and Laud would not give them churches such as they wanted in England, obtained a charter to lands in New England north of the settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. They established the colony of Massachusetts Bay, twenty thousand Puritans joining in a *great migration* to the New World[2] when arbitrary church rule was followed by arbitrary taxation. These New England Puritans did not come to America for religious liberty, but in order to have a Puritan state and a Puritan church of their own.

New political institutions of the New England Puritans.

They were much interested in managing their own affairs. They met in their *town meetings* and looked after all their religious and secular business. They elected representatives to an assembly which met with the governor and council of the colony in a *legislature of two houses*. Some of the more liberal Puritans migrated to the Connecticut valley, where they drew up a *written constitution* of their own (1639). As soon as Charles was forced to call Parliament (1640), the great migration closed, and many New England Puritans returned to the mother country.

---

[1] Tobacco had been unknown in Europe before it was imported from North America. As the demand grew rapidly, Virginia and many colonies in the West Indies devoted especial attention to this crop, which gave the planter large profits. Its commercial importance is shown by the fact that Virginia was the only one of the "thirteen colonies" which succeeded in exporting as much as it imported, all of the others being obliged to go into debt to the English merchants for the goods which they needed.

[2] See Ashley, *American History*, §§ 44–53.

American colonies of European countries in 1650.

80. Conquest and Expansion. — Before the time of the Commonwealth in England (§ 32), there were English colonists living in two definite groups of colonies on the Atlantic coast. In the South, separated from the Spanish town of St. Augustine in Florida by a wilderness several hundred miles wide, were the Virginia and Maryland settlements. Further north, separated from these southern colonies by the Swedes on the Delaware and the

New Amsterdam

Dutch in New Netherland, was a group of New England settlements extending from Long Island Sound into the woods of Maine. After another interval of wilderness, claimed by both English and French, were found the French colonies of the north Atlantic slope.

Union and expansion of the English colonies.

In 1664 England conquered the Dutch colony of *New Netherland*, which had already absorbed the Swedish colony of New Sweden. This conquest united the English colonies of the north and south. About the same time there was established south of Virginia a new colony of *Carolina* which sought to keep the Spanish from extending their dominions northward. These Carolina settlements prospered because they were adapted to the growing of rice, sea-island cotton, and indigo. As they demanded a large and crude supply of slave labor, they gave a new impetus to that nefarious traffic, the slave trade.

English colonies of homes.

81. England and the Colonies. — The English colonies differed from those of other countries in many respects. Most important was the fact that the English colonists were real settlers or homemakers who had not been exported to America for the purpose of promoting English trade, but who had on their own initiative gone to the New World to find homes for themselves. In consequence the English provinces were inhabited by more thrifty, earnest people than were any other colonies.

Self-government in English colonies.

The English colonists were therefore able to conduct their own affairs in a way radically different from that in use in other colonies. They were also treated far better by their home government. Even in the West Indies the colonies, temporarily, were allowed representative assemblies. In several of the New England colonies the people elected the governor's assistants and in two colonies, Rhode Island and Connecticut, the governors as well.[1]

Control of colonial affairs by the mother country.

The English government supervised the affairs of the colonies through a commission known as the *Board of Trade*. This board corresponded with the governors, gave them instructions, and decided which laws passed by the colonial legislatures and governors should be retained and which vetoed. They also supervised the *laws of trade*,[2] which were not well enforced, partly because the enforcement was left to colonial officers and inspectors.

Expansion in St. Lawrence and Mississippi basins.

82. The French in Canada. — When Henry IV of France put an end to the disastrous religious and civil strife in that country,[3] commerce revived, industry prospered, and colonization began. Under *Champlain*, "father of New France," Canada was founded; later the French gained control of the whole St. Lawrence and Great Lake basin. About 1700 the French established the colony of Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi river and gained temporary control of that great river basin.[1]

---

[1] Where the governors were appointed by the crown, there was also a larger degree of self-government than there appeared to be, because these royal governors as a rule were not capable, efficient men, and the colonists ordinarily insisted that the assemblies rather than the governors should rule the colonies. The colonists were usually able to secure the upper-hand because by law the governors' salaries were paid by the assemblies. If the governors did not do as the assemblies wished, their salaries were withheld.

[2] When the first navigation law of 1651 was reënacted by the restoration parliament in 1660 (§ 76), it included a list of commodities known as *enumerated articles* which could be shipped from American colonies only to England. Among these enumerated articles were tobacco and sugar. This navigation law of 1660 was followed by later laws which compelled American merchants to buy their commodities in the Old World from England, thus giving English merchants a middleman's profit and control of the trade. In many cases these navigation acts gave the Americans advantages. For example, colonial ships were counted as English ships, Virginia and the Bermudas had a monopoly of the English tobacco market, and bounties were paid for naval stores and pig iron shipped to England. The English commercial policy was therefore an advantage to the Americans, since they made use of all the help offered by the English laws and avoided all other provisions very cheerfully and successfully, there being no moral sentiment against smuggling in either England or the colonies.

[3] E. E. C., § 702.

Nature of French rule and colonies.

The French did not deal wisely with their colonies. Either their government used the paternal system of Colbert (§ 56) and did too much, or it neglected them or sacrificed their interests by subordinating them to its political ambitions in Europe. There was no self-government in French colonies; the people were ruled arbitrarily by a governor, the first executive official, an intendant who spied upon the governor, and a council appointed by the king. This council made the laws and established the courts, being itself the last court of appeal. This method of governing the French colonies was an advantage in carrying on war and in occupying territory, but it did not develop strong, self-reliant colonies. The government established a paternalism which sought to aid the colonies, but which succeeded only in weakening them. Commercial monopolies interfered with individual enterprises, immigration was restricted by the ardor of the Jesuit priests, who kept out the Protestant settlers, while feudal estates and privileges placed barriers in the way of social progress. For the protection of the fine territorial domain that she had secured, France at the middle of the eighteenth century could muster only eighty thousand inhabitants, while the rival British possessions boasted nearly a million and a quarter.

---

[1] In 1608 Champlain founded Quebec and in later years penetrated the interior, laying the foundations for the colony of New France. Although seized by the English in 1629, New France was returned to the French through the influence of Richelieu, but it did not prosper until the time of Colbert (§ 56), who took a great interest in French exploration. The work of extending French influence in America was carried on by four different classes: first, the Jesuit missionaries, who established missions among the Iroquois and Algonquin Indians of the Great Lake basin; secondly, the fur traders, who penetrated the interior in order to secure greater profits (§ 74); thirdly, the explorers, such as Joliet (zho-li-a′) and La Salle, who visited the Mississippi basin and desired to extend the political as well as the religious and commercial interests; and fourthly, a series of able governors.

COMMERCIAL WARS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

Eighteenth century commercial wars.

83. Summary of Wars from 1689 to 1815. — Having examined the commercial rivalry between nations for the control of the Atlantic before 1700 and having noted the development of English and French colonies on the continent of America during the seventeenth century, we are now ready to make a more careful study of the eighteenth century commercial wars between England and France which resulted in a victory for the English people and the temporary extinction of France as a colonizing power. The name "*Second Hundred Years' War*" has sometimes been applied to this series of conflicts.

The wars began when James II, protégé of Louis XIV of France, was driven from the throne of England during the Revolution of 1688. Although due to dynastic rivalry between the houses of Bour′bon, which ruled France and Spain during most of this period, and the reigning monarchs in England, this conflict of a century and a quarter was primarily for commercial supremacy.

First conflicts (1689–1748).

The first war, known as *King William's War*, from William of Orange who succeeded James II, ended without important result in the Treaty of Ryswick (1697). Five years later commercial rivalry, coupled with the ambition of Louis XIV to place his younger grandson on the throne of Spain (§ 59), led to the *War of the Spanish Succession*, which closed in 1713 with the *Treaty of Utrecht.* For a quarter of a century Europe was at peace. Then about 1740 England became embroiled with Spain over commerce in the West Indies, and Frederick the Great tried to wrest from Maria Theresa the province of Silesia (§ 68). The *War of the Austrian Succession* involved most of Europe and closed with the Peace of Aix-la-Chap-elle′ (1748), which was really nothing but a truce, for war continued in India and broke out again in America before hostilities were resumed in Europe.

Intermediate conflicts (1754–1783).

In 1756 occurred the *Seven Years' War*, the greatest and most decisive of the early conflicts. It was a struggle between France and England for colonial supremacy in America and in India, resulting in the expulsion of the French from both areas. It was also a great European conflict involving the most important powers. It ended in 1763 at the Peace of Paris. Twelve years later the American colonies revolted against English rule, and were joined soon after by France, which sought to regain some of the possessions that it had lost during the Seven Years' War. Before the *Revolutionary War* was over, Spain and Holland were also at war with England. This war resulted in American independence, and caused many other losses for the English. It closed with the Treaty of 1783.

Napoleonic Wars (1793–1815).

During the French Revolution, the French not only executed their king, but they announced themselves as the champions of other peoples against their kings (§ 135). This precipitated in 1793 a war of Europe upon France which lasted with slight interruptions until the overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo (§ 158). During these *general European wars* western Europe was made over socially. England extended her trade to the uttermost limits of the world, and the wars closed with considerable loss for France and the continued expansion of the British empire.

Territories and commercial gains for the English at Utrecht (1713).

84. Trade Advantages Gained by England through the First Wars. — The *Treaty of Utrecht* (1713) brings out clearly the gains made by the English in the New World as a result of the first two wars. In North America the French transferred to the English absolute control of the territory draining into Hudson Bay, which had been occupied in part by the Hudson's Bay Company but had been disputed with French traders and "coureurs du bois" (bwa). The English also gained absolute title to the island of Newfoundland, which dominated the fisheries of the adjacent fishing banks. France, however, retained some fishing rights which were settled by international treaty. Acadia was the third French land surrendered to the English in 1713. With Newfoundland it controlled the entrance to the St. Lawrence basin.

Commercial opportunities of England in the Spanish West Indies.

In the West Indies England secured numerous advantages, including the sole right for thirty years to import negro slaves into the Spanish West Indies. The English also gained the right to send a ship yearly to trade with the Spanish colonies. The English craftily took advantage of this clause of the treaty and it is said anchored this ship outside of a Spanish port, taking on new cargoes as rapidly as possible from other English vessels, and transferring each immediately to eager Spanish merchants. The English also carried on with the Spanish islands an extensive illegal trade, both from Europe and from the English colonies on the mainland of America. In other words, the English instead of the Dutch became partners with the Spanish; they had a practical monopoly of the lucrative West Indian trade, since the Spanish had practically no merchant marine of their own.

The French in Louisiana and their chain of western forts.

85. The Struggle for the Mississippi and Canada.— Before the close of the seventeenth century England, France, and Spain became interested in the colonization of the Gulf coast and the lower Mississippi basin. Spain settled at Pensacola, 1696, the French three years later occupied Mobile, and the English made land grants and prepared to occupy this territory. After the Treaty of Utrecht, interest in colonization revived. The French settled at Natchez and at New Orleans on the Mississippi river, the most important towns in their colony of *Louisiana*. They connected these settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi with the towns of Canada by a series of forts or settlements at strategic points, such as St. Louis, Fort St. Joseph near Chicago, Detroit, and Fort Niagara. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century, however, that France sought to occupy the valley of the upper Ohio.[1]

King George's War and the capture of Louisburg.

The French fortified Louisburg on Cape Breton Island at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, in order to checkmate the English in Newfoundland and Acadia. When England and France became the chief opponents in the *War of the Austrian Succession*, the colonies fitted out an expedition for the capture of Louisburg. With the aid of an English fleet this was seized. Great was the indignation throughout New England when, at the close of the war, Louisburg was restored to the French in exchange for the fortress of Ma-dras′ in India.

The Seven Years' War and the capture of Quebec.

During the first period of the *Seven Years' War*, the English made little progress in their attempt to reach Canada, being defeated on Lake Champlain and at other points. After William Pitt became prime minister of England (1757), however, a much better army was organized and abler leaders were appointed. The English then not only drove the French out of the upper Ohio valley, but occupied Niagara, which controlled two of the Great Lakes, defeated the French on Lake Champlain, and in 1758 under General Wolfe recaptured Louisburg. The next year Wolfe attacked Quebec, which he captured after a long siege. He scaled the Heights of Abraham that commanded the city and defeated the forces of Montcalm, the great French commander. The fall of Quebec led easily to the occupation of Montreal and Detroit, in short, to the military occupation of Canada.

---

[1] A series of forts was erected from Lake Erie to Pittsburgh. The Virginians objected because they claimed this territory under an old charter, and war broke out when George Washington tried to uphold the claim of his colony. The French were left in possession of the disputed land in 1755, as General Braddock's force was defeated near Pittsburgh a year before the great Seven Years' War broke out in Europe.

Pitt, Earl of Chatham

Europeans in India before 1700.

86. The Struggle for India. — Since Vasco da Gama had reached India in 1498, Europeans had sought for a foothold on the shores of that peninsula. Long before 1700 the influence of the *Portuguese* had waned. The *Dutch* were next influential, especially at one or two points along the coast and on the island of Ceylon. The *French* had gained a foothold on the southeastern coast near Madras and in the north near the mouth of the Ganges. The *British* had trading posts at these two points and at Bombay on the northwestern coast.

Successful Asiatic rulers of India.

At this time India was divided into thousands of little principalities whose rajahs usually recognized the sovereignty of some overlord. The power of the *great Moguls* had been declining since the days of their greatest emperor, Ak'bar.[1] A new power, that of the *Mah-rat'ta Confederacy*, was becoming influential throughout the middle of the peninsula, but it never gained as much influence as the Moguls had exercised in the time of Akbar.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 573, *n.* 1.

Leaders and methods of French and English.

French and English leaders did not try to play politics in Indian affairs until about the time of the War of the Spanish Succession. Later, a capable French general, *Dupleix* (Du-play′), followed the method of Caesar in Gaul of playing off the local leaders against each other. Dupleix also organized companies of native troops known later as sepoys. With the aid of Admiral *La Bour-don-nais′*, who realized that France must keep control of the sea in order to gain dominion in the East, Dupleix might have gained control of India, if he had been properly supported by the French government at home. Instead, both the Admiral and Dupleix were recalled before they had accomplished much, and the English, ably led by Robert *Clive*, adopted Dupleix's methods in employing native troops and playing politics among the native princes.

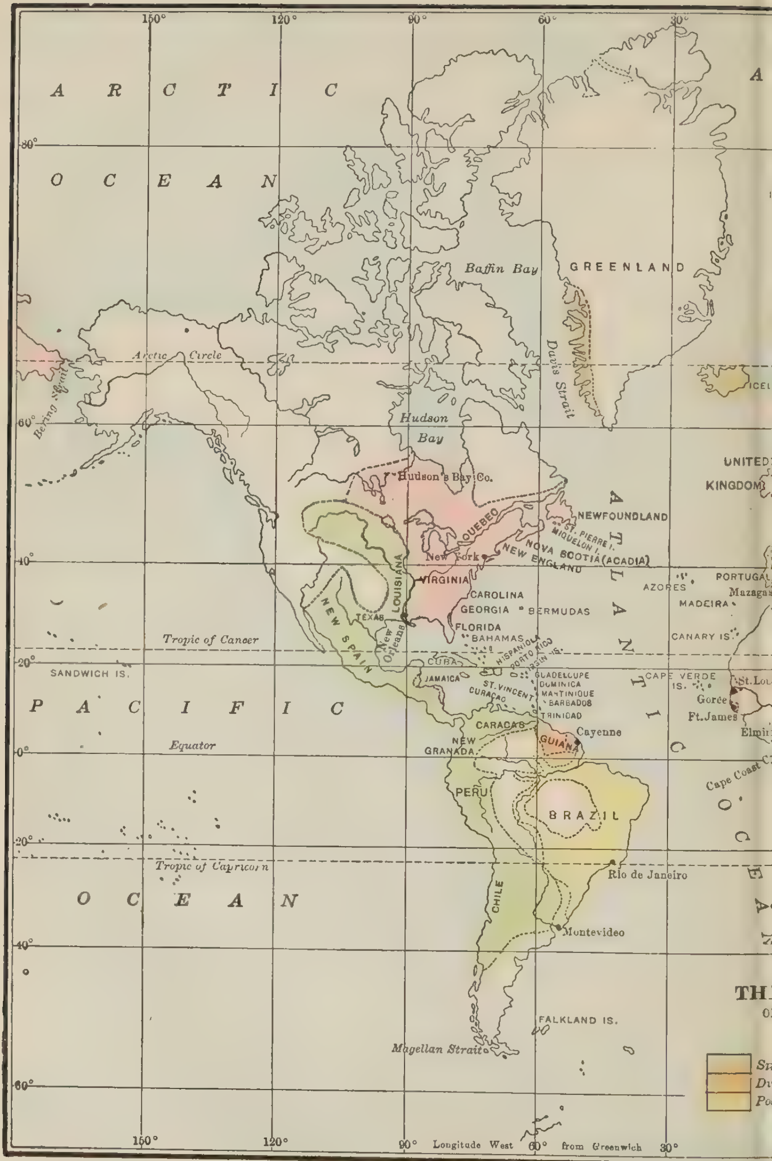
English victories in India.

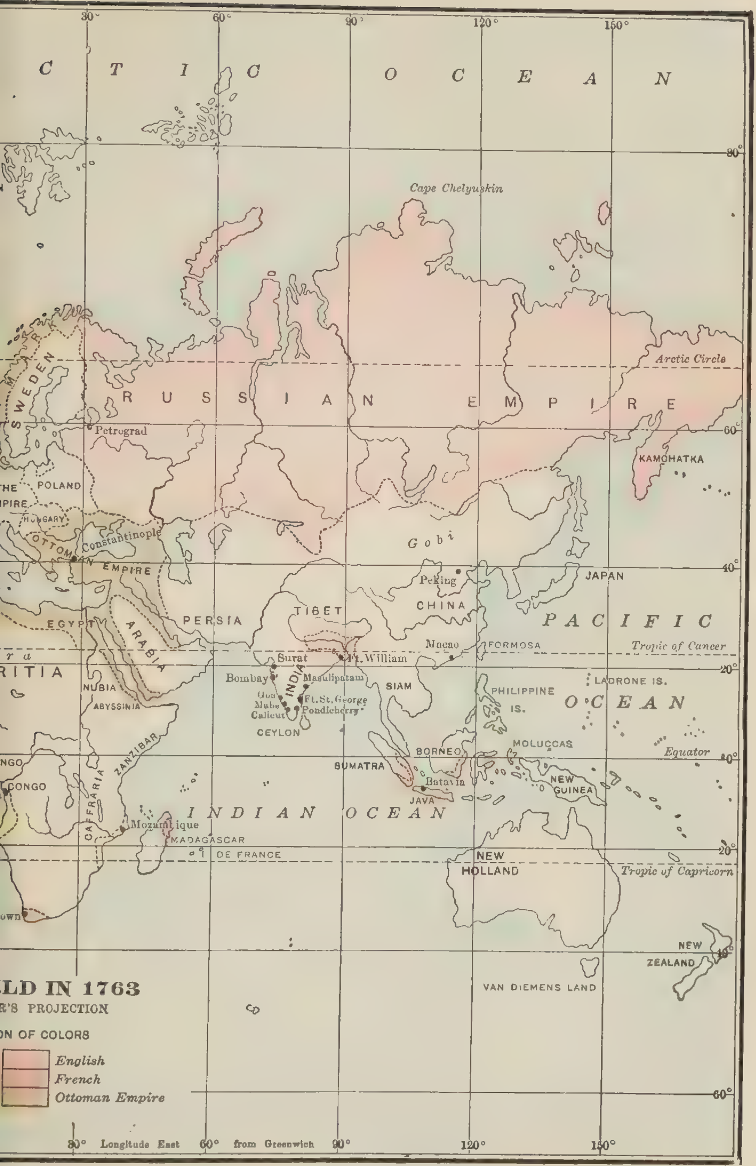
The result was that at the battle of *Wan′de-wash* (1760) the English gained a complete ascendancy in the *Car-nat′ic*, a strip of coast near Madras, and by the decisive victory of *Plas′sey* (1757) they gained an ascendancy in Bengal at the mouth of the Ganges. By following up the latter they were able to organize *Bengal* within a few years into what might be called the first English *province* in India. All these changes were wrought not by the English government and people, but by the *East India Company*, which continued to rule the British possessions until after the sepoy revolt in 1857.

English victories after 1759.

87. Peace of Paris, 1763. — For nearly three years after war ceased in America and India, France and England continued the great conflict elsewhere. During this interval Spain was allied with France, but England continued to gain victories. In the West Indies she

Dreaming of you once
in a while
I'm sure I see you once
in a while.
But I can't be true to you
— of you — if you
[illegible] for [illegible] all
of the time
your [illegible] and [illegible]
But maybe you
once in a while
Hello.


150°
120°
90°
60°
30°
A R C T I C
O C E A N
80°
Baffin Bay
GREENLAND
Davis Strait
Arctic Circle
Bering Strait
60°
Hudson
Bay
Hudson's Bay Co.
UNITED
KINGDOM
A
NEWFOUNDLAND
QUEBEC
ST. PIERRE I.
MIQUELON I.
NOVA SCOTIA (ACADIA)
NEW ENGLAND
New York
40°
VIRGINIA
LOUISIANA
CAROLINA
GEORGIA
BERMUDAS
AZORES
PORTUGAL
Mazagan
MADEIRA
TEXAS
NEW SPAIN
New Orleans
FLORIDA
BAHAMAS
CANARY IS.
Tropic of Cancer
HISPANIOLA
PORTO RICO
VIRGIN IS.
20°
SANDWICH IS.
CUBA
JAMAICA
GUADELOUPE
DOMINICA
MARTINIQUE
BARBADOS
ST. VINCENT
CURAÇAO
TRINIDAD
CAPE VERDE IS.
St. Lou
Gorée
Ft. James
P A C I F I C
CARACAS
Cayenne
GUIANA
NEW GRANADA
Equator
0°
Elmin
Cape Coast
PERU
BRAZIL
O
C
20°
Tropic of Capricorn
Rio de Janeiro
O C E A N
CHILE
Montevideo
40°
TH
O
FALKLAND IS.
Magellan Strait
60°
St
Di
Po
150°
120°
90° Longitude West 60° from Greenwich 30°



WILLIAMS ENG.CO..N.Y.

seized several French islands including Gua-de-loupe′ and Mar-tin-ique′. The Spanish town of Havana in Cuba and the Spanish colonies of East and West Florida fell into her hands. The Philippines were occupied by England after peace negotiations were begun. By 1762 she was in a position to dictate to all her enemies terms of peace which were exceedingly favorable to the conqueror. Especially was this true in regard to territories, because the war had proved to be a colonial death struggle from which France emerged with scarcely a trace of the magnificent territories which she had claimed at the beginning.

English territorial gains and French losses.

In *India* France was left in possession of practically all trading posts which she had at the beginning of the war, but they were trading posts which could never grow into colonies. The Philippines were restored to Spain, as was the town of Havana, but the *Floridas* were retained by England. Since France had granted to Spain all of *Louisiana* including the Isle of Orleans, France lost to England all her possessions on the mainland of North America. These included *Canada*, and *the eastern Mississippi basin* from the Mississippi river to the Allegheny Mountains.[1] In this way was France expelled from the North American continent.

England and America (1763–1789)

88. Reorganization of the British Empire. — The close of the Seven Years' War brought to England not only huge territories in America and important posses-

---

[1] The Mississippi was the dividing line between English and Spanish colonies and the navigation of that river was open to the inhabitants of both countries. Only two islets south of Newfoundland were kept by the French as fishing stations, and these were never to be fortified. In the West Indies France regained the important sugar island of Guadeloupe in addition to Martinique and St. Lucia, but England retained several less important French islands.

Needs in
rganizing
ew col-
nies and
eorganiz-
ng old.

sions in India, but compelled Great Britain to reorganize her empire. Since many of the new colonies were occupied chiefly by people who were not English and in some cases were hostile to English rule, it was necessary *to establish military government* rather than self-government in these new possessions. It seemed necessary further to bring under a stricter control the older American colonies, which had shown themselves exceedingly independent. Among other changes was *the enforcement of the old laws of trade* (§ 81) which had either been made for the colonies or indirectly affected them. Since the Seven Years' War had brought to England a heavier burden of taxes than had existed before the war began, it seemed fair to British imperial statesmen that the colonies should now pay a larger share of the expenses of *colonial* administration.

nevitable
pposition
f the
American
olonists.

However necessary and desirable these changes might be from the imperial point of view, they seemed to the colonists unnecessary; to a modern observer many of them appear unwise. For example, the presence of troops in the new colonies aroused the fears of the older American settlers. To be asked to pay part of the expenses of these troops added insult to injury. Furthermore, the chief means by which the colonies had been kept dependent upon the mother country — that is, the presence of the French in Canada — had been removed by the war. Consequently the colonies objected to the reorganization of the British empire, which necessarily followed the enforcement of navigation laws. This reorganization, including as it did the levying of taxes and the enactment of new means of control, aroused serious opposition in the older colonies. Discerning statesmen, especially among the French, did not hesitate to predict that the acquisition of Canada by Great Britain would mean the loss of her older colonies.

How American policies were mixed with British political questions.

89. England's New Colonial Policy. — George III, who came to the throne in 1760, was the first English-born king of the Han-o-ver′i-an line. He was upright, sincere, and earnest, but without tact, narrow, and exceedingly obstinate. As he was determined really to be king, it was necessary to overthrow the Whig aristocracy which had established the cabinet system of government (§ 43). Unfortunately the new laws which were made for the government of the American colonies became partisan issues in the struggle between the king and Parliament which lasted from 1763 to 1770.

Enforcement of revenue laws of trade (1763).

The new colonial policy of England is represented by four fairly well defined stages. (1) In order to secure revenue, the English government first decided to enforce the old navigation laws. To do this it was necessary to try smugglers without juries. This, in turn, aroused opposition because the smugglers preferred to be acquitted by their friends, and the colonists made a protest on the ground that they were entitled to a jury trial. In order to increase revenues, Parliament passed *the Sugar Act*, which practically reduced the prohibitive duties of the older Molasses Act to one half of the former rates. If these new regulations had been enforced, the business of New England and New York with the West Indies would have been ruined.

The Stamp Act (1765).

(2) The English government further decided to levy upon the colonists *a stamp tax* similar to that in use in England. The colonies protested that their legislatures had the sole right of levying taxes, and there was considerable rioting and disorder when the stamped paper was sent to America. Stamp collectors were forced to resign, and in a few cases their homes were burned. A Congress of delegates from each colony protested against the Stamp Act as unconstitutional since it was taxation without representation. These protests, accompanied

by the refusal of the American merchants to buy goods in England or pay the bills which they owed in Europe, caused the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766.

British attempt to *control* colonial governments (1767).

(3) In order to show its authority and to pay the royal governors and judges, thus removing them from the domination of the colonial assemblies,[1] the English Parliament now passed *the Townshend Acts* (1767). These provided for duties on goods imported into the colonies. One of these commodities was tea. When the American merchants boycotted the English merchants because of the Townshend Acts, all duties were repealed except that on tea.

Acts of Repression (1774).

The tea tax led to further difficulties, culminating in 1773 in the Boston Tea Party. The indignation of the English officials was so great at this outrage that several *Repressive Acts* were passed (1774). One of these closed the port of Boston to foreign trade and another suspended the Massachusetts charter. The people of that colony immediately formed a provisional government of their own and organized a colonial militia, whose members were known as minute men.

INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

Separation from Great Britain (1776).

90. Union and Independence in America.—In 1774 the colonies held the *First Continental Congress* and organized the most complete union they had up to that time. The following year, after hostilities had begun at Lexington and Concord, they met in the *Second Continental Congress*, which became a real government for the thirteen colonies. This Congress organized the army and conducted the war, and on July 4, 1776, *it declared the United States independent* of Great Britain. Later it organized a regular union of the states, known as the *Confederation*.

---

[1] § 81.

Periods of fighting during the Revolutionary War.

(1) In the first year of the war the British troops were forced to leave *New England*. (2) In the second period of the war the English sought to occupy the *middle colonies*, in which there were numerous loyalists. They seized New York, marched across to the American "capital" at Philadelphia and sought to separate the New England states from those further South.

Military events of the War.

Burgoyne failed in an invasion by the way of Lake Champlain when he was forced to surrender at Saratoga in 1777. The French, willing to humiliate England, formed an alliance openly with the United States in 1778. This divided the English forces, many of which were retained in Europe, and it gave the Americans the aid of a navy. (3) In 1781 Cornwallis, who had marched through the *southern colonies*, was forced to surrender at *Yorktown* to a French fleet and a combined American and French land force under Washington. This closed the Revolutionary War.[1]

English partisan quarrels that affected the treaty.

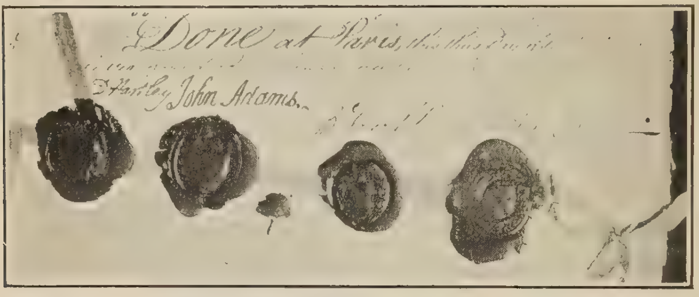
91. Treaty of Paris, 1783. — The international situation in 1783 was exceedingly interesting. The failure of England to subdue her revolting American colonies meant that George III had failed to establish his personal government (§ 328). He was forced, therefore, to call the Whigs back into power. These Whigs were divided into two hostile factions, the old Whigs and the new Whigs. By playing off these factions against each other, the American commissioners were able to secure concessions which otherwise they would have been unable to obtain.

---

[1] One memorable event of this war was the heroic resistance offered by a small British force at Gibraltar through a terrible three-year siege. Gibraltar had been acquired by Great Britain in 1713. It is now considered impregnable. The war was distinguished by one or two great naval victories for Great Britain.

International complications affecting the treaty.

These American successes were due not simply to the quarrels in the English government, but to the fact that England had been at war with four countries, the United States, France, Spain, and Holland. England's sole hope of success lay in persuading either France or the United States to make a separate treaty, as she would then be in better position to dictate to the others. For this separate treaty the English government labored unceasingly. They practically made one with Franklin and Jay, although it was not binding until a treaty had been made between Great Britain and France.



Done at Paris

Hartley John Adams

SIGNATURES, TREATY OF PARIS, 1783

Provisions of the treaties of peace.

The Treaty of Paris accepted the independence of the United States, gave us the Great Lakes as a boundary in the north, and the Mississippi on the west; and it secured for us the right to navigate that river and to fish off Newfoundland. Florida was transferred to Spain again, and in general territories or islands that had been captured by either side were returned to their former owners. It will be noticed that the United States was the only country that gained important advantages from the negotiations or treaties.

Defects of the Confederation.

92. The United States Constitution. — The United States consisted of thirteen states united in a *Confederation*, organized in 1781, which was *based upon state sovereignty*. The government of this Confederation consisted of a *Congress* in which each state had one vote. Owing to the fear among the states of any central authority, the union was very imperfect, and the Congress had comparatively little real authority. In fact the Confederation did not even have sufficient power to raise revenue to pay interest on its war debt. It had no power to regulate the commerce between states, which was a constant source of friction between them. It could not enforce the few laws which it attempted to make. Finally, since the Articles of Confederation could be amended only by the unanimous vote of the states, it was impossible to remedy any of these defects.

Adoption of our present national Constitution (1787–1789).

After six years of growing confusion and dissatisfaction, a constitutional convention met at Philadelphia and drew up a new *Constitution*. The union was no longer based upon the sovereignty of the separate states. The government consisted of a *Congress of two houses*, a Senate and a House of Representatives. There was to be a *President* elected for four years, and *national courts* whose judges were appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. To this Congress were given rather definite powers for the control of military affairs, and other duties which the government of a nation needs for the protection of the common interests of its people.

Contributions of America to the world before 1800.

Before 1800 the American people had made several important contributions to the history of the world. First, they had practiced religious toleration and had finally abandoned state churches altogether, that is, they had established *religious liberty.* Secondly, they had proved that a people, not simply a small community but in *a large nation, could govern itself.* Thirdly, they had changed their colonial charters into regular *written constitutions* which they made the fundamental law of the separate states, and they had afterwards adopted a similar constitution for the whole nation. Fourthly, they had united a group of separate autonomous states into a single union. This was neither a confederacy, that is, a league of states, nor a highly consolidated state, such as France seemed to be, but was a single united *Federal State.*

Conditions and trade before 1700.

93. Summary. — After the discoveries of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, international trade expanded rapidly. At first, Spain and Portugal had the best trade, one with the West, the other with the East. Then Holland gained chief control of the eastern trade, and of the carrying trade in northern Europe and in America. Dutch maritime development was due in part to experience gained in the valuable North Sea fisheries. In America four typical occupations furnished the basis of foreign trade, namely, the Newfoundland fisheries, the fur trade, sugar, and tobacco.

English and French colonies in America.

Having broken the Dutch monopoly of the carrying trade and Atlantic commerce by acts of trade and by wars, England sought by many means to outstrip her next rival, France. In America, Virginia, founded in 1607, owed her first success to tobacco, which found a ready market in England. The religious controversy between high churchmen (§ 29) and the Puritans drove many thousand Puritans to New England (1629–1640). After the Restoration (§ 34) Dutch New Netherland was conquered and the Carolinas were established. England left these colonies alone, for she did not enforce the acts of trade, which would have been harsh and unjust. In Acadia, Canada, and Louisiana the French had trading centers and colonies which they supervised, not wisely but too well.

Commercial wars of England and France (1689–1763).

Colonization alone would never have given England a victory over France. War was also a means of commercial development. From 1789 to 1815 the two countries were only intermittently at peace, and England was almost uniformly successful except in the Revolutionary War. Even in that contest the English navy, an important cause of commercial supremacy, defeated the French fleet except in the skirmish before Yorktown (1781) (§ 90). In 1713 (Utrecht) England gained Acadia, all Newfoundland, and the area draining into Hudson Bay, beside trade advantages in the Spanish West Indies. In 1763 (Paris) she acquired all France's possessions in America except Louisiana, after several successful campaigns in the Seven Years' War. That conflict also witnessed the defeat of the French and their native allies in India.

Great Britain and the United States (1763–1789).

After 1763 it was necessary for Great Britain to reorganize her now greatly enlarged empire and bring her undisciplined American colonies under her control. By a series of acts, the Sugar Act (1764), the Stamp Act (1765), the Townshend Acts (1767), and the Repressive Acts (1774), she tried to tighten her grip on the colonies, without success. In 1775 they revolted, in 1776 declared themselves independent, in 1777 at Saratoga captured one army, and in 1781 at Yorktown captured another. At Paris, in 1783, the United States was recognized as independent and acquired all territory from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from the Great Lakes to the Floridas. This new nation in 1781 formed a Confederation, which was defective in many respects because, presumably, it was based on state sovereignty, but in 1787 it organized a better union, made a new Constitution, and created a Federal State.

General References

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 49–73, 242–260, 299–341.

Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 34–49, 68–71, 80–121.

Seeley, *The Expansion of England.*

Woodward, *The Expansion of the British Empire.*

Day, *History of Commerce*, Chaps. XV, XVIII–XXI, XXIV.

Yeats, *Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce*, 179–291.

Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power on History.*

Andrews, C. M., in *American Historical Review*, 20 (1915), 539–556, 761–780.

Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 1–23, 483–486, 541–551, III, 290–500, IV, 1–70, 130–220, 240–289.

Topics

Tobacco in Virginia: Coman, *Industrial History of the United States* (rev. ed.), 56–58; Channing, *History of the United States*, I, 208–226; Fiske, *Old Virginia*, I, 174–177; Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 432–457, II, 337–340; Commons and Andrews (eds.), *Documentary History of American Economic Society*, I, 186–188, 208–214, 245–251, 326–328.

Relations between England and the Colonies before 1763: Ashley, *American History*, 128–135; Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 48, 51, 53, 55, 65, 66; Lecky's *American Revolution*, 38–53; Russell, *Review of American Colonial Legislation by the King in Council.*

British and French in India: Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, II, 87–100; Woodward, *Expansion of the British Empire*, 71–85, 176–181, 196–205.

Peace of Paris (1783): Ashley, *American History*, 183–185; Fiske, *The Critical Period*, 1–36; McLaughlin, *Confederation and Constitution*, 18–34; Lecky's *American Revolution*, 464–485.

Studies

1. Dutch Commerce. Yeats, *Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce*, 215–225.

2. French sugar trade. Andrews, C. M., in *American Historical Magazine*, 20 (1915), 549–551.

3. The slave trade. Spears, *Slave Trade in America.*

4. Reasons for colonization. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, I, 331–341.

5. Work of Champlain. Parkman, *Struggle for a Continent*, 88–106, 120–124.

6. French policies in Canada. Parkman, *Struggle for a Continent*, 169–173, 314–318.

7. The Treaty of Utrecht. Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 42–49.

8. The West India trade. Andrews, C. M., in *American Historical Review*, 20 (1915), 761–767.

9. The French in the West. Parkman, *Struggle for a Continent*, 156–164 (256–264), 297–300.

10. Capture of Quebec. Fiske, *New France and New England*, 349–359.

11. The Stamp Act. Channing, *Student's History of the United States* (rev. ed.), 116–124.

12. The Second Continental Congress. Hart (ed.), *American History Told by Contemporaries*, II, No. 185.

13. The French Alliance. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution*, 217–226.

14. American *vs.* French interests in treaty negotiations. Fiske, *Critical Period*, 17–25.

Questions

1. Name the different countries which contended for commercial supremacy in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries respectively. Show the difference between the Portuguese and Spanish results. Explain how the North Sea and Newfoundland fisheries developed a merchant marine as well as furnished valuable articles for trade.

2. Show the importance of fish, furs, sugar, and tobacco respectively in the development of trade before 1776 between Europe and America. Explain the nature of the Dutch trade before 1700 and show how England gained control of most of it.

3. Name several motives affecting colonization and indicate the influence of each on particular groups of colonies. Show how the struggle between Charles I and Parliament influenced the settlement of New England. Notice how England gained control of the territory between her northern and southern colonies and that south of Virginia.

4. What were England's methods of governing and con-

trolling the trade of her American colonies? How did the French treat their colonies in the Great Lake and Mississippi basins?

5. Name the different conflicts in the "Second Hundred Years' War" between England and France; give causes, important event or events, and results of each.

6. What was the nature of the trade gained by England through the Treaty of Utrecht with the Spanish West Indies?

7. Show how the French occupied the Mississippi basin, how the English gained control of Quebec and Canada, and how England gained advantages over France in India. Give provisions and show importance of the Peace of Paris, 1763.

8. Compare methods used by England before 1763 (question 4) with those adopted by Great Britain after that date. Discuss each of the four steps in the development of the new colonial policy after 1763.

9. Show that independence from Great Britain and union of the colonies necessarily took place at the same time. Describe the military events of each of the three periods of the war. Show how events in Europe and particularly in England gave us a favorable peace treaty in 1783.

10. Explain the nature of American government under the Confederation, showing its main defect and naming several specific defects. Describe the government under the present Constitution. Name several important contributions of the United States to the world and explain each as fully as possible.

[illegible]

CHAPTER V

REFORM

BEGINNINGS OF MODERN TREATMENT OF CRIME

Numerous offenses punishable by death.

94. Crime in England. — The rights of the common people under the law depend (1) upon the liberty or bondage of the individual, and (2) upon the laws dealing with crime. We have already discussed personal freedom under the subjects of serfdom and villeinage (§§ 7, 8). In some ages it has been considered a crime for a peasant or common man to protect himself or his family; in others the common man has had comparatively few rights which the law respected and the government safeguarded. When we observe that in England in the middle of the eighteenth century no fewer than one hundred and sixty crimes were punishable by death, we infer that the government was little interested in the welfare of the people.

City watchmen and their problems.

The reason for so many severe laws undoubtedly was the great amount of lawlessness in England before the nineteenth century. In the London of Queen Anne and the first Georges the streets were little safer than they were in the Middle Ages.[1] Even when robbers and highwaymen, not to say murderers, did not disturb the chance traveler, the "young bloods" returning from a dance or a frolic were ready for mischief such as we do not tolerate even on Hallowe'en or other festive occasions. The streets were patrolled by watchmen, but these men were usually feeble old pensioners who did little but walk the streets and call the hours. When not actively engaged in duty, these old watchmen were likely to fall asleep in their boxes. It was a favorite pastime of the "young bloods" to overturn the boxes if the watchmen had fallen asleep inside. Peace-loving burghers were terrorized by gangs of young rowdies, who took picturesque names, such as that of the Mohawks.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 553.

Highway robbers and smuggling.

On the roads outside of the cities, travelers were likely to be held up by highwaymen of the Dick Turpin type. Along the seacoast, fishermen and other inhabitants made a business of smuggling from the seacoast towns of France or the Netherlands. Since the moral sentiment of practically all seacoast communities favored this, the government had great difficulty in breaking up the gangs.

Effect of the new guard and street gas lights.

About 1750 the large English cities replaced the old watch by a new guard of younger, athletic policemen. The new guardsmen made the streets much quieter and safer. The most effective restraint upon crime in the streets, however, was the introduction, at the close of the eighteenth century, of illuminating gas for street lighting. It made the detection of offenders much easier.

Methods of arresting offenders.

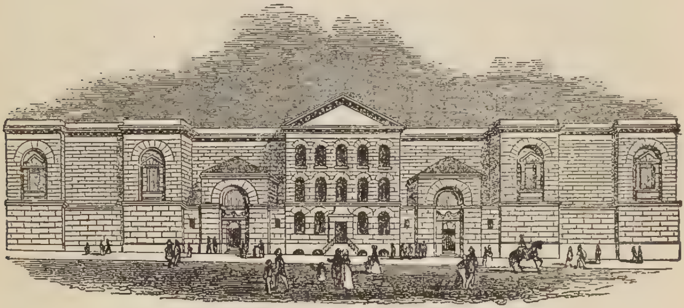
95. Treatment of Criminal Offenders. — The English system of trying offenders was very much more modern than that in use on the Continent. An accused person was arrested openly by a police officer and on a warrant.[1] In France on the contrary an arrest might be by *lettres de cachet* (caa-shay′). These letters were private statements made by a person of influence. They provided that an offender of good social position could be arrested without publicity; they also permitted men secretly to put their enemies in prison.

---

[1] Notice the opposition of James Otis to the use of *general* search warrants in America. Ashley, *American History*, § 122.

Imprisonment of accused persons and witnesses in England.

While awaiting trial, the person accused of crime was kept in a loathsome dungeon. Unless his crime was punishable by death, even in *England* he had no attorney to represent him. Before 1679 he could not claim successfully the privilege of *habeas corpus*, although after the Revolution of 1688 this writ was obtained more easily. Frequently it was difficult for a person awaiting trial, or even for a witness who was held in prison, to obtain bail.



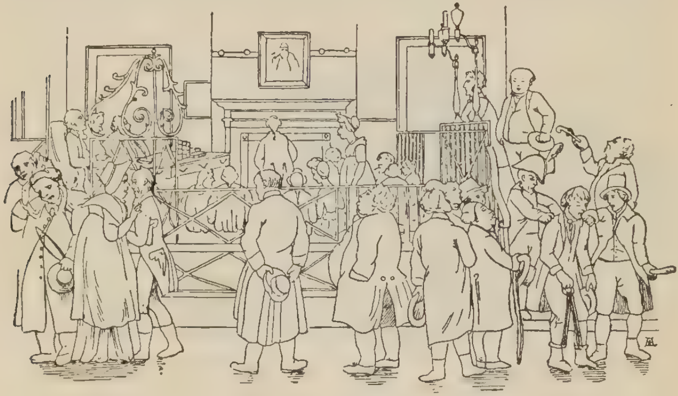
Newgate Prison, Eighteenth Century

Treatment before a trial of persons accused of crime, on the Continent.

In France and in other countries on the *Continent* there was no provision for quick trial, and *the person who was accused of crime was usually tortured before the trial was held.* He might be subjected to intense heat or have water poured into his stomach and lungs. He might be held up by the thumbs or tortured on the rack. He might even have his bones broken by the jailer and afterward be bound to a cart wheel. There was no bail, and witnesses as well as accused persons were usually kept in prison.

Trials and punishments in England.

96. Trials in England and on the Continent. — When a man was accused of crime in *England*, there was an open trial before a jury, but the defendant was held to be guilty until his innocence was proved. Fairness requires it to be said that English juries usually refused to convict persons of minor crimes if the penalty was death; thus many laws providing for capital punishment were nullified. Often too the jury declared the prisoner guilty, not of the offense with which he was charged, but of a similar charge for which there was lighter punishment. For the death penalty, transportation to an English colony was sometimes substituted — first to America, later to Australia or Tasmania. Until 1783 the execution of a criminal was the scene of a procession and celebration, a display much desired by criminals who sought notoriety.



Bow Street Police Court

Secret continental trials.

On the *Continent, trials* were secret. Witnesses were examined secretly; occasionally even they were subjected to torture. The trial occurred before a judge, not a jury, and the prosecutors did not give the prisoner a real chance to meet his accusers or to know the evidence presented against him.

Torture in trials: old uses and abolition.

97. The Abolishment of Torture. — Many reformers had preached against the use of torture, but Frederick the Great of Prussia was the first to abolish it in connection with trials. In other countries torture as a means of extracting evidence before a trial was discontinued about the same time. Later it was abandoned altogether, in France and Austria before 1800, in Spain and Italy during the nineteenth century. The abolition of torture was a reform largely influenced by Bec-ca-ri′a.

Writings of Beccaria on penal reform.

Beccaria (1738–1794) was an Italian reformer who argued that the object of imposing penalties for crime was the protection of society rather than the punishment of the offender. He advocated light penalties, maintaining that people are deterred from crime more by the certainty than by the severity of the punishment. He urged that every man accused of crime should be treated as innocent until he had been proved guilty and declared that secret trials were unjust and unsuccessful, therefore all trials should be public.

Objectionable character of the eighteenth century English prison.

98. Howard and Prison Reform. — The prisons of the eighteenth century were used comparatively little for the punishment of convicts; they were filled chiefly with debtors, persons accused of crime, and witnesses. They were dark and frequently were underground. So unsanitary were most prisons that a special form of disease called jail fever was prevalent. Prisoners were herded together without regard to age, sex, or the nature of their offense, and they were dependent for food upon jailers who refused to give it to them unless bribes were paid.

John Howard

Many people had realized the inhumane conditions of

Work of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry.

prison life and treatment, but nothing was done until *John Howard,* himself a jailer, demanded reform of the worst abuses. Howard visited not only most of the jails of England but many of those on the Continent. He worked unceasingly for the improvement of the prisons and for a more humane and sensible treatment of the prisoners. Through his efforts Parliament was induced to pass laws which provided for reform penitentiaries, but the first laws remained a dead letter, especially after the death of Howard. In the next century *Elizabeth Fry* spent many years teaching inmates of English prisons and working among them. She did much to improve the condition of the prisons of that country. In America and also on the Continent, after 1830 the prisons were decidedly better than those of the eighteenth century.

ELIZABETH FRY READING TO WOMEN IN PRISON

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CHANGES

The debtor and prison.

99. Problems of Poverty. — As already noted, a large number of the inmates of prisons were debtors. Such imprisonment, however, did much to injure debtors and little to help them. Although debtors were kept in prison until their debts were paid, prison life offered no good opportunity for earning money with which to pay off indebtedness. In short, the prison methods of the eighteenth century failed either to discourage crime or to reduce poverty.

Condition of various classes.

As we shall see later (§§ 183–185), there was at this time a great transformation in English agriculture which caused distress and pauperism. When the commons and waste lands were inclosed, most of the *cotters* who had lived on those fields in tiny huts or cottages surrounded by garden plots were deprived of their homes and of the opportunity to keep shacks and some chickens or to raise food in their gardens. Some became day laborers; some went to the new industrial towns; some became public charges. The lot of many of the old *tenant farmers* or *freemen* was worse at the end of the century than at the beginning, for they were now quite unable to eke out a living. Before the invention of new spinning and weaving machines (§§ 187, 188), they had spun yarn and woven cloth at odd times in their homes. When the new factories were opened, they were deprived of these employments, which had helped to give them a decent standard of living. Although some of them went to factory towns, many were obliged to apply to the poor-relief authorities for help.

Increase in the volume of poor relief.

An attempt was made at this time to modify the English poor laws,[1] in order to help those classes which were in dire need. Since prices were very high, it became the custom [2] to give to all families which did not earn a living wage such an additional sum as was absolutely necessary for their support. Human nature will not withstand much temptation, and the results of this may easily be imagined. The poor rates increased fivefold from 1750 to 1800 and fivefold again from 1800 to the enactment of the new poor law in 1834 (§ 490).

---

[1] E. E. C., § 715.

[2] Speenhamland system, 1795.

New public interest and reforms.

100. Practical Philanthropy. — Since people were growing more humane and were discussing and thinking much about the rights of man, a great deal more was attempted through private charity in the last half of the eighteenth century than in earlier ages. In former times most dependents had been huddled together in the almshouses, aged and children, men and women, the blind and the diseased. Now there were established a number of orphan asylums which cared for children who would otherwise have been sent to the almshouses. Charity schools were frequently provided by philanthropists for the education of these and other poor children. A number of hospitals were to be found in the large cities, especially London and Paris. It cannot be said of these institutions that they were well managed or that their methods were modern or successful, but they were certainly better than none.

The fight against smallpox.

101. Improved Sanitation. — Nowadays epidemics are almost unknown, but in the eighteenth century epidemics of children's diseases were the rule, and *severe epidemics* of smallpox, cholera, and the plague were not exceptional. In order to fight the worst curse of all, that of smallpox, use was made of inoculation. This inoculation of the patient with smallpox was practiced with little children because the disease is light with them, but it was also used somewhat with adults. After 1796, when Jenner developed a system of inoculation with cowpox, this dreadful scourge became less common.

Improvements in surgery and medicine.

The control of epidemics was influenced greatly by improvements both in the treatment of disease and in sanitation. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the *practice of surgery* was almost entirely in the hands of the barbers. The physician looked down upon the surgeon and continued to do so even in later years when the surgeon, no longer a barber-practitioner, was better educated than the physician. There were, of course, some improvements in the practice of medicine.

Improvements in sanitation.

Some effort was made toward greater cleanliness of person and the home. That sanitation was not improved as much as it should have been is shown by the very high death rate of English towns until 1850. In some cases the annual death rate went above fifty per thousand, although that of the average American city to-day is below fifteen per thousand. Even in London the death rate was higher than the birth rate. Growth of towns depended entirely on migration from country to city.

Nature of the Society of Jesus.

102. Suppression of the Jesuits. — An important change of the later eighteenth century affected the religious body known as Jesuits. This order, starting at the time of the Reformation, was well disciplined, thorough, and successful for many years. As time passed the Jesuits grew wealthier and more powerful. They wielded much influence in the church, and therefore did not always enjoy the full confidence of the secular clergy. Not only did they have numerous and excellent schools, but they exercised much political power. Again and again it happened that a Jesuit pupil became king and that a Jesuit priest was thought to be the " power behind the throne."

Action taken against the Jesuits.

In many cases the Jesuits had earned the dislike of other church officials, of nobles and kings, and of merchant burghers in the growing cities. Naturally they aroused the envy of those classes that desired their power or the business which they were said to have in Europe and in America. Their enemies were exceedingly active and determined to suppress the order. The Society of

Jesus was abolished in Portugal in 1759, and within a few years its members were expelled from France, Spain, and other countries of Europe. In 1773 the Pope was persuaded to suppress the order, but in October, 1814, it was reëstablished.

Reform Philosophers

Philosophers and economists.

103. Names and Work of the Philosophers. — The reform movement of the late eighteenth century was influenced greatly by a number of philosophers, among whom the Frenchmen Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau were most important. It was also influenced by the work of the new economists, especially Quesnay and Adam Smith.

Influence exercised by these writers.

When people read the writings of these men they understood better why an absolute monarchy was objectionable and why the existing privileges of nobles and clergy were unfair. Over the benevolent despots (§§ 107–109) the philosophers exercised considerable influence, because several of the enlightened rulers of Europe tried to put into practice some of the reforms advocated by them. We must not imagine that they caused or greatly influenced the French Revolution. As expressed by an able American historian, "The great French writers of the eighteenth century exercised by their works a smaller influence on the outbreak and actual course of the French Revolution than has been generally supposed. The causes of the movement were chiefly economical and political, not philosophical."[1]

104. Montesquieu and Voltaire. — The earliest of these French philosophers was *Montesquieu* (Mon-tes-qui-a′). In 1748 he published his most famous book, the "Spirit of Laws." In this volume he called attention to the

---

[1] Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, p. 9.

Doctrine of separation of departments of government.

many excellences of the British constitution and government. He particularly urged the value of separating the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of government, asserting that the excellence of the British system was due in large part to this separation of powers. His doctrines were accepted as true, and practiced both by the American statesmen who established our own government, and by the French writers and politicians connected with the French Revolution.

Ideas and experiences of Voltaire

The ablest and most influential of the reform philosophers was *Voltaire.* As a young man Voltaire had spent several years in England; he was thoroughly interested in the freedom allowed Englishmen and was impressed by the superiority of English institutions over those of the French. Because of his criticisms of French society, his "Letters on the English" was burned publicly. Later he spent a few years in the court of Frederick the Great and undoubtedly had great influence on the reforms inaugurated by that Prussian monarch (§ 69). Throughout his long career he was a severe critic of the established order as it existed in his time and particularly of the institution of that day, the church, which he thought interfered most with the adoption of reforms and new ideas. "The reforms which Voltaire especially desired were individual liberty, the equalization of the burdens of taxation, the abolition of serfdom, the suppression of feudal dues, and the organization of public education." His wit, his abhorrence of injustice, his fearlessness in attack-

VOLTAIRE

ing evils in high places or low gave him a place at the head of the reformers of his day.

Nature of the Encyclopedia.

105. The Encyclopedists and Rousseau. — Soon after the middle of the eighteenth century a group of reform writers published a series of nearly thirty volumes, entitled the Encyclopedia. Although many of the articles were exceedingly moderate in tone, a very large number of them embodied the reform ideas of the editor, *Diderot* (Did-e-ro′), and of other reform philosophers. In other words, they exposed to ridicule the outworn institutions of that day, they called attention to abuses of privileges, and they criticized the arbitrary powers exercised by absolute monarchs. They explained the principles of the new science and discussed, in great detail with numerous illustrations, many processes of manufacture.

Rousseau and the return to nature.

In his "Social Contract," *Rousseau* (Roo-so′) contended that in early political society men had lived in a state of nature, that they had granted the right to rule them to leaders who had extended their powers until they had enslaved the people. In a volume on education Rousseau contended that men should return to nature and should be as natural as possible in learning and in governing themselves.

Opposition to the mercantilist doctrines.

106. The Physiocrats and Adam Smith. — We have already noted the doctrines of the mercantilists whose followers influenced Colbert (§ 56) and other statesmen. They favored a policy of restricting imports in order to increase the wealth of the country, particularly by enlarging its supply of gold and silver. In the eighteenth century there arose a group of philosophers who were interested in economics; they were known as the physiocrats. Prominent among them were *Quesnay* (Kes′nay), who contended that agriculture is far more important than any other industry; therefore government should be supported by a single tax upon land and agriculture.

Other economists of that day who opposed the paternalistic policy of the mercantilists[1] advocated the opposite, "the let alone policy," which is usually associated with the expression "Laissez faire et laissez passer." "Free trade" in England (§ 343) applied these principles.

The first modern economist, Adam Smith.

Far abler and more influential than any of the French economists was the Scotch writer on economics, *Adam Smith.* In 1776, the year in which the United States became independent of Great Britain, Adam Smith published his work entitled "The Wealth of Nations." Smith was opposed to the general policies of the mercantilists and therefore objected to artificial restrictions upon foreign commerce which interfered with agriculture or industry. He favored a freer trade than had ever been permitted between modern nations, and he explained the principles underlying economics with such skill that he really created a new science. Most writers on economics since that day owe a great debt to Adam Smith.

THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

Increasing despotism accompanied by some important social reform.

107. Benevolent Despotism. — In the years before the French Revolution important changes were occurring in different countries not only in the spread of reform ideas but in the actual relief from abuses, for kings as well as people were interested in reform,[2] and on the continent of Europe the monarchs were absolute. Each had sufficient authority to carry most of his plans into effect to increase his territories and his power at home as well as to make extensive reforms. If he was public spirited and understood the trend of the age, he tried to unite his people, he reformed his laws, he attacked the worst abuses in the church, and he abolished the greatest hardships of the serfs. Naturally these despots did not give to the people a greater share in the government than they had had before. In fact, they took away many local assemblies and privileges, for they wished the king to be all-powerful.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 727.

[2] The map of Europe was undergoing changes as well. Notice especially the partitions of Poland (§ 65).

Names of the most important despots.

Not in one country, but all over continental Europe did these changes occur, especially in the lands of the most prominent enlightened despots, Catherine II of Russia (§ 64), Frederick II of Prussia (§ 69), and Joseph II of Austria.

Need of reform in 1750.

108. Reform of Old Privileges. — In practically all continental countries at the middle of the eighteenth century some medieval customs and usages survived in the form of privileges. It is customary to speak of this epoch as that of the "*ancien régime*" (ray-zheme′), and we shall study its main features in France before the Great Revolution (§§ 111–119). No benevolent despot abolished many of the old abuses, for those who had privileges were tenacious of their rights.

Feudal and legal reforms.

Some of the reforms made by these despots modified feudalism as it existed in the early eighteenth century. Occasionally *feudal dues* and *serfdom*[1] were abolished, but usually the arbitrary orders of the absolute monarchs did little more than lighten the worst feudal burdens.[2] In Prussia and in France a considerable number of old local tolls were abolished (§ 15). This action encouraged trade between different districts. In harmony with the teachings of Beccaria, torture was abolished in a few countries. All the benevolent despots sought to unify the laws of their countries, although Catherine II's attempt to codify the laws of Russia was unsuccessful. We must not imagine, however, that the national law in any country did away with the local laws and customs; they survived everywhere in continental Europe, differing in each community and province (§ 113).

---

[1] *Frederick the Great of Prussia* abolished serfdom on the *Prussian royal lands* (§ 69). Neither Frederick nor Catherine II of Russia was able to help the serfs on the land of the nobles.

[2] In Sar-din′i-a, the most important kingdom of northern Italy, many old feudal abuses were destroyed. In his Austrian lands and to some extent in his other domains, Joseph II abolished feudal services and burdens. In France, Turgot (Tur-go′), minister of Louis XVI, lowered the cost of carrying grain from one district to another. He abolished forced labor of the peasants on roads.

JOSEPH II OF AUSTRIA

Attempt reforms and methods.

109. Joseph II as an Enlightened Despot.—We have already considered the benevolent despotism of Catherine of Russia and of Frederick the Great. Neither of these, however, was the typical enlightened despot. That title belongs to Joseph II of Austria, Emperor from 1765 to 1790. Joseph II was a student of the reform philosophers, was very much influenced by the reform spirit of his age, and was anxious to unite his heterogeneous races into a united people. He attempted too many things at the same time, and, as Frederick the Great said, he always did the second thing before he did the first.[1]

Maria Theresa, mother of Joseph, had used her absolute

---

[1] One historian gives the following summary of Joseph's reforms: He desired "to consolidate all his domains into one homogeneous whole; to abolish all privileges and exclusive rights; to obliterate the boundaries of nations and substitute for them a mere administrative division of his whole Empire; to merge all nationalities and establish a uniform code of justice; to raise the mass of the community to legal equality with their former masters; to constitute a uniform level of democratic simplicity under his own absolute sway."

CHRONOLOGICAL

GENERAL EUROPEAN		DIFFERENT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES		FRANCE	
1618	Beginning of Thirty Years' War				
			Gustavus Adolphus (Sweden)		
		1640	The Great Elector (Prussia)	1643	Louis XIV
1648	Peace of Westphalia				
		1682	Peter the Great (Russia)		Rule of Colbert
				1685	Revocation of Edict of Nantes
	Coalitions under William of Orange against Louis XIV			1689	Beginning of Second Hundred Years' War
1701	War of Spanish Succession		Charles XII (Sweden)		
1713	Treaty of Utrecht			1715	Death of Louis XIV
					Law's Mississippi Bubble
1740	War of the Austrian Succession	1740	Frederick the Great (Prussia)		
		1740	Maria Theresa (Austria)		
1756	Seven Years' War				
		1762	Catherine II (Russia)		
1763	Treaty of Paris			1763	French lose colonial possessions
		1765	Joseph II (Emperor)		
					Turgot
1778	Revolutionary War	1779	Siege of Gibraltar		
					Necker
1783	Peace of Paris				
				1787	Assembly of Notables
				1789	States-General

TABLE (1603–1789)

	ENGLAND		REST OF WORLD
1603	James I	1607	Jamestown
		1620	Plymouth
1628	Petition of Right	1629	Great Migration to New England
1635	Ship Money		
1642	Civil War		
1649	Commonwealth		
1653	Protectorate		French explorations in America
			Russians in Siberia
1660	Restoration		
		1686	Dominion of New England
1688	Glorious Revolution	1689	Revolutions in America
			Queen Anne's War
1715	George I		
	Walpole prime minister		English in India
			Contests between governors and people in America
1757	William Pitt prime minister	1757	Plassey (battle, India)
		1759	Quebec (siege, America)
1763	New imperial policy Building up party of King's Friends	1763	French lose America and India
		1765	Stamp Act troubles
1774	Policy of repression	1775	Second Continental Congress
		1776	Declaration of Independence
1775	War with colonies	1777	Saratoga (battle)
1778	War with France	1781	Yorktown (siege) Confederation
1784	Restoration of Cabinet Government	1787	Constitutional Convention
		1789	Inauguration of Washington

Limitation of provincial rights and attempts to consolidate Austrian possessions.

authority to destroy many privileges of the provincial diets; she brought the provinces under control through royal representatives sent out from Vienna. Joseph not only attempted to take away what remained of the powers of the diets, but he also attempted to consolidate his territory into a single state organized into districts which were to be governed from Vienna. As we know that even in the twentieth century Austria is not a united state and that each race still has its own usages and customs and desires independent government (§§ 304, 308), we can easily understand that Joseph II failed completely to unite his dominions.

Result of Joseph's reforms.

Since Joseph attempted to interfere with the privileges of the nobles and clergy,[1] both of these powerful orders opposed his policies. Naturally no monarch, however absolute, could bring about in a few years reforms which the people did not want, and for which there was no preparation; reforms which did not take into account old prejudices, established customs, and differences of race, language, and belief. The work of Joseph was therefore doomed to failure and he died a disappointed man. Two of his reforms, however, were permanent and important; he abolished serfdom, and also feudal tenure, in the distinctively *Austrian* lands.

---

[1] In order to make himself real ruler in Austria, it was necessary for Joseph to reduce the influence and power of the Pope over his people. The Emperor therefore temporarily granted toleration to all religions, and he allowed Protestants to have their own churches and schools. He abolished many convents and monasteries and tried to bring the Catholic bishops under royal authority. Fearing the influence of these changes, the Pope visited Vienna, where he was treated with extreme courtesy, but Joseph practically kept him a prisoner and decided who should visit his Holiness.

General References

Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 33–61.

Hassall, *The Balance of Power*, 280–297, 350–393.

Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 157–195.

Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols.

Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V.

Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century*.

Topics

Punishment of Offenders on the Continent: Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, 110–118; Lea, *Superstition and Force*, Chapter X; Lacroix, *France in the Seventeenth Century*, 284–311.

Charity in France: Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, 267–284; Hugon, *Social France in the Eighteenth Century*, 167–197.

Voltaire: Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 168–172; Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, 51–69; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Voltaire."

Studies

1. Lawlessness in England. Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, 192–216.
2. The work of John Howard. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V, 656–664.
3. French education. Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, 241–267.
4. Industrial changes and paupers in England. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V, 454–460.
5. Kitchen and table. Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, 367–387.
6. French theaters. Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, 387–415.
7. Improvements in surgery. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V, 568–573.
8. Eighteenth century treatment of smallpox. Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, 580–584.
9. Suppression of the Jesuits. Hassall, *The Balance of Power*, 290–297.

10. Joseph II. Hassall, *The Balance of Power*, 350–358.
11. The "Encyclopedia." Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, 243–260.

Questions

1. Make a table comparing the offenses, methods of trying cases, and methods of punishment in England and on the Continent.

2. What forms of torture were used in Europe and for what purposes? How many of the principles advocated by Beccaria are practiced at the present time? Who was Howard and what did he do for the reform of the eighteenth century prisons?

3. How were problems of poverty treated in England before 1790? What was the Speenhamland system, and why was it opposed? To what extent did the eighteenth century develop successful philanthropic methods? What improvements had been developed for fighting epidemics? What progress had been made in the practice of surgery? To what extent was there improved sanitation before 1800? Compare in each case with present day methods.

4. What powers were exercised by the Jesuits? Why were they disliked by other church officials? by nobles and kings? by merchant burghers?

5. Why were there reform philosophers in the last half of the eighteenth century? Why were most of these French or connected with France? What does the world owe to Voltaire? to Rousseau? to the Encyclopedists? to Adam Smith?

6. Explain these terms: encyclopedists, benevolent despotism, separation of departments of government, social compact or contract, single tax, laissez faire, protection.

7. Why were there benevolent despots in the last half of the eighteenth century? Name three, show that each was despotic and describe also some phase of their enlightened rule. Before the Great War, were any European rulers despotic? To what extent were they benevolent despots?

8. Enumerate the most important reforms which were made in the latter part of the eighteenth century? Name reforms which Joseph II undertook, and explain as fully as possible why he failed as a reformer.

PART II

THE AGE OF REVOLUTION (1789–1849)

Meeting of the States-General

CHAPTER VI

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Impossibility of destroying the old régime through reform.

110. The Beginning of a New Europe. — The old régime as it was in France and in other countries of the Continent after the middle of the eighteenth century no longer exists in Europe. So long had it lasted, so great was its power, so firm was its determination to keep its privileges that it could not be overthrown by peaceful reform. Only revolution could free Europe from the old régime. In France, where there was no benevolent despot and reforms were incomplete, the overthrow was sudden and complete. We call this great change, probably "the greatest turning point as yet discernible in modern history," the French Revolution.

The work of the French Revolution, at first, under Napoleon, and in later revolutions.

The work of the French Revolution was not limited to France. The spirit that led the French people to abolish the old régime in France led them also to attempt self-government as a nation — the first French Republic. It led them to offer aid to other peoples in their struggle for the "liberty, equality, fraternity" which was the motto of the French Revolution. It led them to support their great leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, in his conquests and reforms outside of France. The example of these enthusiastic French republicans caused other European peoples to demand the reform of abuses and the abolition of privileges. *By the French Revolution a new era of world history was ushered in*, an era that, within a few decades, brought to central Europe a very considerable degree of national unity, constitutional government, and personal liberty.

Distinction between the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror.

The French Revolution is not to be confused with the Reign of Terror (§ 137). The Revolution was a widespread movement which completely reorganized France; the Reign of Terror, a brief experience in severe government. The Revolution, moreover, began as a protest, not against bad government nor against poor financiering, but against the privileges of the old régime. What those privileges were, what the old régime was, we shall now notice briefly.

THE OLD RÉGIME IN FRANCE

Old abuses and new usurpations.

111. Feudal and Monarchical Character of the Old Régime. — As indicated above, the name "old régime" is applied to the order of things which existed before the French Revolution. Although several centuries had elapsed since the Feudal Age, a great many essential features of the medieval Church and of feudal government survived in the eighteenth century. Even more old privileges of the clergy and nobles persisted. The "*ancien régime*" was not only medieval in character; it was also monarchical, since the ruler in each country was an absolute monarch or a despot.

The old régime in different countries.

These conditions existed to only a limited extent in England and Holland; consequently the old régime cannot be studied in those countries. In France it survived chiefly in the form of *social* and *economic* privileges.[1] In the rest of western and central Europe it included not only *political* rights for the upper classes but *serfdom*[2] for most of the people.

112. Extent of National Development in France. — During the Middle Ages France was not a country in which every one fought for the same suzerain, or lived

---

[1] Cf. §§ 116, 117.

[2] Cf. § 8.

Consolidation of the royal power in France.

under the same laws, or were entitled to the same rights. France was a kingdom with a feudal king who really ruled only his own royal domain.[1] By the time of the Renaissance, the kings had gained many absolute powers; until the eighteenth century they continued to become more absolute and arbitrary. This united the French because it brought them under a strong central government.

Growing unity of the French people.

During the Middle Ages there was no French nation. The Hundred Years' War helped to unite the people, especially when Joan of Arc aroused them against the English invaders. In the eighteenth century it might be said that the French were not only more intelligent than almost any other race in Europe, but that they had more interests in common. In other words they were united, for France was coming to be a real nation.

Dissimilarities in France.

113. Lack of Uniformity in France. — We would naturally suppose that a people who form a nation and have an absolute monarch would not have many different types and kinds of local government and laws. But in France the traveler found very numerous and important differences as he journeyed from Paris to the remote provinces.

Provincial privileges and differences.

Before 1789 France was divided into provinces.[2] In the older provinces the government and laws were more or less uniform. In those which had been added to the kingdom during the four hundred years preceding the French Revolution, there were assemblies which had the right to levy their own taxes. These provinces had other special privileges which were not enjoyed by the old provinces.

Survival of sets of local laws and courts.

Not only did *certain provinces have special privileges* but throughout France *each locality had its own set of customs, laws,* and officials, and each was governed according to local custom. There was no uniform law in France; there were more than three hundred sets of local customs and regulations. An act that was a crime in one town might be treated very differently in each of the neighboring villages. Besides the hundreds of sets of local customs, there were tens of thousands of courts, survivals of the old feudal courts.[1] Although the people of France did not yet form a real nation, they objected to these differences.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 598.

[2] E.g., Normandy and Champagne.

Absolutism in France.

114. The Government of France. — We call the French king an absolute ruler, since he made laws or regulations arbitrarily, believed that he ruled by "divine right," and therefore considered himself above the law, as did James II of England (§ 36); yet we can see from the preceding section that his power was limited to some degree by the rights and privileges of many local governments and by the many hundred systems of law.

Centralized dminis- ration hrough the oyal coun- il and the ntendants.

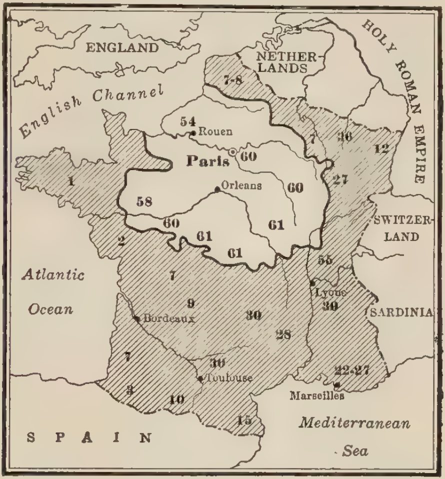
The real work of governing France was done, not by the king or by the local governments, but by a *royal council* for the central government and by *intendants* for local affairs. The royal council consisted of forty members; it looked after the finances, the maintenance of order, and a hundred other matters. France was divided into twenty-four districts, over each of which was placed an intendant appointed by the crown. These intendants enforced the laws; in addition they, with their assistants, gave permits for the building of houses, the sale of cattle, the holding of celebrations, and many other affairs. So extensive was their power that they were popularly known as the "Thirty Tyrants."

The land ax and he burden f the easants.

115. Taxation. — In order to support these governments and the extravagant court of the king, numerous taxes were levied. Several of these were strongly disliked by the people, particularly the salt tax (*ga-belle'*), the land tax (*taille*, ta′y), and the road tax (*cor-vée*). Although the church owned about one fifth of the land in France and the king and nobles owned about as much more, neither the clergy nor the nobility paid any of the *land taxes.* The burden upon the peasants was therefore very heavy. In consequence, throughout France at that time the common people lived in apparent poverty in order that their land tax might be as light as possible. The repairs on houses were neglected, and the yards were left in poor condition, even though, in rooms at the rear which the tax assessor did not visit, there might be mahogany furniture or fine Sev′res china. In spite of these attempts to evade taxation, writers have contended that the land tax took from the peasants nearly one half of the produce of the average farm.

---

[1] E. E. C., §§ 479, 490.



WILLIAMS ENG.CO.,N.Y.

REGION OF THE FRENCH GREAT SALT TAX

The hated road tax.

More objectionable than the land tax was the hated *corvée*, which consisted of forced labor on the roads or on public works. The lord[1] or the local officials might demand the services of the people or their ox teams at any time, even when seed must be planted or crops must be harvested.

Income tax and indirect taxes that were "farmed."

The clergy and the nobles were exempt from these taxes, but the nobles paid their share of an income tax called the "*twentieth*" which was levied upon each town or community. There was in addition another tax called the capitation or *poll tax*. The right to collect the *salt tax* and *other indirect taxes* was sold to a corporation of tax farmers, similar to those of the Roman Republic.[2] These men paid a definite sum to the government; they extorted from the people such additional amounts as they could.

Existence of local tolls and octroi taxes.

Part of the expense of the local governments was paid by customs duties which were collected by most towns and by many of the baronies in France. These octroi (oc-trwa′) or tolls were not so common as in the Middle Ages,[3] but they were still sufficiently numerous to make commerce difficult. If a merchant wished to carry his goods to market he might be obliged to pay these dues ten, fifteen, or twenty times before he was able to sell his product in the nearest city. Imagine going from New York to Boston and being obliged to pay duty at every town through which one passed. That was what happened when one went from Paris to Lyons in 1775. These duties were of course a severe tax on trade, often making it quite unprofitable.[4]

116. The Clergy. — In addition to taxes the peasants were obliged to give "tithes" to the church.[5] These did not actually amount to one tenth of the income of the people, but they fell upon a people already heavily burdened. The tithes supported an organization that, being practically exempt from taxes, did not pay its share toward the support of the state. The church had also the income from its own extensive lands.

---

[1] The term *corvée* really included all forced labor or service. The lord's service was limited to twelve days a year, that of the government was unlimited.

[2] E. E. C., § 331.

[3] Cf. E. E. C., § 567. Octroi duties are still collected at the gates of many French and other European cities.

[4] On tolls cf. § 15 *n*.

[5] E. E. C., § 521.

The church had the tithes and the revenues from its untaxed lands.

The church a privileged medieval organization.

The church had its own laws and its own courts. In many respects it constituted a state within a state. It tolerated no faiths other than its own; and in general it was not in full sympathy with the times or the people.

High-salaried prelates and underpaid curates.

In eighteenth-century France there were higher and lower clergy, as in the Middle Ages.[1] The higher clergy had good salaries, so that, although they constituted only one sixth of the church officials, they had five sixths of the church revenues. The higher clergy, being nobles appointed by the king, spent as much time at court as they did in the care of their abbeys or bishoprics. The low secular clergy, the priests, belonged to the common people. They were overworked and underpaid.

The privileged nobility and the ordinary nobles.

117. The Nobility. — *The second privileged class* was made up of nobles. About one person in two hundred was a member of a noble family, although comparatively few persons belonged to the real nobility which owned the larger estates, enjoyed most of the offices, lived at court, and was really privileged.

Specific privileges of the nobles.

The nobles owned about as much land as the church. They enjoyed exemption from taxation, besides many other privileges. They had many hunting rights; the peasant might not shoot doves or hares, even if this game destroyed crops. In some parts of France the peasants could not build fences, because fences interfered with the sport of mounted huntsmen. The peasants were still obliged to bring their grain to the noble's mill and perhaps bake their bread in the noble's oven, being charged good round prices, as the lord had a monopoly. The lord levied tolls on the roads of his estate, even if the roads were kept up by the labor of the peasants. If a flock was driven by his residence or a wagon passed laden for market, he took a part as his toll. Such were some of the objectionable privileges that had survived from feudal times, when most of them had existed for good reason.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 515.

The *bourgeoisie* and their opportunities.

118. The Middle Classes. — Between the privileged classes and the country peasants there was a class of artisans, lawyers, manufacturers, merchants, and bankers that lived in cities. These we called the *bourgeoisie* (§ 14). Most of the minor offices in the government were held by members of this middle class, who were industrious and efficient. The more successful of the *bourgeoisie* bought for themselves titles of nobility, but they could not buy the respect of the nobles, or real power in the government, or privileges that belonged to the old aristocracy.

Discontent and ambitions of the *bourgeoisie*.

The middle class chafed under a system that created monopoly for a few and interfered with the making of money. *They were ambitious and discontented.* When the revolution came, they deprived the old aristocracy of many privileges, and tried to make a new government which would specially represent their interests. *The French Revolution was, in fact, largely the work of the* bourgeoisie.

The peasant and his burdens.

119. The Peasants. — Last, and at the time least, were the peasants. Less than one tenth of the peasants were serfs. The rest were personally free. Most of them "owned" their land; that is, the land belonged in the family, subject to a yearly rent of money, or produce, or both, payable to the lord. Besides the money rent were the irritating dues which the lord still exacted and the heavy, unjust taxes. Unlike the *bourgeoisie*, the peasants did not ask for political power, but for relief from heavy taxes, from rents on land that really belonged to them, and from abuses that had survived from feudal times.

Prosperity of the peasants.

Although comparatively few of the peasants could read, they lived in a fair degree of comfort, had a fair supply of food, and had collected some household furniture, some china dishes, and a good supply of linen. They might be obliged to hide their prosperity for fear that the tax collector would make too high an assessment of their property or income; but undoubtedly the peasants were better off in France than in almost any other country except England. That the privileged classes in France had fewer privileges than most nobles and clergymen elsewhere on the Continent did not make the French peasants better contented; for the French peasant, having made some progress, demanded more, whereas the peasants of Spain or Germany were too degraded to realize their condition.

ATTEMPTED REFORM IN FRANCE

France at the death of Louis XV.

120. France under Louis XVI. — This picture of France under the old régime gives us some idea of the situation when Louis XVI became king in 1774. His predecessor had not made his work easy, for Louis XV had been a selfish and extravagant king, despotic but not benevolent. Very few reforms had taken place during his reign of fifty years. When a needed reform was mentioned, he would say, "Well, enough of that, things will last as long as we do."

Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

When Louis XV died, Louis XVI and his beautiful wife, Marie An-toi-nette′, daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria and sister of Joseph II, became king and queen of France. Louis XVI really would have preferred to be a locksmith rather than king. Marie Antoinette was very unlike either her energetic, capable mother or her large-hearted fanatical brother, and her court was filled with unwise and extravagant courtiers. What France needed was a king of vision, a leader with backbone; Louis XVI, well-meaning and indolent, had neither.

PARK OF LITTLE TRIANON. (WITH MARIE ANTOINETTE'S DAIRY)

Turgot, economist and practical reformer.

121. Turgot. — Louis began well by appointing Turgot minister of Finance. As an intendant, Turgot had been a practical and successful reformer. He was also recognized as one of the greatest of the new economists, who believed in giving industry and the worker as great freedom as possible.

Turgot attempted to carry out many *reforms*.[1] He

---

[1] Among Turgot's proposed reforms were the following: "the gradual introduction of a complete system of local self-government, the abolition of the *corvée*, the imposition of a land tax upon the nobility and clergy; the ámelioration of the condition of curés and vicars, and the suppression of the greater part of the monasteries; the equalization of the tax by means of a land survey; liberty of conscience, and the recall of the Protestants; redemption of feudal revenues; a single code; a uniform system of weights and measures for the whole kingdom; the suppression of wardenships and masterships, which impeded industry; freedom of thought as well as of commerce and industry; finally, he interested himself in moral as well as in material needs, forming a vast plan of public instruction which should shed light in every direction." (Duruy, *History of France*, p. 523.)

Turgot's extensive programs of reforms.

allowed free trade in grain in order that local famines should not occur as in the reign of Louis XV. He put an end to most of the abuses of tax farming. He abolished the hated *corvée*, which compelled the peasants to work on the roads. He tried to abolish the special privileges of the gilds, to make the nobles pay taxes, and to reform the church, thus arousing the opposition of nobility and clergy. As he was ungainly in appearance and lacked tact, it is not strange that the king as well as all the privileged classes in France turned against him. After he was dismissed (1776), practically all his reforms were abandoned.

Necker's report on the public finances.

122. Financial Troubles. — The American War for Independence, in which France hoped to humble Great Britain, added to the burdens of one of Turgot's successors, *Necker*, a banker from Geneva. Necker, however, performed one important public service. He published a financial report, which explained the state of the public finances. Although it was not very accurate, it had the same effect as the "publicity" methods used by our governments in recent years. It called attention to abuses and aroused public opinion against them. The privileged classes immediately put Necker out of office. After his fall the financial situation grew worse.

Assembly of the notables.

In 1787 an *assembly of the "notables"* (clergy and nobles) was held, with the hope that the privileged classes would introduce some scheme for new taxes or would provide other reforms. The assembly agreed to reforms similar to those proposed by Turgot; but the members refused to vote any tax which would be levied on themselves. As a last resort *it was decided to call the States-General*, which had not met since 1614. Everywhere there was rejoicing, for king, nobles, clergy, and common people believed that the States-General would end all their troubles. There was little thought of revolution, although the American

Revolution had stirred France deeply and the creation of a self governing republic across the Atlantic had furnished a model for the French people to copy.

THE EARLY REVOLUTIONS

Composition and election of the States-General.

123. Calling of the States-General. — The States-General had always consisted of the three estates, clergy, nobility, and the third estate. From all parts of France demands were made that the third estate should have as many deputies as both the others. This was granted. All deputies for each order were to be elected from local districts. In consequence there were in the first estate a great many curates, about two thirds of the whole number, and a large number of the lesser nobles were chosen to the second estate.

MIRABEAU

The third estate.

The members of the third estate represented the people, though they were not elected directly by popular vote. Among the deputies to this estate were found many lawyers and many magistrates. There were also some nobles, by far the greatest of whom was the huge, brainy Count de Mi-ra-beau′. The Abbé Sié-yès′, later the constitution maker of France, said of this body: "What is the third estate? The nation. What is it now? Nothing. What ought it to be? Everything."

The *cahiers* and their demands.

Each district and order was allowed to make out instructions or *cahiers* for its deputies. These *cahiers* are a mine of information concerning the interests and desires, the needs and demands of the French people.

They give us valuable information concerning the social, economic, and political abuses of the ancient régime. "It was liberty rather than equality that seemed to be the universal cry."

Famine and cold (1788–1789).

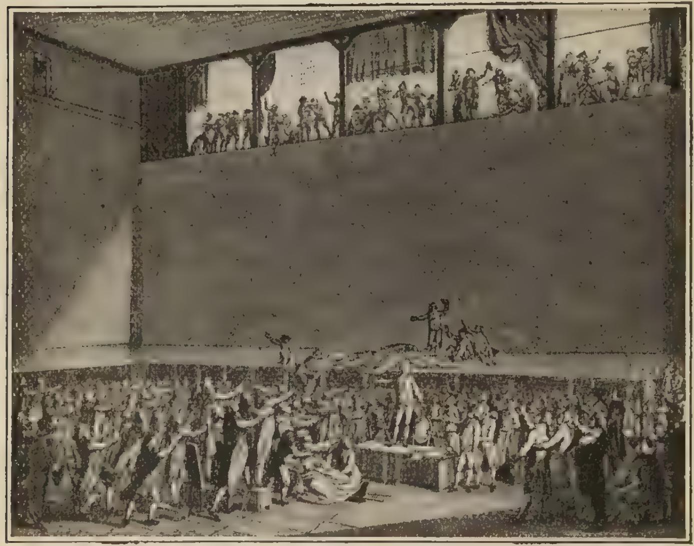
124. The Meeting of the States-General. — The crops of 1788 were unusually small, and the following winter was exceedingly severe. To the financial difficulties of the government and the former discontent of the people was now added acute distress. The reform of the old order would have been a much simpler task if so many people at the time had not been cold and half-starved.

The problem of organization and voting.

As there were twice as many deputies in the third estate as there were in either of the other two, the first important question which arose was: How should the estates vote? *Should they vote as orders, or should the vote be taken by the members as individuals?* The privileged orders naturally insisted that they should vote as separate estates, just as all former States-General had done. The third estate desired that there should be a single assembly, in which all should vote as individuals. The first meeting was held on May 5, 1789. The hall was crowded, and an interesting speech was given by the king, followed by a long, dull paper on the finances by Necker, who was again in office. The estates immediately tried to organize, the nobles organizing themselves as a separate order, the third estate demanding a single assembly, and the clergy waiting to see what could best be done, although many of the lesser clergy actually met with the members of the third estate.

The tennis court oath.

125. The National Assembly. — Against a single national assembly king, nobles, and upper churchmen protested vigorously. They had met, they declared, to reform the finances, not to revolutionize the government. On the 20th of June, 1789, the doors of the hall where the third estate held its meeting were closed by royal orders. Immediately the third estate adjourned to a tennis court near by, "at once the Run'ny-mede and the Independence Hall of France." Here the deputies, with upraised hands, amid intense excitement, swore that they would not separate until they had made a constitution for France.



Oath of the Tennis Court

The third estate defies the king, who yields.

The king now called all of the members together and addressed them, asking the estates to separate and vote by orders. The nobles and some of the clergy obeyed. The "representatives of the nation" kept their seats. When the master of ceremonies said to them: "Gentlemen, you have heard the king's orders," Mirabeau, the new leader of France, rising, thundered in reply, "Go tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and that we shall be removed only at the point of the bayonet." *The revolution had begun.*

The Paris mob captures the old political prison.

126. The Fall of the Bastille. — Three weeks later the national assembly objected to the troops that the court party wished to use in overawing the assembly. The king at once dismissed his minister, Necker, who seemed to stand for reform. Paris was instantly aroused to a frenzy. Mobs from the worst quarters of the city looted stores, and, on the 14th of July,[1] they attacked the Bas-tille′ in which political prisoners had been detained under lettres de cachet (§ 95). Some of the mob crossed the drawbridge, only to be shot down. A few hours later the Bastille surrendered. The besiegers went wild, the Swiss guards were slaughtered, and the commander of the Bastille and several Parisian gentlemen who supported the old régime were murdered. When the king heard of it, he cried out, "This is a revolt." "No, your Majesty," a courtier replied, "it is revolution." There was rejoicing over the destruction of the prison which had stood for much that was odious in the old régime.

PLACE DE LA BASTILLE

Disorder throughout France.

127. The night of the Fourth of August. — Throughout France there were uprisings. Tax collectors were mobbed, hated aristocrats were murdered, and châteaux were burned. These things were not done because the people loved violence; the revolutionists desired simply the removal of unjust taxes and the destruction of papers which proved that they were bondmen. When the records of feudal payments were delivered to them, they were satisfied. If the records were not forthcoming, chateau and records were burned together.

---

[1] July 14 is now one of the most important national holidays of France.

The destruction of the old régime, with its privileges and abuses.

On the night of the fourth of August, 1789, a committee of the national assembly gave a report on the state of the country. The members were aghast at the havoc wrought by the peasants. Then followed one of the strangest, wildest, and most momentous scenes in the history of parliaments. *Nobles and clergy vied with each other in giving up privileges.* Hunting rights were given up, as were rights to tithes, the salt monopoly, and exemption from taxation. All serfs were freed. The customs districts were destroyed. Special privileges of towns were surrendered. So far as it could be done by decree, the old régime was destroyed in a few short hours. There was opportunity to construct a new France based upon freedom and equality.

The march to Versailles, October 5, 1789.

128. Second Uprising of the People. — The national assembly made many promises on that famous evening; it spent almost two years carrying out some of them and framing a constitution for France. Meanwhile discontent was growing in Paris and in the provinces. The price of bread was exceedingly high. As the cities were crowded with tramps and with unemployed men, there was constant danger of trouble. About the first of October a dinner was given by the nobility at which insults were offered to the national assembly and the tricolor. On October 5th the Parisian mob, led by women of the lower quarter, marched to Versailles, demanding bread. Lafayette followed with the national guard and persuaded the king, his family, and the assembly to return to Paris. " We have the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy, now we shall have bread," was the cry of the women. The king and the assembly could now be influenced by the *bourgeoisie* or be overawed by the Paris mob. In the provinces the peasants were disappointed at the slowness with which the assembly worked and with the laws which it passed in order to carry out the promises of August 4.

Official numeration of the "rights of man."

129. Declaration of Rights. — The members of the national assembly liked to talk, and they liked to talk on general principles rather than on specific laws. With zeal they adopted in the fall of 1789 a "Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen." This declaration reminds us of our own Declaration of Independence and of the bills of rights in our state constitutions. It declared that men are born free and remain free and equal in rights. It stated that the nation is sovereign. It maintained that citizens have a right to help make the laws and to equality before the law, and that taxes should be payable in proportion to the wealth of the citizens. In short, it asserted that all citizens should have individual rights similar to those to which Englishmen or Americans were accustomed.

General character of the new government.

130. The Government under the New Constitution. — Gradually the assembly developed a constitution. By this all citizens were divided into two classes, active and passive. The active citizens included those who paid a tax equivalent to three days' labor; they were allowed to vote. The *constitution* provided for a single legislative assembly elected by the people. The king was allowed to veto laws, but a bill could become a law without his consent if voted by three successive legislatures. The king was not allowed to control the army.

New departments, a decentralized local government, and fair trials.

The assembly abolished all customs districts (§ 15) and local systems of law (§ 3). It also abolished the old provinces (§ 113) with their special privileges. France could now be organized as a nation. In place of the *old provinces* France was divided into eighty-two *departments*, each of which was subdivided into *districts* and *munici-*

palities. All local governments were to be made up of elected officials. In consequence the *government of France was highly decentralized.* No longer were nobles allowed to hold court on their estates as some had since the Middle Ages, but new systems of local and general courts were created to protect the rights of the citizens and to apply the laws. Provision was made not only for *jury trial* in criminal cases, but also for open and fair trial. *Punishments were made more just,* and the death penalty was to be inflicted by decapitation, for which a new instrument called the guillotine was invented.

Secularization of church lands.

131. Finances and Church Lands. — The assembly did not really interfere with the church until it needed money. Then it decided to take over the church lands, because it maintained that these lands had been given by the nation to the church in order that it might care for the people. Now that the nation was looking directly after the interests of its members, the members believed that the government should supervise the church and should take charge of the church lands. At first an attempt was made to sell those lands, but without success.

Changes in taxation and issues of paper money.

Since many of the old taxes such as the "gabelle," the "octroi," and the tobacco monopoly had been abolished, the government did not have as much revenue as before.[1] Consequently, it began to issue paper money, called *assignats,* the church lands being used as security; that is, the government treated the paper money as a loan made to it by the people and considered the lands as mortgaged for the payment of the assignats. The temptation to make money by running the printing press was so great that bills aggregating in value twenty-nine billions of francs were eventually issued. Naturally these depreciated so much that it was necessary to have a "law of the maximum" (§ 136), which fixed the maximum price that might be charged for any commodity.

---

[1] The *new system of taxation* included a land tax assessable on all classes, a personal property tax, a tax on industries and commerce, and a tariff on imports and exports. In point of fact either these taxes were not levied or they produced little revenue.

Secularization of church property.

132. Church and State. — Beginning with the decree of November 2, 1789, the state took over not only the property of the church which we have just mentioned, but the work of the church as well. Churchmen were to be paid by the government, and a minimum salary of twelve hundred francs and lodging was guaranteed to every priest. That was at least double the former salary of the curates. The assembly forbade the payment of papal dues and suppressed the monasteries.

Oath of clergy to support the French constitution.

By the *civil constitution of the clergy*, 1790, the number of bishops was reduced to one for each department. They, and all other clergymen, were to be elected from their districts. Each was compelled to take an oath of fidelity to the constitution of France, including the civil constitution of the clergy. This policy was opposed by the public, by practically all bishops, and by many curates. Clergy who failed to take the oath were called the "non-juring priests."

Work of the Constituent Assembly (1789–1791).

This first national assembly was known as the *Constituent Assembly* because it made a constitution (1789–1791). In addition it decreed the abolition of abuses; on the night of the fourth of August and later, it actually freed the peasants from many obligations which had survived from feudal times, and it arranged for the purchase by the peasants of the land which they occupied.

Emigrant nobles in Germany.

133. War with Austria and Prussia. — Soon after the beginning of the Revolution the brother of Louis XVI had left France. Many of the most conservative or most hated of the nobles also emigrated. In the valley of the Rhine there were two camps of these "emigrées," who sought constantly to stir up trouble for the new French government.

The "flight" of the king, June, 1791.

Early in the summer of 1791 the king and queen decided to join their friends who had emigrated. On June 21 they left Paris, the queen being dressed as a Russian lady and Louis being disguised as her valet. The queen could not forget that she was queen and they proceeded in the great coach by slow stages. At one town Louis put his head out of the carriage and was recognized. At Varennes they were stopped, taken prisoners, and finally taken back to Paris. From that time the people had even less confidence that Louis was playing the game squarely.

A new, more radical assembly and foreign intervention.

The second national assembly, which met in 1791, was called the *Legislative Assembly*,[1] and was controlled by a group of young, eloquent deputies known as the "Gi-ron'dists."[2] The radicals of this body occupied such high seats in the assembly hall that they were known as the "*Mountain*." The patriotism of this assembly was aroused when the rulers of Prussia and Austria asserted[3] that the restoration of the monarchy in France concerned them as well as France. War with Austria and Prussia did not break out, however, until the spring of 1792. Before invading France, the allied army issued through its commander, the Duke of Brunswick, a manifesto in which it ordered the French people to restore Louis XVI to his proper position and to govern themselves according to the instructions of the allied monarchs.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

134. Events Leading to the Republic. — By this time the nation as well as the assembly was thoroughly aroused

---

[1] The members of the Constituent Assembly unselfishly but unwisely decided that they should not be eligible to election in the new assembly. This deprived that body of the experience gained by its members.

[2] The name is associated with the valley of the Garonne river, from which many leaders of the faction had come.

[3] Declaration of Pillnitz, August 27, 1791.

Attack on the Tuileries, August 10, 1792.

against royalty. Throughout France was sung the Mar-seil-laise′, the song of the red revolutionists from Mar-seilles′, who marched to Paris urging extreme measures. In Paris itself the radical elements began to organize a new government, a revolutionary commune. They ordered the Legislative Assembly to depose the king. When the assembly refused to do so, the mob, August 10, invaded the Tuileries (Tweel-re′), where the king had his residence. The members of the royal family were first removed to the assembly hall and then were kept prisoners in the temple. The king's Swiss guards offered resistance, but the mob sacked the Tuileries and killed the defenders almost to a man.[1] The revolutionary commune practically dominated the national assembly as well as the city government. It secured the suspension of the king. Since France had been ruled under a constitution which provided for a monarchy, a constitutional convention was called to make a new and republican constitution for France. Instead of being elected indirectly by those who paid taxes, the members of this convention were elected directly under universal manhood suffrage.[2]

Events of September, 1792.

As the allied armies advanced toward Paris, the populace became filled with fear and rage. They believed that royalists, nobles, and priests in and near Paris were aiding the enemy; consequently, the first week in September the mob broke into the prisons of Paris and massacred in cold blood more than a thousand royal prisoners. This butchery was known as the *September Massacres.*

---

[1] In Lucerne, Switzerland, a huge lion has been cut in the rock in memory of these guards.

[2] In the fall of 1793 a new constitution was framed hurriedly and submitted to the people for vote in order that the people of France might have confidence in the national government at Paris. This constitution was adopted by an overwhelming majority, but was never used. It is known as the Constitution of the Year I.

Later in the month, on the twenty-fifth of September, two important events occurred. The invasion of the Austrians and Prussians was stopped by the battle of *Valmy*, and the new assembly, called the *Convention*, met and *organized a republic*.

Famous revolutionary groups and clubs.

135. Execution of Louis XVI. — The Convention was not conservative like its predecessors. In both of the other bodies monarchists had been in the majority. In the Convention the *Girondists* at first were rather influential because they had the confidence of the people in most of the departments outside of Paris. The extremists of this body, the *Jac'o-bins*, who practically controlled the Convention, had their greatest strength in Paris. The original Jacobin club had been rather conservative and had included such leaders as Lafayette and Talleyrand, but long before 1793 men like Marat (Mar-ra') and Ro-bes-pierre' had gained control. Throughout France similar Jacobin clubs were organized. Associated with the Jacobins was *Dan-ton'*, an able but rather brutal lawyer, who was the leading member of a Parisian club known as *Cor-de-lier'*. After the tenth of August Danton became the most prominent figure in France.

Trial and execution of the king.

Since the Convention was made up of extremists, in November (1792) it issued a challenge to monarchial Europe, informing all peoples that France would help them to free themselves from their kings. By January, 1793, it was decided to try Louis XVI for conspiracy or treason. Unanimously the members of the Convention voted that he was guilty of conspiracy, but, in spite of the ravings of the radicals in the gallery, his death was decreed by only a bare majority. On the twenty-first of January, 1793, Louis was taken from his cell and guillotined in the presence of an enormous crowd.

New general European war (1793).

On February first the Convention declared war against England and Holland. By March ninth *all Europe was* *in arms against France.* Almost immediately disaster overtook the northern French army, which had advanced into Belgium, and the one farther south, which had penetrated to the Rhine river.

Call for troops and insurrection in La Vendee.

136. Conditions Leading to the Terror. — When the call for more troops was issued in January, some of the districts refused to furnish men. In La Vendee (Vonday′) the rule of the assembly had never been popular. None of the priests of that district had taken the oath, and they were supported by the peasants, who were exceedingly loyal to the church in its old form. The execution of the king was the finishing touch. La Vendee rose in insurrection. Its example was followed in several cities and in other districts of France.

Dictatorial powers exercised by the Committee of Public Safety and dependent bodies.

It seemed to those in authority that the republic could be maintained only by the most severe measures. Since the Convention did not wish to give Danton absolute authority, it organized a *Committee of Public Safety*, consisting of nine members who had great power. This body was aided by a *Committee of Public Security*, which was really a national police force; it maintained order and arrested and brought to trial "enemies of the republic." A *revolutionary tribunal* or court was formed which had the right to try persons as arbitrarily as they would be tried by courts-martial. By this system of terrorizing their opponents, they hoped to keep the republic from destruction.

Attempt of the French government to regulate prices.

Another danger encountered by the rulers of France was that of high prices. During these years of unrest and disorder, business had been rather poor, and the government had issued so much paper money that prices were very high. In order to stop the rise of prices, the government in 1793 decreed or passed a "law of the maximum." It fixed the maximum price for wheat and flour, decreed that the price of other necessities should be only one third more than the price of 1790, and fixed wages one half higher than they were in 1790. These laws could not be enforced, partly because those who had goods would not sell them at those prices.

Expulsion of the Girondists from the Convention.

Although the Girondists were still influential, by this time the Jacobins were practically in control of the Convention, as they were of the Paris government. Incited by Jacobins, a new insurrection of the mob occurred. On the second of June, 1793, the armed forces of the Paris commune marched against the Convention and *expelled the Girondist leaders.* Since the Girondists were supported by the majority of the people in sixty out of the eighty-three districts of France, their followers objected strongly to this high-handed proceeding. In Lyons and a few other cities the Jacobin government was overthrown and civil war resulted.

Danger of arbitrary arrest and trial.

137. The Reign of Terror. — By September, 1793, things had gone from bad to worse. The Convention declared that any one who opposed or criticized the government might be considered guilty of treason. Prisoners suspected of sympathy with the royal cause were no longer safe. Those who had enemies trembled for fear that they too might be imprisoned and tried before the revolutionary tribunal. In Paris and in most other cities a condition akin to terror existed. Few dared to speak openly or criticize the rulers of either the nation or the cities. Many royalists were sent to the guillotine, and on the 16th of October, 1793, Marie Antoinette paid the final penalty.

Atrocities committed by revolutionary governments.

The revolutionary tribunal in Paris did not use its power arbitrarily at first, but in Lyons, already the scene of violence early in the Revolution, many hundreds of people were killed by soldiers in the streets; two thousand were guillotined by the revolutionary tribunal of that city. At Nantes, in La Vendee, the more fortunate prisoners were shot down; others were huddled into leaky hulks of vessels and drowned in the Loire river.

The Festivals of Liberty and the Supreme Being.

The Convention did not approve the orthodox religion of France. It decreed that there should be a new calendar which dated, not from the birth of Christ but from the establishment of the republic, the next twelve months being known as the year one. In Paris a great Festival of Liberty was held. In the stately old Cathedral of Notre Dame there was enthroned, by the red-capped deputies from the Convention and by wild rioters, a Goddess of Reason, around whom danced the women of the slums. This orgy was disapproved by many of the leaders of the government and by most of the people. Months later new leaders of the Committee of Public Safety held a Festival of the Supreme Being, at which three colossal figures symbolizing atheism, discord, and selfishness were burned. Soon afterwards the people insisted that the churches should be opened again for the worship to which they had been accustomed for centuries.

Fall of Danton.

138. Close of the Reign of Terror. — Those responsible for the Festival of Liberty were soon overthrown by their enemies and sent to the guillotine. Soon after, Danton was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, tried, and put to death. "The republic seemed to have become a monster eager to tear and devour her own children."[1]

Rule and overthrow of Robespierre.

With the death of Danton, *Robespierre* came into power. Robespierre was a small man, whose views in the early days of revolution had been moderate. His short rule of something over three months was marked by so much bloodshed that the Reign of Terror has ever since been regarded with horror.[2] For several weeks before he was sent to the guillotine, he had four revolutionary tribunals in Paris working overtime trying suspects. His severity aroused all factions against him. In July, 1794, they in turn seized him and demanded his execution. His death really ended the Reign of Terror.

---

[1] Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, p. 213.

[2] By the law of the twenty-second Prairial, early in June, 1794, the great terror was inaugurated. Accused persons had no counsel and

Robespierre

Changed conditions under the Republic.

139. Constructive Work of the Convention. — We must not think that during these months all Frenchmen were as bloodthirsty as the rulers, or all citizens as much in danger as were those factional leaders who were not in power. The ordinary citizen came and went, attending strictly to his own affairs, and refraining from criticism or comment on the government or its leaders. People, especially of the higher classes, were careful to avoid any appearance of aristocracy. Early in the Revolution all titles had been abolished and abandoned. The duke was no longer duke, he was simply Citizen. The dress of a gentleman was too dangerous a mark for public use; instead of the silk waistcoat, the short clothes of fine cloth, silk stockings, and silver-buckled low shoes, all men wore the loose coat and long trousers which formerly had been the distinguishing clothes of the laborer.

The Convention, however, devoted far more attention

---

frequently were deprived of witnesses. Juries were packed and were allowed to decide guilt without regard to facts. Any opposition to the government might easily be made excuse for judicial murder.

Work of the Convention in building up France.

to constructive reforms than to the destruction of its enemies. It adopted a metric system of weights and measures; it helped the peasants (§ 200) to acquire title to their lands. In its later sessions it made arrangements for an educational system, in which a boy could be taught from the lowest grades through the university. It made good progress toward the drawing up of a uniform law code for the country to take the place of the many hundred local systems of law that had been abolished early in the Revolution.

Victories of Carnot and the citizen armies.

140. The General European War and the Directory. — As we noted above (§ 135), soon after the death of Louis XVI France found herself at war with practically all Europe.[1] Fortunately a member of the Committee of Public Safety, Lazare *Carnot* (Car-no′) was the man for the emergency. So successful was he that he is known as the "Organizer of Victory." Under his direction large armies of enthusiastic citizen troops were raised. In addition the French armies were almost doubled in size by conscription. They adopted methods of direct attack which were suitable for inexperienced but enthusiastic troops, and their able young generals gradually freed France from all invaders.

France makes peace with some of her enemies.

In 1795 the French assumed the offensive. They defeated the Spaniards on the frontier of the Pyrenees, the Italians in the Alps, and the English, Austrians, and Prussians along the Rhine. Since France no longer desired to overthrow European monarchies, the Prussians[2] and Spaniards[1] deserted their allies and made peace with the Republic. The Dutch Netherlands were organized into the *Ba-ta'vi-an Republic,* which was allied with France. England took advantage of this alliance to seize most of Holland's colonial possessions; Ceylon, South Africa, and some of the East Indies islands became British because of the success of the English fleets.

---

[1] The war between England and France influenced the United States because (1) we had a treaty of alliance (1778) with France, and (2) we were the most important neutral country engaged in the carrying trade. Washington soon issued the Proclamation of Neutrality, but our position as neutral carriers of goods caused trouble until the European wars closed at Waterloo (1815).

[2] Prussia gave to France her territories on the west bank of the Rhine, on condition that she receive other territories in central Germany.

The Directory.

In 1795 also France reorganized her government. She provided for a legislature of two houses and an executive consisting of five directors. We refer to the period during the next four years as that of the *Directory.*

The old régime in France.

141. Summary. — More than any other continental country, France had become a nation before 1789, yet in France many medieval usages survived. We call this state of affairs the old régime. While the king was despotic and ruled through a royal council and intendants, his authority was limited by local privileges and local systems of law. There were two privileged orders, the clergy and the nobility, each of which controlled about a fifth of the land of France. The middle classes, bourgeoisie and more prosperous farmers, were rich but discontented and ambitious. The peasants, burdened by unjust and rather heavy taxes, demanded reforms. Under Louis XV few reforms were made and his successor, Louis XVI, was temperamentally unfit to cope with serious problems. Half-heartedly he upheld his reform ministers, Turgot and Necker, who were opposed vigorously by the court party.

When it was found impossible to make necessary changes in the taxes, a States-General was called in 1789, the first in 175 years. Petitions (*cahiers*) were made out

---

[1] Spain's withdrawal had important consequences to America, because the Spanish feared that the United States would ally herself with Great Britain. If this had occurred, Spain would have lost some of her American possessions west of the Mississippi. (See Ashley, *American History,* § 231.)

The early Revolution and the constitution.

by each locality and order. When the estates met, the third estate, with more than twice as many delegates as the other two, insisted on reorganizing as a single chamber, a national assembly. This revolutionary change was made in spite of the king and the nobility. On July 14 the Bastille was stormed, and, for several weeks afterward, chateaux were taken and records burned throughout France. When news of this reached Paris, August 4, the assembly agreed to give up many privileges. In October, 1789, the scarcity of bread caused a march on Versailles, whence the mob brought to Paris the king and his family. The Constituent Assembly not only agreed upon a declaration of rights and created a limited monarchy for France, but it took over church lands and made the clergy public officials. On the security of the lands assignats were issued. Local officials were chosen by popular vote, and local districts were allowed to govern themselves without much interference from Paris.

The early republic.

The Legislative Assembly (1791–1792) was more radical than the Constituent Assembly, but the third assembly, the Convention (1792–1795) was most radical of all, for the Mountain and the extreme Jacobins soon overpowered the Girondists. The king attempted to flee to his friends in Germany, and when those friends made war on France in his behalf, the Tuileries were sacked and royalist prisoners were massacred. When the foreign invasion was checked at Valmy, a republic was established (September, 1792). Soon after came the proclamation against royalty everywhere and the execution of Louis XVI.

The Reign of Terror and the general European War.

These acts aroused against France the nations of Europe; they also stirred up the enemies of the Convention within France. To terrorize the latter, extreme measures were used by the Committee of Public Safety, the leading member of which was Danton, and by the Revolutionary Tribunal. Especially at Nantes and Lyons were the insurrectionists murdered with extreme brutality. But the Terrorists did not agree among themselves, Danton was driven from power, and under Robespierre the guillotine seemed never idle; yet with Robespierre's death the Reign of Terror ended abruptly. In the meantime the Convention had passed many laws to help business and education, and Carnot had organized citizen armies under young, able commanders that were winning victories for France. In 1795, the year in which the Directory was established, France allied herself with Holland and made peace with Prussia and Spain.

General References

Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*, 258–307.

Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 203–283.

Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 360–465.

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 395–522.

Hazen, *Modern European History*, 1–151.

Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period of Europe*, 88–226.

MacLehose, *Last Days of the French Monarchy.*

Mathews, *The French Revolution.*

Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution.*

Fling, *Source Problems of the French Revolution.*

Johnston, *The French Revolution.*

Cambridge Modern History, VIII, "The French Revolution."

Stephens, *The French Revolution*, 2 vols.

Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century.*

Gibbs, *Men and Women of the French Revolution.*

Topics

THE OLD RÉGIME IN FRANCE: Mead, *The Grand Tour*, 5–28; Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 3–32; Hazen, *Modern European History*, 31–59; Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 1–51.

REVOLUTIONARY REORGANIZATION: Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 479–486; Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 150–165; Bourne, *Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 107–124; Hazen, *Modern European History*, 86–96.

The Reign of Terror: Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, 132–147; Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 129–146; Hazen, *Modern European History*, 128–146.

Studies

1. Privileged and unprivileged. Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 12–30.

2. The clergy and their revenues. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 29–37.

3. The bourgeoisie. Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, 60–80.

4. The provincial towns. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 175–185.

5. Taxes of the old régime. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 213–229.

6. Travel in France. Mead, *The Grand Tour*, 32–33, 44–45, 52–61, 78–84.

7. Betrothal and marriage of Marie Antoinette. Bickwell, *Story of Marie Antoinette*, 5–31.

8. The Little Trianon. Bickwell, *Story of Marie Antoinette*, 74–80, 141–142.

9. The diamond necklace. MacLehose, *Last Days of the French Monarchy*, 272–291.

10. Turgot. Tallentyre, *Friends of Voltaire*, 206–236.

11. Cahiers on social and economic questions. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 359–376.

12. Meeting of the States General. Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 111–119.

13. Uprising of the masses. Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 125–137.

14. The Decrees of August 4 (1789) and the Declaration of Rights. Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 404–412.

15. Flight to Varennes. Bickwell, *Story of Marie Antoinette*, 221–245.

16. The assembly demolishes privileges. Johnston, *The French Revolution*, 89–104.

17. Last hours of Louis XVI. Clery, *The Royal Family in Prison*, 171–200.

18. Closing scenes in Life of Marie Antoinette. Bickwell, *Story of Marie Antoinette*, 297–325.

19. The first period of general war. Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 53–65.

Questions

1. Explain the feudal character of the old régime. Show how the new national spirit of the French people influenced the French Revolution. Name the three principles of the Revolution and explain how each was contrary to the spirit of the old régime.

2. Was there another old régime in central and eastern Europe before the Great War? If so, name at least two proofs of autocratic government, three evidences of special privilege, and several forms of oppression of the people. Have any of these evils been removed yet? In what ways was there lack of uniformity in the governments or laws of France? Explain the organization and the powers of the king, the royal council, and the intendants.

3. Explain the different taxes which were in use before 1789: compare them with those in use in America before the Great War.

4. Name the most important privileges of clergy and nobles. State what the bourgeoisie wanted. In what ways was the peasant unjustly burdened? If better off than his fellows in other countries, why was the French peasant discontented?

5. What characteristics were needed by the French king in the decade before 1789? What reforms were attempted by Turgot and Necker; with what success in each case?

6. How had the States-General been organized before 1614? Was there any good reason for organizing it in the same form in 1789? Why did the third estate insist upon reorganizing it into a national assembly?

7. Trace the different steps in the development of the early Revolution and show the revolutionary character of each of the following: organization of a single chambered national assembly, disorder in Paris and in France, July, 1789, work of the national assembly on the 4th of August, procession to Versailles and return of the king to Paris, the civil constitution of the clergy, substitution of departments for the old provinces, creation of a constitutional monarchy.

8. Who were the emigrés? Describe the attempt of Louis XVI to join the emigrés. What caused the attack on the Tuileries, August 10, 1792?

9. What were the most important revolutionary groups in France? Who were the Girondists? Who formed the "Mountain"? What was the attitude of the French government in the fall of 1792 toward monarchy and liberalism in the rest of Europe? Why were a committee of public safety and a revolutionary tribunal organized in 1793?

10. Name important causes of the general European war beginning in 1793. Why were there insurrections in Lyons and La Vendée in addition? Describe as fully as possible the chief reasons why the French government adopted a policy of terrorizing its opponents. How long did the Reign of Terror last? Who were the leaders in the movement and how did it finally come to an end?

11. What was the nature and the object of the "law of the maximum"? Have we ever had any similar laws in the United States? If so, when and with what results? What constructive work was done during this period by the French government? (Distinguish between the work of the Constituent Assembly, the Legislative Assembly, and the Convention.)

12. What methods used by Carnot entitled him to the name "Organizer of Victories"? What were the provisions of the peace treaties made by France with Prussia, Spain, and Holland in 1795? How was the new French government under the Directory organized after 1795?

[illegible]

[illegible] were full [illegible]

CHAPTER VII

NAPOLEON

NAPOLEON BECOMES MASTER OF FRANCE

The Bonapartes. Boyhood of Napoleon.

142. Napoleon Bonaparte. — The history of Europe during the twenty years ending with the battle of Waterloo (1815 A.D.) was to a large extent the history of Napoleon. Napoleon Bonaparte was born on the island of Cor′si-ca in 1769, about the time that Corsica became a part of France. The Bonapartes were a poor but noble family. Especially from his mother, a woman of little education but great force of character, did Napoleon inherit those qualities which afterwards made him famous. Even in boyhood he showed himself passionate and domineering; as he grew older, his egotism and ambition became more pronounced.

Military training and early experience.

At the age of ten Napoleon was sent to a military school in eastern France. His poverty as well as his inability to speak French fluently kept him from making friends, and he did not excel as a scholar, although his work in mathematics was good. His military training included a year in a school at Paris, where he told the officers how to reorganize their system of instruction. Naturally these suggestions from a boy of fifteen did not meet with the full approval of the faculty. Napoleon served as an artillery officer before the Revolution began. As a lieutenant of artillery, he took part in the siege of Tou-lon′, and by the proper placing of the siege guns he helped greatly in the capture of the city. Napoleon's prominence, however, really begins with an insurrection against the Convention in Paris in the fall of 1795. Being placed in charge of the artillery, he protected the Tuileries by firing upon the mob in the streets leading to that building. His promotion in the army was due chiefly, nevertheless, to the influence of one of the directors, a friend of Josephine Beau-har-nais′, whom Napoleon married in 1796.

Napoleon

143. Napoleon's Italian Campaign. — Because of influence rather than recognized ability Napoleon was placed (1796) in charge of the army of the French republic in Italy. His way into Italy was blocked by two armies, one Austrian, the other Sardinian. By rapid marches

Succession of victories over Austria.

through low passes of the mountains near the Mediterranean Sea, Napoleon separated these armies, each of which he defeated in turn. Within a month from the time when he left France, he entered Milan. A few days later the Austrians were beaten again. All of their attempts to drive Napoleon from the Po valley were futile; in fact, in the winter of 1797, Napoleon forced an Austrian army back through the passes of the eastern Alps until he was within a hundred miles of Vienna.[1]

Treaty of Campo Formio (1797).

By the treaty of Campo Formio (1797) France gained the Belgian Netherlands and almost all territory of the Holy Roman Empire on the left or west bank of the Rhine. In exchange for the Netherlands, Austria received Venice.

Plan to strike England through India *via* Egypt.

144. The Egyptian Campaign. — When Napoleon returned to France, he was already the greatest man in the country. Since Holland and Spain were no longer enemies but were practically allied with France (§ 140), and since Prussia had withdrawn from the war and Austria had been compelled to cease fighting, Great Britain was the only real antagonist which France had. In order to strike the British Empire a mortal blow, Napoleon conceived the plan of reaching India by way of Egypt, and the Directory, jealous of his growing fame, gladly furnished an army and a fleet.

Land victories and naval defeat in Egypt.

Napoleon reached Egypt successfully, having avoided an English fleet under Admiral Nelson. Almost under the shadow of the Pyramids he made a bombastic speech to his soldiers. "Forty centuries look down on you," he told them. Here he defeated the Mam′e-lukes, in the *battle of the Pyramids.* But a few days later Nelson cornered the French fleet in A-bou-kir′ Bay and destroyed the ships one by one. This "*battle of the Nile*" cut off Napoleon's connection with France and made the escape of his army almost impossible. A year later Napoleon, having accomplished nothing, left his army, evaded the British cruisers which were watching, and arrived on the south coast of France.

---

[1] Austria was ready for peace. Having made an armistice with her, Napoleon then turned against Venice and occupied the city. Part of northern Italy was organized into republics on the model of France.

Coup d'état of the 18th Brumaire.

145. Napoleon as First Consul. — Meanwhile the French Directory had not maintained order at home or repelled invasion abroad. In Napoleon's absence there had been organized against France *a new coalition* which already had gained several victories over the French. The coming of Napoleon to Paris gave hope for the organization of a new government. On November 9 (18th Bru-maire'), 1799, Napoleon and some associates dissolved the old government and created a new one called the consulate. Napoleon was chosen *first consul for ten years*, with extraordinary powers of appointment and government. In 1802 he was made first consul for *life*.

AN ENGLISH CARTOON — THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL

Italian campaign (1800) and Peace of Lunéville (1801).

As the allies (*i.e.* the enemies of France) were most dangerous in Italy, Napoleon advanced to the Alps mountains and crossed the high ranges in five days. By quick marches he surprised the Austrians in the Po valley, and won, after he had almost lost, a battle at Ma-ren′go, 1800. In the *Peace of Lu-né′ville* (1801) terms were made with Austria which were almost the same as those of Campo Formio: in this way Austria was forced out of the alliance and Napoleon gained the right to reorganize Germany.

The armed neutrality (1800) and general peace (1802).

In the meantime Russia had difficulties with England because England attempted to control the trade of the North Sea and the Baltic Sea to her own advantage. With Russia were joined Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia in an *armed neutrality*. A forceful protest was made against England's treatment of neutral vessels and trade. When Nelson gained a victory at Copenhagen (1801), this alliance to protect neutral trade was dissolved. At Amiens, March 2, 1802, England and France finally agreed to a truce, the *peace of Amiens* (A-me-yan′), and for more than a year Europe was at peace.

NAPOLEON IN WAR AND PEACE (1802–1806)

The French empire (1804).

146. Reconstruction of the French Government. — After 1799 Napoleon, as first consul, had almost sole powers of government. In 1804 he procured a decree of the Senate by which the republic was ended and an empire was established. The Pope was brought to Paris for the coronation in the ancient cathedral of Notre Dame, but in order that the Pope might not maintain, as had his predecessors, that emperors were of right crowned by him,[1] Napoleon completed the ceremony by seizing the crown from the Pope's hands and placing it on his own head.

Under the empire more completely than under the

[1] E. E. C., § 525.

Organization and arbitrary rule under the empire.

consulate Napoleon controlled the appointment of the Senate and the administrative bodies of the central government. He reorganized the police so that under Fou-ché it was much more efficient than before. He maintained a censorship of the press and suppressed most of the country's newspapers.

Napoleon in his Coronation Robes

Centralized character of local government under Napoleon.

Napoleon retained the departments and smaller districts which had been organized by the Revolution (§ 130); but he went back to the old régime and revived the office of intendant, under the name of *prefect*, appointing one such officer for each department, with a subprefect in each district. This centralized administrative system is still in use in France. Like their predecessors, the intendants, these officials of the central government had extensive powers. They appointed the mayors of the smaller communes, the mayors of the larger cities being selected by Napoleon. The only really representative governing bodies left were the municipal councils. He believed thoroughly that the French people desired personal and public security rather than political liberty, that they desired the prestige of France rather than even the "liberty, equality, fraternity" of the Revolution. In all this he was undoubtedly right.

One of the greatest and most lasting *reforms* made by

Napoleon's law codes.

Napoleon was in connection with the law codes which are explained later (§ 168). To this work he called the ablest men of France. To it he gave many of his own evenings, sitting at the table with jurists, asking searching questions, and suggesting short cuts by which the laws were simplified.

Attempt to enlarge the colonial empire of France.

Napoleon not only added to France new lands in Europe (§ 143), but he desired to organize a colonial empire. The most valued of these possessions was the colony of Louisiana, which he had forced the king of Spain to cede to him in 1800. To protect Louisiana from any possible invasion of the English he sent an army to the New World, which was first to subdue Santo Domingo, on the island of Haiti. Through the influence of an able negro patriot,[1] aided by the swamps of the island, Napoleon's army was destroyed. As he had now no troops for the protection of Louisiana and was ready for another conflict with his arch-enemy, Great Britain, Napoleon in 1803 sold Louisiana to the United States.

Church and State in France before 1789.

147. Napoleon and the Church. — As we have already noticed, the Gallic Church had always been very independent in its attitude toward the papacy (§ 20), but all statutes of the old régime fully recognized the importance and the power of the Roman Catholic Church in the country.

Concordat of 1801 between the Pope and Napoleon.

The early Revolution secularized the church lands, brought the clergy under the control of the government, and made the church practically a part of the state (§§ 131, 132). Later in the Revolution even less attention was paid to the ancient rights and privileges of the church (§ 138). Napoleon realized fully that, at heart, the people were both Catholic and religious. For political rather than for religious reasons he desired to reëstablish cordial relations between France and the papacy, and in

---

[1] Toussaint L'Ouverture.

1801 he made an agreement (Concordat) with Pope Pius VII. The Pope accepted the suppression of the monasteries and the secularization of other church properties. Napoleon was to nominate the bishops, who were to be appointed by the Pope; the bishops in turn were to appoint the priests. Catholicism was recognized as the religion of a majority of the French people. This arrangement lasted with slight changes until 1905 (§ 265).

The new nobility and legion of honor.

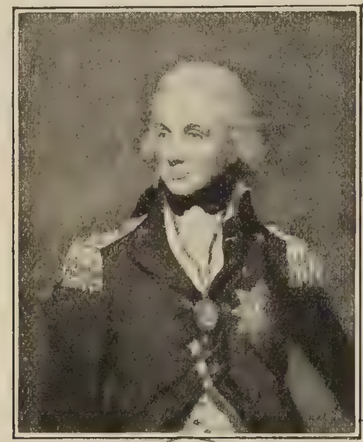
148. Other Changes. — Napoleon sought to surround himself by an elaborate court similar to that of the well established monarchies. Since most of the Napoleonic nobles were people of comparatively humble origin, he sought among the old nobility for instructors in the proper conduct of court procedure. With difficulty he persuaded the central government, made up chiefly of his own appointees, to create a *legion of honor* composed of those who, in Napoleon's opinion, had distinguished themselves on the field of battle, in art, science, literature, or other branches of learning.

Public buildings, roads, and inland waterways.

Napoleon was much interested in *public works* and improvements. He restored or enlarged many of the old palaces. The magnificent art galleries of the Louvre were enriched with marbles and paintings which were the spoils of his campaigns. From Paris radiated a number of new and important military roads which were useful in his campaigns and were his especial pride. About two hundred other main highways were constructed elsewhere in France, and the improvement of numerous local roads was encouraged. Over the Alps he constructed the Mont Cenis (Se-ne′) road and a highway across the Simplon pass, connecting Paris with Italy and especially Rome. "The network of canals and waterways rendered available for navigation was hardly even outlined in prerevolutionary France. The works undertaken during the consulate and partially completed at the close of the empire were planned on a scale so vast and at the same time, with few exceptions, on such practical lines, that they constitute to-day by far the most important portion of the internal navigation of France."[1]

Plans for invasion of England and their failure.

149. Trafalgar and Austerlitz. — The Peace of Amiens, 1802 (§ 145), was recognized as a truce, and within a year war broke out again. The English did not send troops to the Continent; they contented themselves with subsidies granted to their continental allies. It was not until 1805 that Napoleon gathered at Boulogne (Bu-lon′) on the northern coast of France *a grand army for the invasion of England.* As he needed to clear the English channel of British fleets, the French naval officer, Villeneuve (Vil-nerv′), was ordered to draw Nelson, the English commander, across the Atlantic and to return immediately himself in order to convey Napoleon's army across to England. Villeneuve failed to outwit Nelson, and the latter returned to Europe before the French fleet could do so. Later in the year 1805 Nelson absolutely destroyed the combined French and Spanish fleets off Cape Traf-al-gar′. From that time England had even more absolute control over the seas than before.



Nelson

New successes against Austria (1805).

Napoleon is reported to have expressed a desire for just one admiral who would do for the French on the sea what he and his marshals were doing continually on land. When Villeneuve did not get back in time to help him invade England, the conqueror changed his plans and immediately marched his army through upper Germany and into Austria. Near Vienna, on the first anniversary of his coronation as emperor of France, he met the combined armies of Austria and Russia at Aus′terlitz. The allies tried to overwhelm one of his wings, but,

---

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 119, 120.

Arc de Triomphe.

when he made a sharp attack with most of his columns against the Austro-Russian center, he crushed his opponents without difficulty and won an overwhelming victory.

Treaty of Pressburg (1805).

In the treaty of peace which followed, Austria lost large territories in Italy and in the upper Rhine valley, and the next year she was forced to dissolve the ancient but now unimportant Holy Roman Empire. The Emperor had already (1804) assumed the title, "Emperor of Austria" (§ 163).

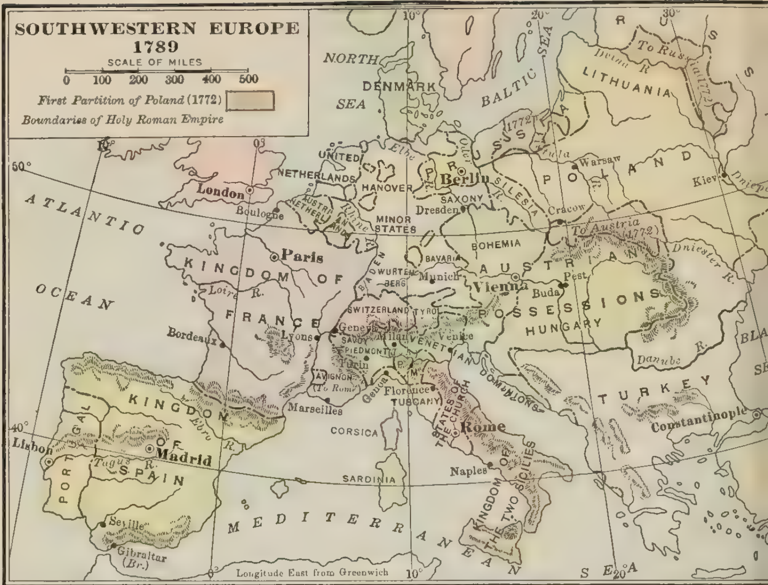
Napoleon baits and defeats Prussia.

150. Supremacy of Napoleon on the Continent. — Prussia had tried, for her own safety, to remain neutral, but in 1806 she was compelled to side with either England or France. After Napoleon had forced her into war, on the same day he made an attack upon the two Prussian armies at Jena (Ya′na) and Au-er-städt′. The Prussian troops were badly organized and stupidly led; that day saw the complete humiliation of the Prussian army and people.

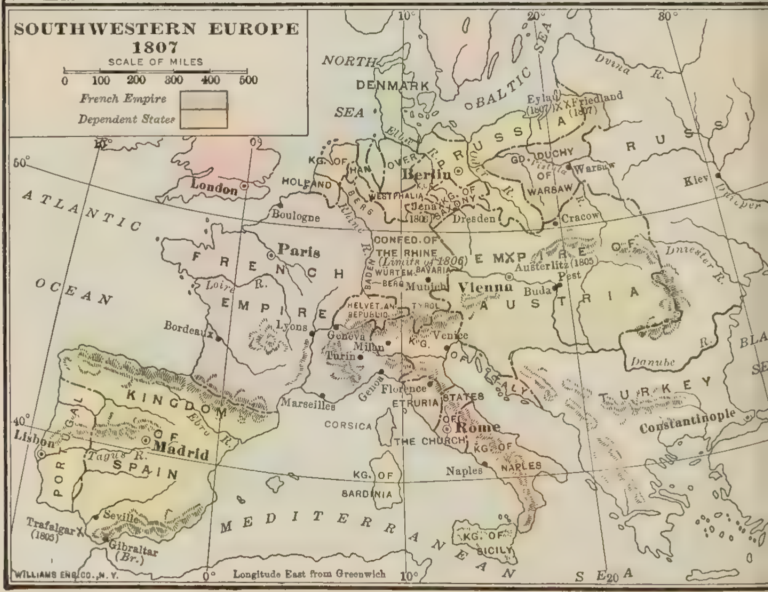
Agreement of France and Russia to divide control of Europe.

Napoleon was now practically supreme in western Europe, but the Russians still gave him trouble. After a series of battles he finally won a complete victory over them at Friedland, 1807. Although the Russians were forced to make peace, Napoleon was generous in order to have their friendship. On a raft in the middle of the river Nie′men, the French emperor and the Tsar Alexander arranged a treaty of friendship, the *Peace of Til′sit,* by which Europe was divided between them. Napoleon agreed that Russia might seize Finland, which was then part of Sweden, and should have some Turkish territory in eastern Europe, on condition that Russia should agree, if England would not make peace, to exclude from her markets all English-made goods.

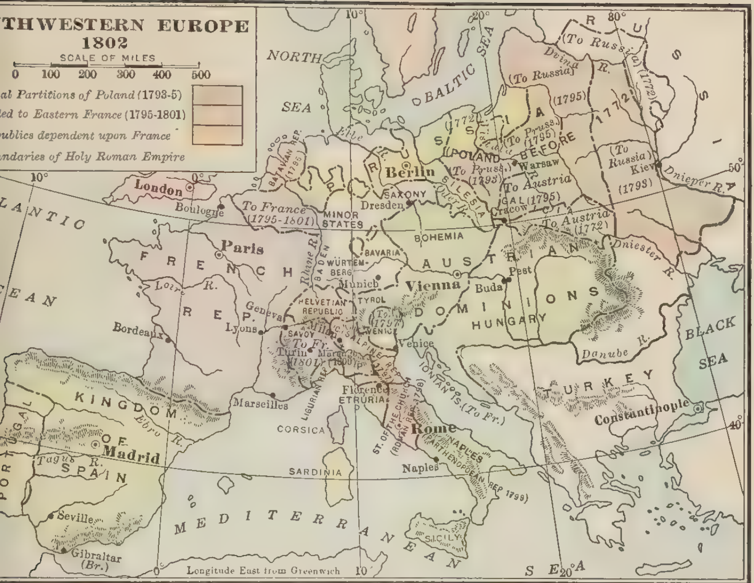
Willie Wells [illegible] was
mirror
looked the morning of it
thinking in his children
error
It would ruin his
whooping cough
at the funeral Willie
mother
constantly said to Mrs
Brown
was a chilly day for
Willie
When the morning
went down

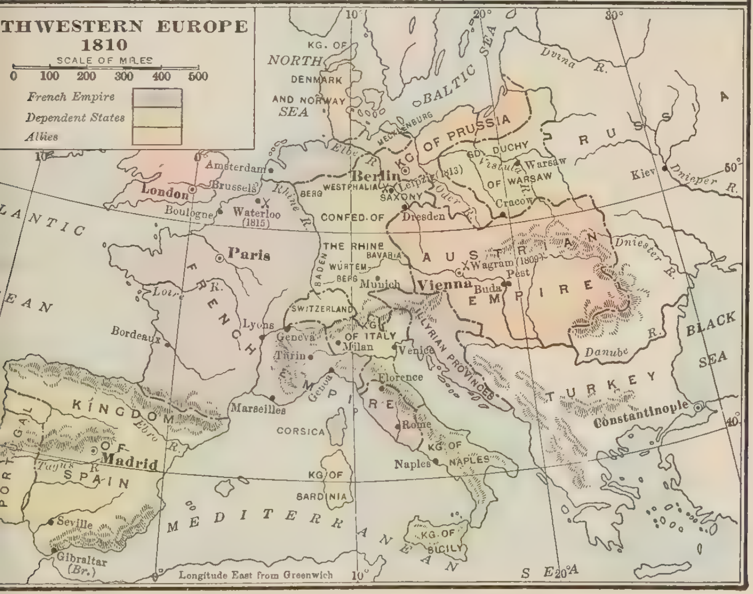


SOUTHWESTERN EUROPE 1789



SOUTHWESTERN EUROPE 1807


THWESTERN EUROPE
1802
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
al Partitions of Poland (1793-5)
led to Eastern France (1795-1801)
ublics dependent upon France
ndaries of Holy Roman Empire
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
LANTIC
EAN
London
Boulogne
BATAVIAN REP. (1795)
To France (1795-1801)
MINOR STATES
Berlin
SAXONY
Dresden
SILESIA
POLAND BEFORE 1772
Warsaw
To Pruss. (1793)
To Pruss. (1795)
To Austria (1795)
To Russia (1793)
To Russia (1795)
To Russia (1772)
To Austria (1772)
GAL.
Cracow
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Dvina R.
R U S S I A
BOHEMIA
BAVARIA
WÜRTEMBERG
BADEN
Rhine R.
Munich
Paris
F R E N C H R E P.
Loire R.
Geneva
Lyons
Bordeaux
HELVETIAN REPUBLIC
TYROL
To Aus. (1797)
VENICE
SAVOY
To Fr. (1801)
Turin
Milan
CISALPINE REP.
LIGURIAN REP.
Marseilles
Florence
ETRURIA
A U S T R I A N D O M I N I O N S
Vienna
Buda
Pest
HUNGARY
Venice
IONIAN IS. (To Fr.)
ST. OF THE CHURCH (ROMAN REP. 1798)
Rome
NAPLES (PARTHENOPEAN REP. 1799)
Naples
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
Dniester R.
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
T U R K E Y
Constantinople
K I N G D O M O F S P A I N
Ebro R.
Madrid
Tagus R.
PORTUGAL
Seville
Gibraltar (Br.)
M E D I T E R R A N E A N S E A
Longitude East from Greenwich
10° 20° 30° 40° 50°


THWESTERN EUROPE
1810
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
French Empire
Dependent States
Allies
KG. OF DENMARK AND NORWAY
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
LANTIC
EAN
MECKLENBURG
KG. OF PRUSSIA
GD. DUCHY OF WARSAW
Vistula
Warsaw
R U S S I A
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Dvina R.
Amsterdam
London
Brussels
Waterloo (1815)
Boulogne
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Berlin
WESTPHALIA
BERG
Leipzig (1813)
SAXONY
Oder R.
Dresden
Cracow
CONFED. OF THE RHINE
BAVARIA
WÜRTEMBERG
BADEN
Munich
Paris
F R E N C H E M P I R E
Loire R.
Lyons
Geneva
SWITZERLAND
KG. OF ITALY
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Venice
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
Florence
Rome
KG. OF NAPLES
Naples
A U S T R I A N E M P I R E
Wagram (1809)
Vienna
Buda
Pest
Dniester R.
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
T U R K E Y
Constantinople
Bordeaux
Marseilles
CORSICA
KG. OF SARDINIA
KG. OF SICILY
K I N G D O M O F S P A I N
Ebro R.
Madrid
Tagus R.
PORTUGAL
Seville
Gibraltar (Br.)
M E D I T E R R A N E A N S E A
Longitude East from Greenwich
10° 20° 30° 40° 50°

There's something about
you
That appeals to me
It isn't that graceful
way you walk
It isn't the size of your
pocket book
But what ever it is
Its Great

No matter what the
years may bring
As years drift by
You shall dwell forever
In our old [illegible] that.

TRIUMPH AND DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON

Reasons for commercial warfare.

151. Napoleon's Continental System. — Since England had complete control of the sea after 1805 and Napoleon had complete control of the western part of the Continent after Austerlitz and Jena, it was not possible for either power to strike a blow at the enemy directly. In consequence, there began a *commercial war* which was waged for a number of years. It involved not only France and England, but most of continental Europe and in addition those neutrals, such as the United States, which had an extensive commerce or carrying trade.

Aims of the commercial regulations of France and England.

Believing that the "race of shopkeepers," as he dubbed the English, would be struck in a vital spot if he could cripple their business, Napoleon tried to prevent the sale of English goods in all parts of the Continent. Since the Industrial Revolution (§§ 187–192) made it possible for England to produce large quantities of cheap commodities, this would interfere greatly with her trade. England on the other hand sought to prevent the French and their allies from receiving supplies, particularly foodstuffs, from neutral nations and from the colonies of the West Indies.

Preliminary orders and decrees (1806).

152. Orders, Decrees, and Embargos. — Napoleon made the first move by closing the ports of Prussia to English ships. England responded by an order in council, in May, 1806, blockading the northern coast of Europe from the Elbe river to Brest. From Berlin, after the battle of Jena, Napoleon issued his famous *Berlin Decree.* For the British Isles he proclaimed a paper blockade, that is, a blockade unsupported by warships and therefore not enforced, and declared that all English merchandise captured on the high seas or found in certain ports on the Continent should be subject to confiscation. These blockades, especially those of Napoleon, were not enforced, but English cruisers on the high seas seized neutral ships on the way to forbidden continental ports, and the French did not hesitate to take American vessels which were carrying British exports to the Continent.

Later drastic orders and decrees (1807).

Much more drastic were the proclamations issued the next year. *British orders in council*, adopted in November, 1807, demanded that all neutral vessels bound for a port of the enemy must first touch at an English port and pay duty or be liable to confiscation. When Napoleon heard of these orders, he immediately issued his *Milan Decree*, declaring that all ships were forfeited which traded with Great Britain or stopped at an English port on their way to the Continent and paid duties. Between the millstones of English greed and French spite neutral commerce was likely to be ground to destruction.

American embargoes (1807–1811).

The Americans did not sit by and watch the destruction of their commerce; immediately Congress passed a general *embargo*, cutting off all trade between America and foreign countries. Since this did not prove effective, it passed two partial embargoes in order to compel France and England to repeal their orders or decrees.[1]

Napoleon's problems n enforcing the Continental system.

153. The Continental System in Practice. — The economic effects of the continental system we shall study later. We must now notice the effect it had upon the fortunes of Napoleon Bonaparte. He had gained military control of half of the European continent. Through an alliance with Russia at Tilsit (§ 150), he sought to gain *economic or commercial control of the whole Continent.* But it was one thing for Napoleon to defeat the armies of his enemies; it was an entirely different matter to keep them from buying the things they needed or the goods which they could purchase cheaper elsewhere than he could sell them. In his attempt to control the business of Europe, through his commercial warfare against Great

[1] See Ashley, *American History*, §§ 238–241.

Britain, he had undertaken too great a task. He found that the English-made goods were smuggled into every city of northern Europe, even though those goods were taken and burned whenever they were discovered by French spies and officials.

Napoleon Threatening His Shipmaster because He Did not Build Enough Ships to Run the English Blockade. (English Cartoon)

Opposition of the Dutch.

The Dutch, who at this time were ruled by Napoleon's brother Louis, father of the Emperor Napoleon III (§ 248), especially opposed the continental system because their trade with the English was greater than that of any other continental people. Since Louis did not force his subjects to obey Napoleon's laws, Napoleon deposed him and annexed Holland to France.

Evasion of the system even in France.

Farther east, the Hanseatic towns, particularly Hamburg, traded with the English on every possible occasion. But the smuggling was not limited to these foreign merchants. Along the north coast of France an enormous smuggling trade grew up. In fact, Napoleon granted thousands of licenses or permits to shipowners, who were allowed to bring to the Continent certain English-made goods which were needed or desired. In this way the emperor helped to break down the continental system.

Slow progress of the English in the Spanish peninsula.

154. The Peninsular Wars. — Attempts to enforce the continental system led Napoleon into most of the campaigns which he fought between 1807 and 1813. In spite of the close commercial relations which had existed between England and *Portugal* for a hundred years

(§§ 50, 59), he tried to keep the Portuguese from trading with the British Isles. When they refused to obey his orders, Napoleon invaded Spain and Portugal. The differences with the Spanish led to the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy in *Spain* and the appointment of Napoleon's brother Joseph to the throne. While Napoleon remained in the field, the French were victorious in the peninsula; but, whenever he left Spain, the English troops, under Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, with their Portuguese and Spanish allies, were almost as uniformly successful. The peninsular campaigns, however, went on for six years before Wellington's troops were able to cross the Pyrenees into France.

DUKE OF WELLINGTON

Victory over and alliance with Austria.

155. Expansion of the French Empire. — With Napoleon's attention taken up by affairs in the Spanish peninsula, Austria sought, in 1809, to regain her lost provinces. With the marvelous rapidity which marked practically all his campaigns, Napoleon gathered an army, invaded Austria, entered Vienna, and at *Wag'ram*, within sight of the towers of the city, once more defeated the Austrians. Again Austria lost valuable and populous provinces, for her aged minister advised peace upon any terms, predicting the downfall of Napoleon's empire within a short time. Nevertheless the ancient house of Habsburg welcomed an alliance with the "usurper," and in 1809 Napoleon, who had divorced his first wife Josephine, was married to the Austrian princess Maria Louisa (niece of Marie Antoinette).

The French empire and subject states.

In 1810 the *French empire* was at its height. The empire proper included not only France, but the Netherlands, the northwestern quarter of Italy, and the Illyrian provinces on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea. Within this area Napoleon was absolute master. In addition, there were numerous countries or leagues under his direct protection and supervision. These included the kingdom of Spain, ruled by Joseph Bonaparte, the kingdoms of Italy and Naples in the Italian peninsula, and the Helvetian republic (Switzerland).

New dependencies and allies.

Since the reorganization of Germany in 1801 (§ 162), Napoleon had been exceedingly liberal to the rulers of the south German states. In 1806 he organized their principalities and a few others into the *Confederation of the Rhine,* which was under his control and protection, and furnished him troops. This confederation was later enlarged, particularly by the kingdom of West-pha′li-a, at the time that Prussia lost more than half of her territory after the battle of Jena. East of Prussia and north of Austria Napoleon organized out of Polish territories of Prussia the new *Grand Duchy of Warsaw,* which was also under his protection. At this time Napoleon was also allied with Denmark, Norway, and other countries.

Russian grievances against Napoleon.

156. The Russian Campaign (1812). — When Napoleon married an *Austrian* princess, he offended Russia, for he had gone first to that country for a royal wife. Russia was even more deeply concerned with the creation on its borders of a new *Polish kingdom,* even though that kingdom was called simply the "Grand Duchy of Warsaw." In a sense the alliance between Russia and Napoleon was artificial, but the break between the two was due even more to the *continental system.* The English and the Russians had traded with one another from an early day.[1] Since England produced much cheaper goods than the Russians could make, and much better as well as cheaper than they could be produced by the French or their allies, the Russian people protested. In fact, practically all peoples of northern Europe objected to the continental system, since that system kept them from buying inexpensive cloth, and forced them to pay more than a dollar a pound for coffee and practically deny themselves the use of sugar.

Invasion of Russia and burning of Moscow (1812).

The break did not come, however, until 1812. Napoleon wished to teach his former allies, the Russians, a thorough lesson. Gathering a force of nearly a half million men, Napoleon led the larger number of these soldiers, the *Grand Army*, into Russia. His advance was a disappointment. The Russians refused to offer battle, retiring continually before him until they reached Bor-o-di′no, where Napoleon defeated their army at great cost to himself. A short time afterward he entered the capital, Moscow. The French troops pillaged the city until a fire started, which practically destroyed it and the supplies which it contained.

The terrible retreat from Moscow.

As the peasants in the surrounding country were exceedingly bitter toward Napoleon, it was difficult for him to secure food. The government kept offering terms of peace in order that the French might be kept in Moscow as long as possible. The winter months coming on, Napoleon was finally forced to begin his retreat. He tried to follow a route to the west, but his way was blocked by the Russians. Storm succeeded storm. The French troops were starving. At least a third of their number were captured by the enemy, but even more died from hunger, cold, or other hardships. Of the once vast army, the greatest Europe had seen up to this time, but little was left when, two weeks before Christmas, they reached the Niemen river, the rear guard under Marshal Ney heroically keeping back the enemy.

---

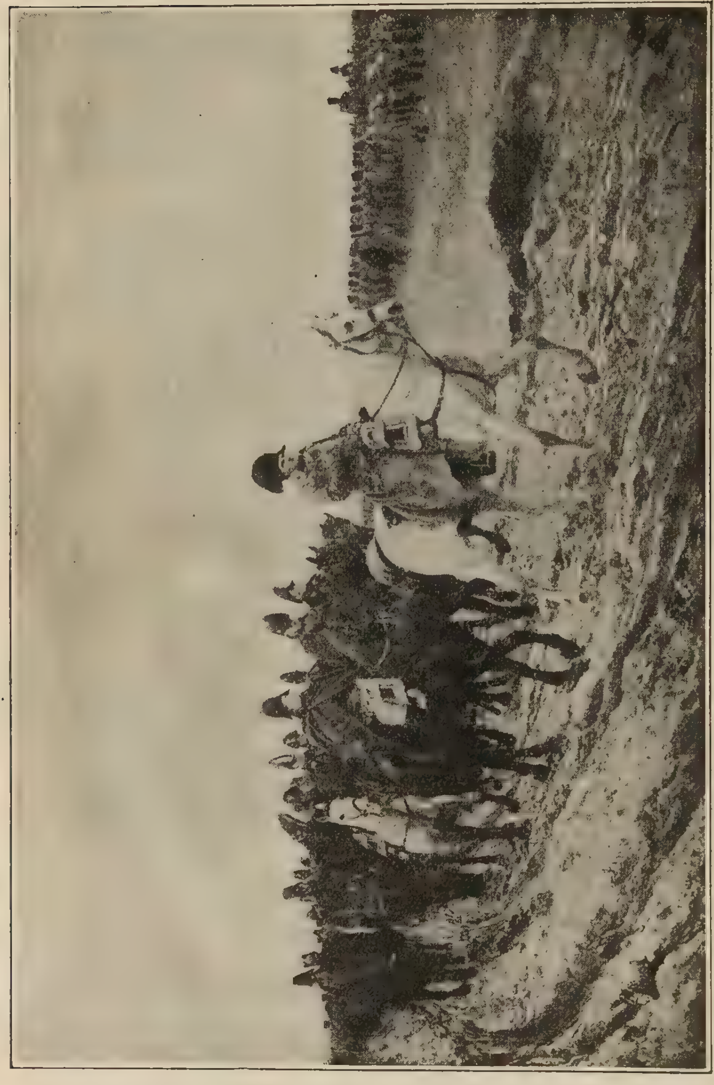
[1] Cf. E. E. C., §722.

The "War of Liberation" (1813).

157. The Overthrow of Napoleon. — It is not strange that the collapse of Napoleon's Russian campaign should have caused every nation in Europe to rise against him; but his star was not yet set. With remarkable skill he raised new levies of troops, this conscription making nearly a million and a half soldiers that had been furnished by France since his accession to power in 1800. Fighting began anew in east Germany, where a "War of Liberation" was preached by Prussia, the national spirit of the German people being fully aroused. At *Leip'zig* in 1813 the "Battle of the Nations" was fought. Nearly three fourths of a million troops were engaged in this three days' contest. Napoleon was beaten but succeeded in withdrawing his army.

The French campaigns (1814).

Gradually Napoleon was forced farther and farther west, until in 1814 three large foreign armies advanced upon Paris from the east and Wellington brought an army from the Spanish peninsula. At no time in his career was the military genius of Napoleon shown more plainly. He seemed everywhere at once, and his attacks had all the fire and skill of his earliest campaigns, but his brilliant minor victories only postponed by days or weeks the inevitable result. Hopelessly outnumbered, he saw the attacking forces close relentlessly around his dwindling army of raw recruits. When, in March, 1814, Paris surrendered to the enemy, the emperor was still in the field, but he was unable to continue the contest. He signed preliminaries of peace and abdicated his throne, and



"1814"

was banished to the little island of *Elba*, off the coast of Italy.

The return of Napoleon (1815).

158. **The Waterloo Campaign.** — Here Napoleon remained several months. Finally, in the spring of 1815, he escaped to France. His arrival was hailed with enthusiasm, and his veterans gathered around him. Once more the great war seemed a reality, but Napoleon's work was done. He advanced into Belgium in order to attack English and other soldiers under Wellington in the north and a German force under Blücher (Blee′ker) in the east. By forced marches Napoleon threw his army between those of his opponents. He first drove back Blücher and then advanced against Wellington, whose army had marched south of Brussels.

The battle of Waterloo, June 18th, 1815.

Here, near the village of Waterloo, on the 18th of June, Napoleon fought his last battle. All afternoon he hurled his cavalry and infantry against the steadfast lines of the British troops, but in vain; his ablest leaders could make no impression on that "thin red line." About mid-afternoon he discovered that the Prussians, who, he had supposed, were retreating, were advancing from the east. Crowded in between the two attacking forces, he tried once more to break the British front. Four thousand of his finest soldiers, belonging to the old imperial guard, marched once more

TOMB OF NAPOLEON

across the bloody field against the position of the enemy. They reached the crest of the hill, only to be mowed down by the deadly infantry fire. In spite of their boast that the "old guard dies, but never surrenders," the survivors either gave themselves up to the British or struggled back to Napoleon's lines. Overwhelmed, almost cut off from escape, the remaining battalions of the emperor sought safety in flight. Napoleon's last battle had become his worst defeat. One day's fighting had given the allies a decisive victory, and Napoleon again abdicated, this time for good. He was sent to the rocky island of St. Helena, in the south Atlantic, where he spent the six remaining years of his life.

Napoleon's victories and rise to power (1796–1802).

159. Summary. — Napoleon, "the Corsican," was trained in military schools and first gained recognition for his skill in the artillery service. In 1796–1797 he won brilliant victories over numerous Austrian armies in northern Italy. He then tried to strike the English in India through Egypt. Returning to France, he reorganized the government, becoming first consul and later making himself emperor (1804). In the Peace of Lunéville (1801) he gained the west bank of the Rhine and the right to reorganize Germany (§ 162); in the Peace of Amiens (1802) he made a truce with his persistent enemy, Great Britain.

Peace achievements and victories which gave him western continental Europe.

Napoleon now reorganized the French government, strongly centralizing it and bringing it under his control. He forced on the Pope a Concordat, which made it possible for him to speak of his bishops. He constructed roads and planned canals, and he organized systems of law (the Code Napoleon, etc., § 168) and of education (§ 169). Unable to invade England because Nelson destroyed his fleet at Trafalgar (1805), he overwhelmed the Austrians at Austerlitz (1805) and the Prussians at Jena (1806). This gave him control of western Europe.

At Tilsit (1807) he agreed to divide Europe with Tsar Alexander I of Russia.

Napoleon's continental system. Since England controlled the seas, Napoleon tried to injure her by closing continental ports to her goods. If he could have succeeded in destroying the European market for the cheap goods that she produced because of the Industrial Revolution (Chapter IX), Napoleon would have won. He failed because he could not control western continental Europe even in a military and political way; to keep subject and allied peoples from buying what they needed, or where they could most cheaply, was of course impossible.

Final campaigns and downfall. The attempt to enforce his continental system brought on the Peninsular wars with Portugal and Spain, which Wellington finally won, and led to the invasion of Russia (1812), where cold and famine destroyed his Grand Army. Defeated at Leipzig (1813), Napoleon withdrew to France, where he was overwhelmed by the combined armies of his enemies. He was banished to Elba, returned, met the allies at Waterloo (1815), was defeated, and was banished to St. Helena. His empire, which had included France to the Rhine, Holland, part of northern Italy, and the Illyrian provinces, besides dependencies of Spain, the kingdoms of Italy and Naples, the Helvetian republic, the Confederation of the Rhine, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, was reduced to France with the limits of 1789.[1]

General References

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 523–581.

Hazen, *Modern European History*, 152–248.

Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 232–285, 301–366, 400–445.

---

[1] On the disposition of territories in 1815, see the Congress of Vienna (§§ 170, 171).

Fisher, *Napoleon.*
Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, 187–335.
Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era.*
Fournier, *Napoleon the First.*
Johnston, *Napoleon, A Short Biography.*
Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 74–407.
Cambridge Modern History, IX, "Napoleon."

Topics

EARLY LIFE OF NAPOLEON: Johnston, *Napoleon, A Short Biography*, 1–11; Fournier, *Napoleon the First*, 1–18; Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, I, 1–22; Fisher, *Napoleon*, 7–28.

THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM: Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, 49–62; Gibbons, *The 19th Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 87–100; Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 340–351, 361–366; Beard, *Introduction to the English Historians*, 520–537.

TRAFALGAR AND AUSTERLITZ: Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 187–202; Johnston, *Napoleon, A Short Biography*, 112–129; Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution and Napoleon*, II, 178–198.

WATERLOO: Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 387–404; Johnston, *Napoleon, A Short Biography*, 214–237; Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, II, 449–471; Creasy, *Fifteen Decisive Battles*, 367–386; Hugo, *Les Miserables*, "Waterloo."

Studies

1. First Italian campaign. Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 80–100.

2. Coup d'état of 18th Brumaire (1799). Johnston, *Napoleon, A Short Biography*, 59–79.

3. The French codes. Seignobos, *History of Contemporary Civilization*, 163–165.

4. Sale of Louisiana. Adams, *History of the United States*, II, 25–50.

5. Napoleon in peace. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 528–533; Seignobos, *History of Contemporary Civilization*, 155–169.

6. The peninsular wars. Jeffery, *The New Europe*, 105–123.

7. The Russian campaign. Johnston, *Napoleon, A Short History*, 170–187.

8. Napoleon at St. Helena. Rosebery, *Napoleon, The Last Phase*, 164–179.

Questions

1. What personal characteristics of Napoleon fitted him for his wonderful career? Describe in considerable detail his first Italian campaign. Why did he go to Egypt? Explain successes and failures of his Egyptian campaign.

2. What were the important problems of France in 1799? Show how the first consulate solved the internal problems, and Napoleon's successes against Austria, the external. Give provisions of the Peace of Lunéville. Show the significance of the armed neutrality and the Peace of Amiens.

3. Show what Napoleon did for France in time of peace. Explain need of more perfect government within France, of new law codes, and explain problems of a French colonial empire and of a state religion. What did Napoleon do for business?

4. Describe the campaigns culminating in the battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz. Show the significance of those two battles and explain the importance of the Peace of Tilsit.

5. Why did Napoleon develop a continental system and what did he expect to do by that? Explain the most important orders, decrees, and embargoes (1806–1807). What difficulties did Napoleon encounter in enforcing his system: from England, from the French, from France's allies, from Americans?

6. On a map point out the territory of the French empire proper, the tributary kingdoms or states, and the countries allied with France.

7. Trace the downfall of Napoleon through the Russian campaign, the German War of Liberation, the campaigns east of Paris, 1814, and the Waterloo campaign.

8. In what respects was Napoleon a great man? What work did Napoleon do for the betterment of the European peoples?

FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

	FRANCE	REST OF CONTINENT	ENGLAND	REST OF WORLD
1789	Revolution			New government in United States (1789)
1791	Constitution			
1792	Republic	Prussia and Austria make first coalition		
1793	General War		William Pitt Prime Minister (1784–1801)	Proclamation of Neutrality (1793)
1795	First Peace Directory	Spain, Prussia, and Holland make peace		International gains of United States (1795)
1796	Napoleon's Italian campaign			
1797	Peace of Campo Formio	Humiliation of Austria		
1798	Egyptian campaign		Battle of Nile	
1799	Consulate	New coalition		
1800	Italian campaign			
1801	Peace of Lunéville			
1802	Peace of Amiens	Reorganization of Germany	Only peace between 1793 and 1814	
1803	Renewal	of	War	Purchase of Louisiana (1803)
1804		Empire of Austria		
1805	Trafalgar (battle) Austerlitz (battle)		Naval supremacy	
1806	Jena (battle)	Confederation of Rhine	Commercial warfare	
1807	Continental System Peace of Tilsit	Humiliation of Prussia Grand Duchy of Warsaw		Embargo (1807)
1808	Napoleon in Spain	Reforms in Prussia		
1809	Wagram			
1810	Empire at height	Marriage of Napoleon and Maria Louise	Peninsular campaigns	
1812	Russian campaign			
1813	Battle of Nations	Last coalition		War of 1812
1814	Elba	Congress of Vienna German Confederation (1814)		
1815	Waterloo campaign		Overthrow of Napoleon	Peace (1815)

CHAPTER VIII

RECONSTRUCTION AND REACTION (1800–1830)

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

"Germany" in the Middle Ages.

160. German Disunity Before 1801. — The Holy Roman Empire of the German nation was organized by Otto I in 962 A.D.[1] Until the close of its struggle with the papacy about the middle of the thirteenth century, the empire played an important part in the general course of European affairs.[2] After that time it was chiefly a feudal state, loosely organized, whose real rulers were the princes of separate states in the empire. Whoever was Archduke of Austria, the head of the house of Habs′burg, was almost invariably chosen emperor.

"Germany" as a disorganized feudal state; seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

After the Thirty Years' War[3] the empire was little more than a name. As Voltaire wittily stated in the eighteenth century, it was neither holy nor Roman nor imperial. Whereas feudalism as a political force had disappeared from most of the continent of Europe several centuries earlier, and other countries had organized monarchies and had become united, "Germany" was still a disunited feudal state. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was made up of more than three hundred principalities, of which sixty were free cities, such as Hamburg and Lü′beck. Each of these principalities was self-governing. In addition there were more than a thousand distinct fiefs, occupied by knights or churchmen, which had survived from the Middle Ages.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 525.

[2] E. E. C., §§ 526–533.

[3] E. E. C., §§ 704–707.

Lack of unity and social progress (1800).

Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was, of course, no uniform law for the whole empire; in each state or principality there had survived many feudal customs. For example, each *local* district had its own laws, as was the case in France before 1789 (§ 113). Serfdom was almost universal throughout the empire, although Joseph II had freed the serfs in distinctively Austrian lands (§ 109), and some other rulers had followed his example or had been influenced by the changes in France after 1789.

Modern "German" ideas contrasted with old "German" ideas.

161. Old Culture in Central Europe. — We can see from the preceding section that at least two ideas which we think of as distinctively "German" must be just as distinctively modern, for they were not found in 1800 in the Holy Roman Empire, or as it was commonly called "Germany." These two are the idea of *unity* and the idea that everything important is done for the good of the *whole society* rather than for the individual. A century and a half ago these ideas had little place in either the theory or the practice of the "German" people. To these people "*Germany*" was little more than a name; yet they became accustomed to think of all central Europe as "German." Later the present German Empire, which must not be confused with old "Germany," insisted that she be allowed to control the territory of the Holy Roman Empire. To the people of old "Germany," however, as to most other men in western Europe, the rights of man, of the individual, were all-important. This extreme *individualism* finds expression in many ways. It is particularly prominent in their philosophy and their culture. It may account to some slight degree for their music.

"German" philosophy and poetry.

Among the dramatists and poets of this age was *Goethe* (Gē′te) whose best-known work is, of course, the drama *Faust*. Schil′ler was somewhat more versatile than

Goethe though less distinguished as a poet. His history of the Thirty Years' War is a valuable study of that period. *Wallenstein* is his best-known drama.

"German" preëminence in music.

Since the beginning of the eighteenth century there have been numerous "German" composers, of whom we need name only two, Mo-zart′ and Bee-tho′ven. *Old "Germany"* also gave us some familiar tunes. There is practically no connection between this old "German" music and modern Prussianized "kultur." None of these leaders came from Brandenburg (Prussia).

Relation of the old culture to the problem of unifying "Germany."

The old "German culture" was not only a matter of pride to the "German" people; it contained elements that have been held in high esteem among other nations. Instead of solving, however, the problem of disunity which we have just considered, and the further problem of reorganization, which we must now take up, these ideas and this old "German culture" worked against rather than for nationality and a modern Prussianized "Germany" dominated by militarism and a lust for world conquest.

Extinction of all "German" states west of the Rhine.

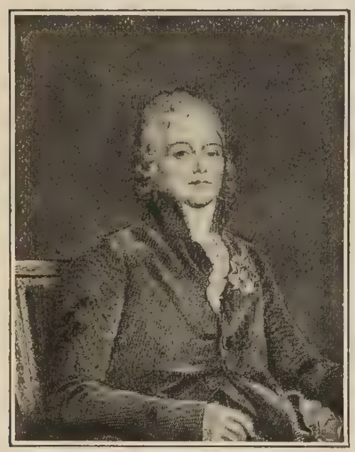
162. The Reorganization of the Holy Roman Empire after the Peace of Lunéville. — Like most other changes made in "Germany" between 1625 and 1860, the reorganization of the country was forced upon her from without. By treaties with Prussia and Austria before 1800 France had obtained an indefinite right to the lands on the left or western bank of the Rhine river.[1] By the Peace of Lunéville (1801, § 145) she gained a clear title to all territories west of the Rhine, thus extending her eastern boundaries to the Rhine river. Within this area there were extinguished one hundred and eighteen separate free cities, states, or principalities, which had been members of the Empire. To these princes dispossessed by the French, Austria as the head of the empire was compelled to promise compensation, that is, other lands east of the Rhine.[1]

---

[1] Treaties with Prussia (1795) (§ 140) and the Peace of Campo Formio (1797) (§ 143).

Extinction of very many "German" states east of the Rhine.

In point of fact *the reorganization of the Holy Roman Empire was the work of Napoleon* and his secretaries. Most of the knights' lands ceased to be fiefs. The ecclesiastical properties also became integral parts of the states to which they belonged territorially. Besides the one hundred and eighteen principalities west of the Rhine which were destroyed by Napoleon, there were one hundred and sixty others east of the Rhine which lost their separate existence. To his friends, the rulers of the South "German" states, Napoleon gave additional territories; upon some of them he conferred the title of king.



TALLEYRAND

The struggle for territorial spoils.

In the redivision of lands, "Talleyrand and his confidant Mathieu had no occasion to ask for bribes, or to maneuver for the position of arbiters in 'Germany.' They were overwhelmed with importunities. Solemn diplomatists of the old school toiled up four flights of stairs to the office of the needy secretary, or danced attendance at the parties of the witty minister. They hugged Talleyrand's poodle; they vied with one another in gaining a smile from the child whom he brought up at his house. The shrewder of them fortified their attentions with solid bargains, and made it their principal care not to be outbidden at the auction. Thus the game was kept up as long as there was a bishopric or a city in the market."[1]

---

[1] In order to keep the friendship of the new Russian tsar, Alexander I, Napoleon made agreements with Alexander soon after the Peace of Lunéville by which Russia was to be consulted in the rearrangement of the "German" states.

Destruction of states and feudal areas as a preparation for modern united "Germany."

163. Later Reorganization (1804–1806). — By this reorganization of "Germany" the number of states was reduced from more than three hundred to fewer than fifty. Moreover, several of the petty states were now kingdoms under the protection of Napoleon, at this time by far the most powerful ruler of Europe. This destruction of these petty feudal states and fiefs paved the way for the formation of a modern national state, a necessary change. The large number that existed before 1800 could never have been brought together voluntarily into a modern monarchy or republic.

End of the Holy Roman Empire (1806).

Seeing that the Holy Roman Empire had practically been destroyed, the Archduke of Austria proclaimed himself *Emperor of Austria*, a title which the ruler of Austria still holds. In 1806 the Holy Roman Empire was formally dissolved by Napoleon (§ 149).

The Confederation of the Rhine.

In the same year, 1806, Napoleon organized a *Confederation of the Rhine*, which was intended to form a buffer state between France and Austria. The Confederation was composed of Bavaria, Wür′tem-berg, Baden, and several other states. The rulers within the Confederation of the Rhine were necessarily loyal to Napoleon and were forced to furnish him with 63,000 soldiers. In this Confederation *many French reforms were introduced.* Serfdom was abolished and everywhere the *Code Napoleon* was put into operation. One of the states protested vigorously that the Code Napoleon could not possibly meet its needs, but, before the protest was heard, the code was in excellent working order in that territory, and the opposition came to nothing. By the Peace of Tilsit, Napoleon, with the consent of Russia, took away from Prussia all her territories west of the Elbe river. There was organized the *kingdom of Westphalia*, which was given to one of Napoleon's brothers. Westphalia and other states in north-central "Germany" were included in the Confederation of the Rhine. To them French ideas and reforms were extended (§ 155).

---

[1] Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, 166–167.

Humiliation of Prussia by Napoleon.

164. Prussia after the Defeat by Napoleon. — The loss of her possessions west of the Elbe was not the chief change which Napoleon made in Prussia. Practically all territory which Prussia had gained in the second and third partitions of Poland (§ 65) was organized into the *Grand Duchy of Warsaw*, which was under the protection of Napoleon. Furthermore, within the territories left to Prussia, less than half her former area, the French emperor ruled as a conqueror. He quartered his troops, numbering more than one hundred thousand, in the homes of the Prussian people. In the treaty of peace he demanded not only troops, but an indemnity, the amount of which was to be determined later; and more than a billion francs were undoubtedly taken.

Military reorganization of Prussia after 1807.

In the days of the early Hohenzollerns the Prussians had been noted for their military prowess. Frederick the Great and his father had the best armies in Europe. Smarting under the failures of 1806 and 1807, they therefore began to reorganize their army.[1] Later, at the time of the later Napoleonic wars the Prussians made use for the first time of universal military *conscription*, a system which is in use practically everywhere on the continent of Europe at the present time.

---

[1] They dismissed practically all of the old commanders. The success of the French under Carnot and of other peoples in later years had shown that citizen armies were infinitely superior to armies of paid mercenaries. At the command of Napoleon 42,000 citizens were trained each year, presumably for Napoleon's use, really for Prussia. At the end of a year these men were retired or placed in the reserves, their places being taken by new recruits. In consequence, when Prussia finally made war on Napoleon, she had an army of more than one hundred fifty thousand men who had had military training, some of whom had seen actual service in war.

Work of Stein in making reforms and uniting "Germany."

The years after 1807 brought other epoch-making changes to Prussia. Among these were new universities and schools (§ 169), and a reorganization of municipal government.[1] Since serfdom had been abolished in her former western possessions, now the kingdom of Westphalia, and in her former eastern territories, now the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia was forced in self-defense to abolish serfdom within her own boundaries (§ 201). The abolition of serfdom and the beginning of other social reforms were due in part to the enthusiasm of Prussia's minister, *Baron vom Stein*. Stein was an alert and crafty statesman; more than any other man in "German" public life, he was responsible for the regeneration of the "German" nation. He preached a united "Germany" and for it he worked unceasingly. His idea is expressed best

STEIN

---

[1] In the new central government little share was given to the people, but burghers were allowed to select the municipal councils. Although this did not apply to the smaller villages, for the smaller villages were still too much dominated by the nobles, it is in a real sense the beginning of the municipal government which has been so distinguishing a characteristic of "Germany" in the last half century (§§ 463, 467). We can see from this summary that prolonged wars are likely to bring revolutionary changes to a naturally ultra-conservative country like Prussia.

in his own words: "I have but one fatherland, which is called Germany . . . with my whole heart I am devoted to it, and not to any of its parts."

Form of the Confederation from 1815 to 1866.

165. **The "German" Confederation.** — In 1815, after the overthrow of Napoleon, Germany was organized into a Confederation. There were thirty-eight states, of which two, Austria and Prussia, were far more important than others. The presidency of the Confederation was vested perpetually in the ruler of Austria. Four of the states were also kingdoms: Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover. Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck were the only three left of the sixty free cities of the eighteenth century. The affairs of the Confederation were controlled by a diet which met at Frankfort. This body, however, was about as inefficient as the American Congress under the Confederation, following our Revolutionary War. This German Confederation managed, or, more truly, mismanaged the affairs of the German people until it was destroyed by Prussia in 1866 (§ 246).

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE (1789–1815)

The old régime and the problem of modernization.

166. **The Modernization of Western Europe.** — Even in the last half of the eighteenth century continental Europe was in many respects still medieval; in fact in many countries the old régime was a combination of medievalism and absolutism. We have noticed (§§ 107–109) that the benevolent despots tried to introduce some reforms in their own dominions. There were two serious limitations, however, on their work: they did not go below the surface and they undertook only those reforms which appealed to their egotism and pride. Nowhere did men gain more political rights; nowhere were real liberty and equality granted.[1]

---

[1] In France, before 1789, less had been attempted than in Austria and Prussia.

The principles through which Europe was modernized.

The French Revolution asserted that sovereignty rests with the people of a nation rather than with their monarch. But this new idea of the sovereignty of the people attacked the very foundations of absolute monarchy, and the idea that the people of any country formed a nation was denied by the local privileges of the provinces and by the local patriotism of the people. The revolutionists also proclaimed three principles which were not medieval. These were "liberty, equality, fraternity." With these revolutionary ideas the old régime had nothing in common. Liberty was meaningless as long as half of the common people were still serfs. Equality threatened the privileges of the church, the nobility, and even of the merchant class. With all its power, therefore, the old order resisted the attacks of these new ideas when the French people, as a *nation*, demanded personal freedom, equal rights before the law, and at least some share in their own government.

The work of the Revolution.

With typical French enthusiasm the old order was swept away in France early in the course of the Revolution. But a country cannot be organized and governed by *ideas*, as we find when we compare our own laws and institutions with our Declaration of Independence. It required the organizing ability of Napoleon to give France a strong government that should be modern, though despotic. Wherever Napoleon went he carried the ideas of the new order. By imitation, or to check the career of the French emperor, other countries abolished serfdom, or introduced better laws. However, only those lands which were under French influence or control for at least a decade retained the changes which were introduced under the rule of Napoleon; later, the others either forgot or neglected or rejected the new ideas.

167. The Development of Nationality. — A nation may be defined as a group of sovereign people, living

Early beginnings and slow growth of nationality.

within a definite area under a single government, who have common ideas in regard to all important public interests or policies. Even in the Middle Ages the English and the French people were becoming nations. Elsewhere in Europe the development of nationality was much slower. Even in *France* the people of the country did not wake up to the fact that they formed a nation until the last part of the eighteenth century. The development of French nationality was also retarded by the systems of local laws and special privileges in different provinces and communities (§§ 3, 113).

Difficulties in forming nations; the problem of Italy.

In other countries of the Continent, the number of different laws, customs, and organizations before 1789 was even greater than in France. Only one, Spain, had a strongly centralized government. Consequently, it was more difficult for the people of these other lands to understand what a nation was, and to organize themselves into nations. In *Italy*, to be sure, Napoleon appealed directly to the national spirit of the Italian race. Although Italy was never united under Napoleon, Napoleon did create a "Kingdom of Italy,"[1] and the enthusiastic Italian liberals looked forward to the time when there should be a single, united kingdom of Italy comprising the whole Italian peninsula.

How Napoleon's conquests aroused the national spirit of Spain and Germany.

The spirit of Spanish nationality was really aroused for the first time when Napoleon conquered *Spain* in 1808 and placed his brother Joseph on the throne. For the first time in history the Spanish people were really united, and they were united to throw off the yoke of their conqueror. The patriotic opposition of the Spaniards to Napoleon undoubtedly influenced the people of *Germany*, whose leaders urged Germans to unite[2] and overthrow the rule of the French emperor.

---

[1] This included only a *part* of *northern* Italy.

[2] As early as 1806 Fichte (Fik'te) had delivered a series of "Patriotic

Before 1800 European countries had many local, antiquated systems of laws.

168. The Code Napoleon. — In the opening years of the nineteenth century, a new era began in the legal and educational systems of western Europe. Frederick the Great had reduced some old laws of Prussia to a code,[1] but elsewhere the laws were old, unsatisfactory, and incomplete, as well as local and unjust. After France had abolished the old local systems of law (§ 130), of which she had several hundred, and had abolished also the privileges and inequalities of the old régime, it was possible to have uniform national laws and law codes that would be worthy of a great and modern nation.

The law codes gave many countries new national and modern systems of law.

A beginning was made before the time of Napoleon, but the great civil code of 1804, known as the Code Napoleon, gave France her first modern code of laws. This work was completed under Napoleon's direction in four months.[2] It was copied by other nations and is now the basis of the civil law in Belgium, Holland, Italy, and some of the southern and western German states (§ 163). French codes for criminal and commercial law were added later. It may be said that "the codes preserve . . . civil equality, religious toleration, the emancipation of land, public trial, the jury of judgment."

The beginning of a system of education under Napoleon.

169. Education. — Education at public expense was one of the ideas of the French Revolution (§ 139), but the revolutionary statesmen were never able to carry their plans into effect. It was left for Napoleon to devise and establish a system of public schools from the primary grades to higher institutions of learning.

Addresses to the German Nation." Stein and other statesmen, philosophers, and poets also preached a united Germany.

[1] Cf. Austria, § 109.

[2] German critics sneered at work done so hastily and superficially. In fact, the code was defective in many particulars, but its principles and its existence (as an example to other countries) were of great importance to Europe in this period of change.

Napoleon's scheme for France and its incomplete introduction.

Napoleon divided the schools into several classes: the primary or elementary, the secondary or grammar, and the lycées or high schools. He aimed to carry out the plans of the Convention and have lower schools in each community and high schools in all large towns. He *organized the entire system of schools* into the University of France, centralizing it and bringing it under government supervision. At the close of his career, however, Napoleon found that the students in private schools outnumbered those in his recently established state institutions.

New interest of Prussia in education.

Not only France but Prussia and other countries improved their systems of education during this period. In spite of the heavy taxes levied on them by Napoleon, the Prussians made generous contributions for the new University of Berlin.

The education of the people to the need of still further reform.

From this brief summary we can gain some slight idea of the influence that the French Revolution and Napoleon exerted on modern Europe. Before 1789 western and central Europe had in a half-hearted way sought to reform the old régime. In France it was absolutely destroyed and a new order of things was established. Elsewhere the people began to realize that the old régime should be abolished or greatly modified. They did not modify it greatly, but they were learning. As is the case with all true education, the process was necessarily a slow one. As the peoples learned, they demanded the complete reform of the old abuses. After a time, if the old privileges remained and the new rights were not granted, they would rise in their might and wrest them from their rulers or other oppressors.

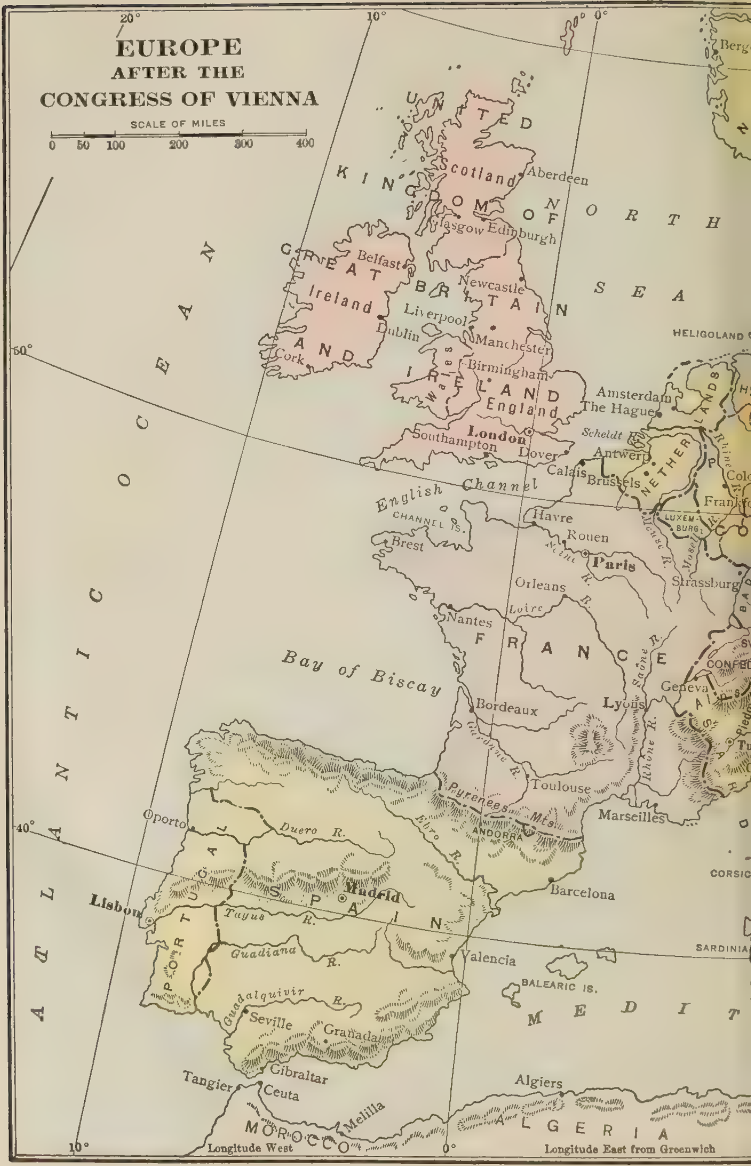
Reaction and Intervention (1815–1830)

170. The Congress of Vienna (1815). — After the overthrow of Napoleon (§ 157), it was necessary to rearrange the map of Europe. To do this diplomats of the great

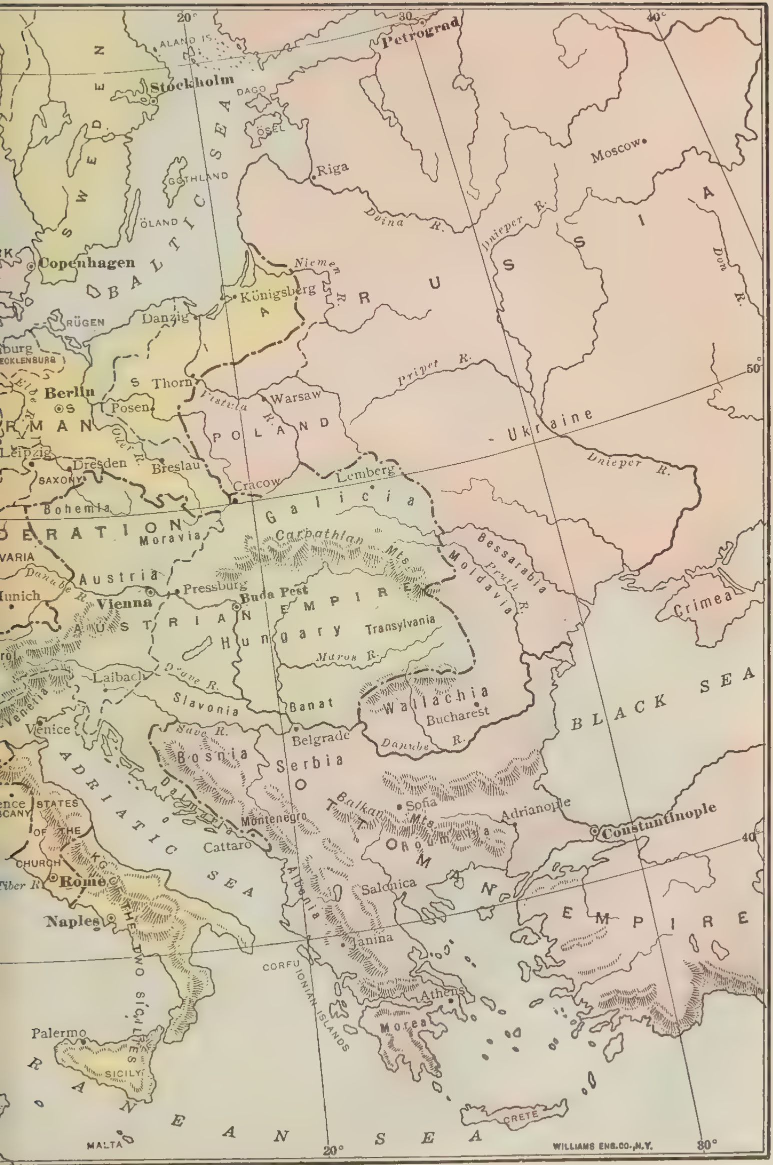
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Cash and [illegible] [illegible]
a [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Found
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
these beautiful [illegible]

I can [illegible] [illegible]
I can [illegible] and [illegible]
I'm in [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
I can [illegible] [illegible]
& pleasure



EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA


20°
30°
40°
50°
40°
30°
20°
ALAND IS.
SWEDEN
Stockholm
DAGO
ÖSEL
GOTHLAND
ÖLAND
BALTIC SEA
Copenhagen
RÜGEN
Petrograd
Riga
Moscow
Dvina R.
Dnieper R.
Niemen R.
Königsberg
RUSSIA
Don R.
Danzig
Thorn
Berlin
Posen
MECKLENBURG
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Warsaw
POLAND
Pripet R.
Ukraine
Dnieper R.
Leipzig
Dresden
SAXONY
Breslau
Cracow
Lemberg
Galicia
Bohemia
Moravia
Carpathian Mts.
Bessarabia
Moldavia
Pruth R.
Crimea
Austria
Danube R.
Munich
Vienna
Pressburg
Buda Pest
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Hungary
Transylvania
Maros R.
Laibach
Drave R.
Slavonia
Banat
Wallachia
Bucharest
BLACK SEA
Venice
Save R.
Bosnia
Belgrade
Serbia
Danube R.
Dalmatia
Montenegro
Balkan Mts.
Sofia
Adrianople
Constantinople
Rumelia
ADRIATIC SEA
Cattaro
STATES OF THE CHURCH
Tiber R.
Rome
Naples
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Albania
Salonica
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Janina
CORFU
IONIAN ISLANDS
Athens
Morea
Palermo
SICILY
MALTA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CRETE
WILLIAMS ENG.CO.,N.Y.

Desire of the Congress to protect the great rulers.

Powers met in Vienna in 1814 and were entertained for months in a round of balls and banquets. They followed eighteenth-century methods and ideals. They forgot that the national spirit of most of the peoples of Europe had been aroused. They forgot that these peoples wanted constitutional governments instead of absolute rulers. They forgot that an economic revolution was beginning to turn the former serf into a workman and an artisan. They forgot everything except that the great rulers of Europe must be cared for, and that each ruler must have at least as much territory and as many subjects as he had before the terrible French Revolution.

Problems of the Congress.

The "Congress" of Vienna was simply an unorganized gathering of diplomats from the different European countries, for *no session of all the representatives was ever held.* They insisted on restoring all legitimate rights and territories, but they ended by grasping whatever new lands and powers they could find reason for keeping or seizing. There was great difference of opinion about the settlement of conflicting claims. Russia and Prussia, determined to have their full share, were opposed by Austria and England. Talleyrand, the most skillful and unscrupulous diplomat of his time, not even excepting Met′ter-nich, played off these opponents against each other and made the place of France secure in the conferences. The reappearance of Napoleon, and the Waterloo campaign, caused the former allies to forget their differences and agree upon compromises (June, 1815).

Russia gains in Finland and Poland.

171. Territorial Changes (1814–1815). — The chief controversies in the Congress of Vienna were over the disposal of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and over the territories in Germany ruled by kings or princes friendly to Napoleon. In the final arrangement *Russia* gained the chief advantages, inasmuch as she acquired title not only to Finland, which had been conquered during the

CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Napoleonic wars, but also to most of the *Grand Duchy of Warsaw*. This Polish territory was organized as a semi-separate kingdom under the tsar of Russia, but with a separate constitution. Its location brought Russia into far closer relations than formerly with Prussia on the west and Austria on the south.

The problem of compensation of Prussia for lost Polish territories.

Prussia was anxious to secure in exchange for her former Polish territories the whole of the *kingdom of Saxony*, whose king had been a steadfast ally of Napoleon's. This arrangement was opposed by Austria, which feared the further extension of Prussia southward, and by Talleyrand, who believed that Saxony should be retained as a kingdom. Instead, *Prussia* was compensated by Posen, by the northern two fifths of Saxony, by Westphalia, and by territories on the west bank of the Rhine. These territorial arrangements left Prussia with widely scattered possessions, but it made her a more distinctively German power than ever before, and it gave her Rhine provinces which made her the natural defender of Germany against her old enemy, France, certainly an unwise arrangement for Talleyrand's native land.

Other territorial changes.

In return for the Belgian Netherlands, which were united with Holland under the house of Orange, *Austria* acquired Venetia, Lombardy, and the Illyrian provinces. In addition, Habsburg princes occupied the thrones of several Italian states. Norway was taken from Denmark and given to *Sweden*, which transferred part of Pomerania to Prussia, and thus lost her last possessions in Germany. *France* had about the same territory as in 1789, but *Great Britain* kept Helgoland, Malta, Cape Colony, Ceylon, and part of Guiana, which had been seized by her during the great wars.

172. The Restoration in Europe (1815). — In the states of western continental Europe after 1815 the powers of the monarchs were limited by constitutions, although

Unimportance of the new constitutional governments.

the people had no real share in the government. In Spain, for example, the constitution of 1812, granted during the troublous Peninsular wars (§ 154), was discarded at once, and a policy was introduced of interfering with the freedom of the press and of religion, and of suppressing the liberals, that is, those who believed in constitutional government.

The restoration in France.

In *France* the Bonapartist adherents were hunted out and in some cases shot; Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," was one of the victims of this vengeance. For a time, however, the liberals gained control of the government, until the ultra-royalists, taking alarm once more, suppressed liberalism entirely. They tried to destroy freedom of the press, and they voted a billion francs as compensation to nobles for lands which had been confiscated during the days of the Revolution.

The German Confederation. The Restoration in Austria.

Germany was reorganized, a confederation of 38 states under the leadership of Austria (§ 165) taking the place of the Holy Roman Empire whose existence Napoleon had brought to a close. In some of the petty German states the princes tried to reëstablish courts and inequalities such as existed under the old régime. *Austria* established her old system of police interference, with "improvements" copied from the methods of Napoleon's able chief of police, Fouché (§ 146).[1] The privileges of the nobles and the oppression of the peasants were as characteristic of the "Restoration" as of the old régime.

173. **Metternich and the Holy Alliance.** — After 1815 the allies that had beaten Napoleon in the great campaigns still kept watch over France and over Europe.

---

[1] "The head of this department boasted that he had 'perfected' the system of Fouché, an achievement similar to that of painting the lily. Censorship was applied to theaters, newspapers, books. . . . Spies were everywhere, in government offices, in places of amusement, in educational institutions. Particularly did this government fear the universities, because it feared ideas." Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, p. 27.

The Holy Alliance opposes republicanism in Europe.

As they feared the outbreak of either a revolutionary or a Bonapartist movement in France, an army of occupation was kept in that country. In 1818 the allies held a conference at Aix-la-Chapelle, the old capital of Charlemagne, for the purpose of deciding whether the army of occupation should be withdrawn from France. Strictly speaking, this was still the Grand Alliance of Napoleon's time, but, practically, it was identified with a new Holy Alliance.[1] At Aix-la-Chapelle France was admitted to the allied conference, and the powers accepted the policy of *Metternich*, the great Austrian minister, of maintaining the established order of things against republicanism and revolution.

METTERNICH

The Carlsbad decrees (1819).

The policy of the Holy Alliance is illustrated by the methods adopted by Metternich in Germany. A gathering of members of a society that had branches in many universities had burned some writings that denounced liberalism. A year later a Russian, who had been a liberal and had turned reactionist, was murdered by a German student. Metternich now had no difficulty in securing the support of the king of Prussia and the tsar of Russia for his policy of suppressing liberalism everywhere. A meeting of representatives from the larger German states was held in 1819, at Carlsbad, and resolutions were adopted which are called the *Carlsbad Decrees*. These decrees aimed to prevent the teaching of liberal ideas in the universities and in other ways to suppress the liberals. They represented the attitude of Metternich toward liberalism, and Metternich's attitude became that of the Alliance for several years.

---

[1] The Holy Alliance had been proposed by Alexander I of Russia in 1815. It was a personal alliance of the emperors of Russia and Austria and the king of Prussia to promote religion, peace and order. Other princes were asked to join the Alliance.

Constitutions in Spain, Naples, and "Sardinia."

174. Revolution and Intervention. — The policy of suppression soon led to protest in several countries. It happened that the kingdoms of Spain and Naples were ruled by monarchs of the same name, Ferdinand, each of whom gave his country a rule that was disgraceful. Many of the American colonies of Spain declared themselves independent, and in 1820 revolutions broke out in both these countries. The Ferdinands were forced to grant to their subjects constitutions which were like the old Spanish constitution of 1812. The next year the people of the kingdom of Sardinia[1] gained for themselves a similar consideration.

Metternich was both alarmed and pleased: alarmed because he saw that other peoples would revolt against the arbitrary rule of their monarchs unless these revolutions were suppressed; pleased because he could now turn to the Alliance and demand that it should *intervene* in order to put down the revolutions. A series of congresses[2] was held by the Alliance. Austria was authorized to send her troops, first to Naples and then to the kingdom of Sardinia, for Italy was under Austria's special care. Later, France was asked to send an army to restore the

---

[1] Although the kingdom of Sardinia takes its name from the island of Sardinia, it really was the kingdom of Piedmont in northwestern Italy. Compare with the names Prussia and Brandenburg (§ 67).

[2] Congresses were held at Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821), and Verona (1822).

Spanish Ferdinand to his throne, a task which she found easy.

Interest of the colonies and England in their dependence.

175. The Spanish-American Colonies and the Monroe Doctrine. — England had protested when the Powers intervened in Italy and Spain. When they decided that France might help Spain reconquer her rebellious American colonies, she did more than protest, as we shall see. During the years that Napoleon had tried to rule Spain (1808–1814) (§ 154) these colonies had had a taste of freedom, and during that interval they had selected some of their own rulers and had *enjoyed free trade* with other countries, especially England.[1] After the battle of Waterloo the Spanish colonies in America, restored to Spain, resented more than ever the arbitrary and unjust Spanish rule, and therefore took the first occasion to rebel.

Canning

England proposes to United States joint protest against intervention by the Holy Alliance.

In 1820 England was as anxious to have the people of Latin-America for customers as she had been in 1808. She therefore gave the Powers to understand that although Spain might reconquer her colonies if she could, no outsiders might help her do it. Her foreign minister, Canning, proposed to the United States that this country join her in a protest against the intervention of the Alliance in the Spanish colonies. As the

---

[1] England needed markets, because she had cheap goods to sell (§ 194) and was at this time being shut out of a large part of the Continent by Napoleon's continental system (§ 151).

United States did not wish to do anything that would lead to an "entangling alliance" with any European country, the offer was declined.

The Monroe Doctrine (1823).

When, however, Congress met some months later (December, 1823), President Monroe transmitted his famous message containing the statements which we now call *the original Monroe Doctrine.* He declared that we had never taken part in purely European affairs and that Europe should not interfere in purely American affairs. He insisted that America was no longer open to further European colonization,[1] and stated that any attempt on the part of the Alliance to suppress republicanism in the Spanish-American republics, some of which we had already recognized as independent, would be considered an unfriendly act toward the United States.

End of intervention for the suppression of national rule.

176. The Independence of Greece. — The plans of the Alliance to suppress all people who tried to gain independence were checked when they decided to leave the Spanish-American colonies alone. But America was a long way from Europe, so that the failure to reconquer the colonies for Spain did not matter greatly. Events in Greece finally put an end to all ideas which the Alliance had of intervening in other countries to uphold the rights of the reigning monarchs.

Revolt of Greece against Turkey.

Greece had revolted against the cruel rule of the Ottoman Turks, not only because the Turkish rule was bad, but because the Greeks had a different religion and wanted to govern themselves. The revolt did not succeed, but dragged on because the Greeks kept up guerrilla fighting in the hills, with which the country abounds.

The people of Europe sympathized strongly with the revolutionists, for Greece has a glorious history, and in

---

[1] This statement was inserted because Russia had been attempting to extend the boundaries of her colony of Alaska south along the Pacific coast.

1827 the Powers sent warships to compel the governor of Egypt, who had come to the support of the Turkish Sultan, to withdraw his forces. The Powers did not wish to intervene in Greece, either for the Greeks or for the Turks. However, the fleet of the allies became involved in a battle (Na-va-ri′no, 1827) with the fleet of the governor of Egypt, and the Egyptian fleet was destroyed. The Powers at once sent troops to Greece, and Turkey was obliged to give Greece her independence (1829). After the allies had intervened for the independence of a people, Metternich's system of *intervention for suppression of liberalism* was little regarded.

The allies help Greece gain her independence.

177. Summary. — In 1800 Germany was the most disunited country of Europe. There were more than 300 autonomous principalities or cities in addition to about 1400 independent noblemen or prelates. Old German culture, noted for its philosophy (Kant), its literature (Goethe and Schiller), and its music (Mozart and Beethoven), made the people content, and indifferent to political unity or military glory. Napoleon at Lunéville after 1801 not only destroyed the separate existence of the tiny feudal or ecclesiastical territories, but also extinguished the sovereign or governing rights of nearly 300 states or cities, 118 of which on the west bank of the Rhine were absorbed by France. Napoleon also dissolved the Holy Roman Empire (1806), organized the Confederation of the Rhine, and modernized western Germany by many reforms. When he took away half of Prussia's lands and humiliated her in other ways he caused her to reorganize her army and military system and abolish serfdom. After Napoleon's overthrow in 1815, a German Confederation of 38 states was organized.

The reorganization of Germany.

Before 1789 the old régime was in full force in western continental Europe, for the reforms of the benevolent despots had not gone below the surface. With the in-

The reconstruction of Europe.

REACTION AFTER 1815

GENERAL	FRANCE	SPAIN	ITALY	MISCELLANEOUS
Congress of Vienna, 1814–1815.	Bourbons with charter.			Kingdom of Poland.
Holy Alliance.	Reaction.	Ferdinand VII.	Austria dominant.	German Confederation.
Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.			Reaction.	Wartburg Festival, 1817.
Rulers agreed to suppress revolution, 1820.	Liberalism.	Reaction. Revolution of 1820.	Carbonari. Revolutions of 1820–1821.	Carlsbad Resolutions, 1819. Revolt of Spanish colonies in America, 1820.
Congress of Troppau. Congress of Laibach, 1821. Intervention.		Revolution in colonies.		Recognized as independent by England and U. S.
Congress of Verona, 1822.		French Army, 1822, puts down revolution.	Spanish Constitution of 1812.	Monroe Doctrine, 1823.
	Ultra-reaction. 1824–30, Charles X.			
Greek Revolt, 1827. Navarino. Greek Independence, 1829.	July Ordinances.			
End of intervention by Holy Alliance.	Revolution of 1830. Louis Philippe, (1830–1848).			Belgian revolt and independence, 1830. Revolution and subjection in Poland, 1830–1831. England: Reform Act of 1832.

troduction of the French idea that the nation is sovereign, and the revolutionary principles of "liberty, equality, fraternity," carried by Napoleon's armies, the old régime was doomed. Only the French realized in 1789 that they formed a nation, but the Italians soon interested themselves in that idea, and Napoleon's conquests and insults aroused the national spirit of Spain and of Germany. Among reforms carried by Napoleon beyond the borders of France were a new system of education and the organization of law codes based upon the model of the Code Napoleon.

Reaction and intervention (1815–1830).

Western Europe was not ready for such abrupt, radical changes; as soon as Napoleon was overthrown (1815), its old rulers began to restore their old boundaries, their former methods, and their old rights. They suspended constitutions forced from them in Napoleon's time. They suppressed, by the use of "third degree" methods, free speech, democratic movements, and conspiracies against their tyranny. By the Carlsbad decrees in Germany, and by decisions of conferences of the important Powers, organized into a grand alliance (Holy Alliance) and guided by Metternich, they intervened everywhere in Europe to suppress insurrection and liberalism. They wanted also to regain for Spain the Spanish colonies in America, but refrained from doing so when England protested and the United States announced the Monroe Doctrine (1823). When the western countries helped Greece to gain her independence from Turkey (1829), Metternich's scheme of intervention lost all its force.

General References

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 1–62.
Hazen, *Modern European History*, 249–279.
Seignobos, *History of Contemporary Civilization*, 92–203.
Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 166–173, 240–246, 368–602.

Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 267–300, 317–339, 367–413.

Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, 86–257.

Topics

Reorganization of Germany: Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 167–173, 240–246; Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 103–112; Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, 225–227, 257–261; Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 292–300.

Congress of Vienna: Hazen, *Modern European History*, 249–257; Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 5–14; Andrews, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 90–102.

The Holy Alliance and the Reactionary Congresses: Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 747–759; Jeffery, *The New Europe*, 180–195; Andrews, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 117–125; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 408–411, 478–513; *Cambridge Modern History*, X, 1–39.

Studies

1. Germany in 1789. Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, 33–40.
2. Work of the Revolution, Seignobos, *History of Contemporary Civilization*, 121–135.
3. Significance of the era of Napoleon. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 573–576.
4. The restoration in France. Hazen, *Modern European History*, 270–276.
5. The reaction in Germany. Müller, *Political History of Recent Times*, 1–22.
6. The reaction in Spain and Portugal. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 20–28.
7. Canning and his policies. Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 517–524.
8. The independence of Greece. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 47–50.

Questions

1. Explain the following conditions in Germany before the nineteenth century: political disunity, lack of social development, German ideas and philosophy, German literature and music.

2. What was the nature and the extent of German reorganization after the Peace of Lunéville? What was the significance of reorganization at that time, of the abolition of the Holy Roman Empire, and of the formation of a Confederation of the Rhine?

3. Compare the territory of Prussia before 1806 and after 1807. Describe the new military policy of the Prussians and compare it with that used by them to-day. What work for Prussia and Germany was accomplished by Baron Stein? How was the German Confederation organized after 1815? Compare it with the United States under the Confederation.

4. Name the three great principles of the French Revolution and show specifically how each affected the old régime. Define the term *nation*. To what extent had nations been formed before 1789? The national spirit of what peoples was aroused by Napoleon? (Explain in what way in each case.) In what countries is the law at present based upon the Code Napoleon? What was done for education during this period?

5. Explain the problem of the Congress of Vienna. Describe in detail the territorial changes, showing particularly what Russia, Prussia, and Austria lost or gained by the shifts.

6. What is meant by the restoration? by the reaction after 1815? What was the nature of the restoration in general in Europe; in France, Germany, Austria, and Spain in particular? What was the Grand Alliance? What was the Holy Alliance? Why do people usually speak of either after 1818 as the Holy Alliance?

7. What were the Carlsbad decrees? What was the effect of the Revolution of 1820? What policy was used by the Powers of Europe? Name at least two general congresses and show what liberal movements were suppressed by each.

8. Give some idea of the history of the Spanish colonies before 1808. Why were they half free from 1808 to 1814? When they revolted about 1820, what was the attitude toward them taken: (*a*) by the Holy Alliance; (*b*) by England; (*c*) by the United States? Name three important principles of the Monroe Doctrine.

9. What was the extent of Turkish territory in Europe in 1700? (See map opposite page 71.) How much had that area been reduced before 1800? Show the importance of the Greek revolution in relation to general European affairs.

CHAPTER IX

THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

England before the Industrial Revolution

isadvan-ages of the pen-field ystem with ultivation n common.

178. Agriculture at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century. — The three-field system,[1] better known as the *open-field system*, which was used on the medieval English manor, continued in use over about three fifths of England until the eighteenth century.[2] This system, as we have seen, was exceedingly wasteful, as one third of the land was uncultivated each year. The numerous strips of each tenant were separated so that he was compelled to travel an unnecessarily long distance in order to visit or cultivate all of them. Since all of the strips in any one field were plowed or harrowed at one time, and since the same crop was sowed over a large area, it was impossible for any one tenant to improve his methods unless all his neighbors agreed to do the same thing. For example, if one tenant wished to drain his land, he aroused the anger of the neighbor on whose land the water was turned. It was not possible for any one to introduce new crops, such as clover or root vegetables, unless all the villagers did the same. A careful farmer, who had removed the weeds from his own land, found that the seeds from his neighbors' strips produced new weeds which quickly choked his growing crops.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 492.

[2] Not only was most of the land in England still cultivated under the three-field system, but an immense area, probably one third of the arable area of the country, was waste land, swamps, or moors covered with wild grasses or brush. Other waste lands were to be found on almost every estate. Much excellent agricultural land was also used for grazing. On this land a single flock of sheep for each estate was herded by the shepherd.

Backward methods of the separate tenant farmers.

It is quite true that two fifths of the farmers of England had already abandoned the open-field system and had secured for themselves as tenants *separate, compact little farms.* These compact farms were usually cultivated more successfully, allowing a larger crop of grain than did a similar number of acres under the open-field system. However, many of these farms were very small, and the farmers lacked sufficient *capital* to buy horses, cattle, and sheep, to purchase the best plows and harrows, to drain the land properly, and to have suitable sheds for housing their stock. In order to use the best farming methods known at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was necessary for agriculturists to have fairly large farms and a relatively large amount of capital.

Some articles made in the home of the village farmer.

179. Home Industry for Home Use. — We speak of the English country people as agriculturists or farmers, yet they were very much more than that. The *freehold farmer* as well as the *tenant* dwelt with his family in a tiny farmhouse, in which many indoor occupations were followed when the weather was bad and it was impossible to work out of doors. "Women spun wool into coarse cloth; men tanned their own leather. Wealth only existed in its simplest forms, and natural divisions of employment were not made, because only the rudest implements of production were now used. The rough tools required for the cultivation of the soil, and the rude household utensils needed for the comfort of daily life, were made at home. In the long winter evenings farmers, their sons, and their servants carved the wooden spoons, the platters, and the beechen bowls; fitted and riveted the bottoms into the horn mugs, or closed, in coarse fashion, the holes in the leathern jugs. They plaited the wicker baskets; fitted handles to the scythes, rakes, and other tools; cut the staves, and fixed the thongs for the flails; made the willow or ashen teeth for rakes and harrows, and hardened them in the fire; fashioned ox yokes and forks, racks, and rack-staves; twisted willows into scythe cradles, or into the traces and other harness gear. Traveling carpenters, smiths, and tinkers visited farmhouses and remoter villages at rare intervals to perform those parts of the work which needed their professional skill. But every village of any size found employment for such trades as those of the smith and carpenter. Meanwhile the women plaited the straw for the neck-collars, stitched and stuffed sheepskin bags for the cart saddle, wove the stirrups and halters from hemp or straw, peeled the rushes for and made the candles. Spinning wheels, distaffs, needles, were never idle. Coarse homemade cloth and linen supplied all wants."[1]

SPINNING YARN

Home weaving and spinning of home raw materials.

180. Home Industry for Woolen Markets. — In the attic of his home the farmer plied his loom, weaving into cloth the yarn which had been spun by the women of the household. Our word *spinster* shows that the unmarried sisters or daughters of the farmer devoted special attention to the spinning wheel. The wool from which the yarn and cloth was made usually came from the sheep belonging to the farmer. In consequence this one little farm supported by its agriculture an entire family, and, by its yarn and cloth products, brought extra money for the purchase of some comforts and luxuries.

---

[1] Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V, 132–133.

DeFoe's description of a north England industrial district.

Daniel DeFoe, who is best known to us as the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, gives us a graphic picture of a district in northern England, in which the people devoted more attention to spinning and weaving than they did to farming. This country he says is blessed by abundant power. "I mean coals, and running water on the tops of the highest hills. I doubt not but there are both springs and coals lower in these hills; but were they to fetch them thence, it is probable the pits would be too full of water: it is easy, however, to fetch them from the upper parts, the horses going light up, and coming down loaden. This place, then, seems to have been designed by providence for the very purposes to which it is now allotted, for carrying on a manufacture, which can nowhere be so easily supplied with the conveniences necessary for it. Nor is the industry of the people wanting to second these advantages. Though we met few people without doors, yet within we saw the houses full of lusty fellows, some at the dye-vat, some at the loom, others dressing the cloths; the women and children carding, or spinning; all employed from the youngest to the oldest; scarce anything above four years old, but its hands were sufficient for its own support. Not a beggar to be seen, nor an idle person, except here and there in an alms-house, built for those that are ancient, and past working."

Different classes.

181. Condition of the Agricultural Classes. — At the beginning of the eighteenth century more than half of the population of England was engaged in agriculture.

A sharp distinction should be made between the *landed aristocrat*, the *freeholder* who *owned* a very small farm, the *tenant* who rented from the aristocrat a farm of twenty or thirty acres, either in strips or in a single compact area, and the *cotter*, who occupied a cottage on the "waste," with two or three acres of land.

Standards of living.

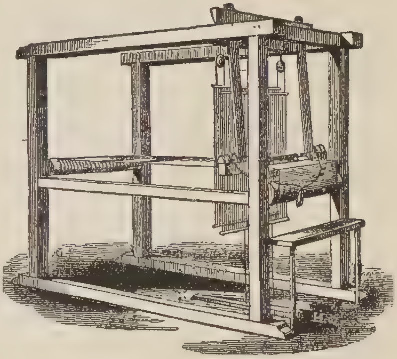
Because of the industry of the people, they were comparatively comfortable and enjoyed a decent standard of life. Unfortunately, more money was spent for ale and beer than for any other commodity, but most of the beer was home-brewed, and therefore comparatively wholesome. Meat was used much more commonly than it had been in the days of Chaucer, or in the time of Shakespeare. Meat was not yet eaten, however, by most of the poorer people, and they were obliged to depend chiefly upon porridges or dishes made up of wheat, rye, and other grains. Neither prices nor rents were very high. Nevertheless, many people in England during the first half of the eighteenth century were obliged to secure help from the government in the form of poor relief.

British and Huguenot artisans.

182. Industry, Old and New. — Although most goods were manufactured in the homes of the workers, there were many artisans employed in shops in the towns. In addition to the craftsmen of English descent, these artisans included many skilled immigrants, chief among them the *Huguenots*, who fled from France even before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but particularly after Louis XIV unwisely took away their religious rights and privileges (§ 57). These Huguenot workers were especially famous as silk weavers; in consequence the manufacture of silk became an important English industry. They were also skillful in the making of sails and of lace. In addition to the wool and silk industries a large amount of linen was spun and woven by the people, chiefly in rural districts in Scotland and in Ireland. Iron manufacturing was developing to some extent, and coal was mined more extensively than in any former time.

The work of "clothier capitalists."

During the early part of the eighteenth century a new capitalist class was engaged in the cloth industry. They would buy wool from the farmers, gathering it over a large area and transporting it on pack horses to workers who would clean and card it. It was then transported to those who spun the wool into the thread or yarn, and carried, possibly a long distance, to the master weaver who turned out the finished cloth. From these again the *"clothier capitalists"* took the cloth, which they sent to market, usually at a distance. This work of the early eighteenth century capitalists was an attempt to organize the cloth industry on a large scale, making use of the special advantage of one section of country for the raising of sheep and the cultivation of wool, and also of the skill of particularly competent carders and spinners and weavers in other sections.



Old-fashioned Hand Loom

Old methods and new in the early eighteenth century.

We can see from this brief survey that agricultural and industrial methods in England in the early part of the eighteenth century were crude compared with those in use to-day. We can see also in the tendency to abandon the obnoxious open-field system, in the introduction of new crops and methods, in the newer organization of the industries, and most of all in the more extensive use of capital in farming and in manufacturing, the beginning of those agrarian and industrial revolutions which created a new England before the middle of the nineteenth century.

THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

Methods borrowed from the Dutch.

183. Early Improvements in Agriculture. — Dutch farmers whose land was limited in amount had proved long before 1700 that it was not necessary to leave a third or a quarter of the arable land uncultivated. By a wise rotation of crops, planting grain one year and some entirely different crop the next on the same field, they had shown that continuous cultivation was possible and desirable. A few Englishmen who had separate farms began to copy the methods of the Dutch and other advanced and progressive continental farmers. They planted clover or vegetables with deep roots which would stir up the soil and give it a chance to renew itself.

Work of the first English experimenters.

In England there were a number of men who experimented with new crops and methods. One of these, Jethro *Tull*, instead of planting vegetables in a haphazard fashion, made use of a drill which planted seeds at the proper depth and the proper distance apart. Another of the enthusiasts for the new agriculture was Lord *Townshend*, who devoted to the cultivation of turnips a fair part of his estate, on which it was said that two rabbits had fought for every blade of grass. Before this time there had been so little hay and fodder for the cattle that it was necessary to kill most of them in the fall, preserving the meat with salt for use in winter. By the use of turnips and other foods it was possible to keep a supply of fodder for cattle in winter, and the cattle could be fattened far more than formerly. Posterity feels gratitude toward this man, ridiculed by his contemporaries and nicknamed "Turnip Townshend."

184. New Demands for Food, and Later Improvements. — The agrarian and industrial revolutions (§ 187–192) made England rich. Towns grew rapidly and there was a greater demand for food than had existed before. Many farmers were therefore willing to try the new agriculture because larger crops were a necessity.

Influence of wealth and growth of population.

Before this time the cattle and sheep of England had been used comparatively little for food. In fact farmers had preferred oxen with long shanks and heavy bones suitable for dragging a wooden plow through heavy turf to cattle with large bodies and a tendency to fat. They also preferred those breeds of sheep that gave a good crop of wool, because the carcass was very seldom used. During this century, however, the demand for food made it desirable to raise cattle and sheep chiefly for the market.[1]

Raising cattle and sheep for food.

185. Enclosures (1750–1840). — With the demand for more food and new methods it was necessary to abandon the old open-field system and enclose in compact farms all cultivated land, including the commons.[2] The costs of this were considerable. Since the nobles who owned the great estates usually had far more capital than the small farmers — especially if the oldest son had married the daughter of a large merchant or if a successful business man had bought up the estate — the *large landed proprietors* gained most of the advantages which came

Why enclosures created large landed estates.

---

[1] In 1710 the average weight of cattle sold in the Smithfield market was 370 pounds; in 1795 it was 800. The average weight of calves increased from 50 pounds to 148; of sheep from 28 to 80; of lambs from 18 to 50. This shows clearly that although most farm animals in 1700 may have been chiefly "skin and bone," they were really valuable for food by the end of the century.

[2] In a few cases enclosure was brought about by the common consent of all the farmers of an estate. Ordinarily it took place under a general act of Parliament. The enclosure not only caused abandonment of the old open fields with their numerous separate strips, but it also included most of the commons and a very large amount of waste land.

from enclosure and the new agriculture. It benefited also the progressive, ambitious tenant.

Effect of enclosure on some tenants, freeholders, and cotters.

There were several classes living in the rural districts that were injured rather than benefited by the enclosure system. Among these were the ordinary *tenant farmers* who had neither the capital nor the skill to make use of new opportunities. If they could not remain as tenants, they became laborers for their former landlord or some fellow farmer, or they drifted to the towns, where they found work in the factories, or they became public charges. Another class which suffered was the *small landowner*, the descendant of the freeholder of the Middle Ages. His problem was similar to that of the tenant class just considered, because his farm was too small for the new agriculture and he usually lacked capital for necessary improvements. It was wiser, therefore, for him to sell his land to the landed proprietor than to attempt to cultivate it for himself. Enclosure was fatal for the *cotter* class, since there was only a limited number of cottages. It was not possible therefore for a young laborer to marry and settle down until some cottage was vacant. With the enclosure of the open fields and the waste, the cotters were left "between the devil and the deep sea," so that cotters as a class disappeared from England.

Ownership of land by landed aristocracy.

186. General Results of the Agrarian Revolution. — These changes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries radically transformed the land situation in England. In 1700 one farmer out of three owned or had, by custom, tenant rights in a farm of more than five acres. In 1900 less than a quarter of a million persons cultivated their own land. During the last fifty years several laws have been passed for the purpose of increasing the number of land-owners in England and in Ireland. The success of the latter we shall study later (§ 365). The former have accomplished little because before January, 1911, only eight thousand applicants[1] had been cared for, with a total of less than 100,000 acres. It will thus be seen that although the *agrarian revolution* improved England agriculturally, it helped to make England a country of large landed proprietors, and it hastened the disappearance of that yeoman class which had made her famous in the Middle Ages.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Spinners and weavers.

187. First Improvements in Spinning and Weaving. — As we have already seen, in the period before 1750 spinning and weaving were done at home.[2] As spinning was a simple process compared with weaving, it was performed by women or girls in their spare moments. The weaving on the contrary was hard work, which could be done only by men. A long-armed man had a decided advantage over a short man, because it was necessary to throw the shuttle across from one side to the other. If only one man was at work at a loom, the cloth was of necessity narrow, because he could not throw or hand the shuttle across a wide space. For the weaving of broad cloth two men were needed.

---

[1] Two farmers out of five live outside of the towns. In 1876 in the country "nearly one half of the enclosed land of England and Wales was owned by 2250 persons; while at the same time nine tenths of Scotland was owned by 1700, and two thirds of Ireland by 1942."

[2] "The first necessary step in cloth making is to straighten out the threads of the fibre, which is done in the case of wool by combing, in the others by carding, both being done at that time by hand implements. The next step is spinning, that is, drawing out the fibres, which have been made parallel by carding, into a slender cord, and at the same time twisting this sufficiently to cause the individual fibres to take hold one of another and thus make a thread of some strength. . . . When the thread had been spun it was placed upon the loom; firmly spun material being necessary for the 'warp' of vertical threads, softer and less tightly spun material for the 'woof' or 'weft,' which was wrapped on the shuttle and thrown horizontally by hand between the two diverging lines of warp threads. After weaving, the fabric was subjected to a number of processes of finishing, fulling, shearing, dyeing, if that had not been done earlier, and others, according to the nature of the cloth or the kind of surface desired." (Cheyney, *Ind. and Soc. Hist. of England,* 205–206.)

Kay's flying shuttle and the demand for spun yarn.

Since many people were engaged in spinning, there was usually an abundant supply of yarn, although one weaver could keep four or five spinners busy. In 1733 Kay patented a *flying shuttle* which was thrown across from one side to the other by alternately pulling two cords. This left both of the weaver's hands free for weaving and permitted one weaver to make cloth much wider than before. As it also increased greatly the demand for spun yarn, many weavers were idle because there was not sufficient material to keep them occupied.

Improvements in spinning machines.

188. Later Inventions in the Textile Industry. — The supply of yarn and thread remained inadequate for many years. In 1764 a weaver named Har′greaves, noticing that a spinning wheel which had been accidentally overturned continued to revolve, invented a machine in which eight threads could be spun at the same time. This he called the "*spinning jenny*." A few years later Richard Arkwright for the first time applied power other than hand power to the making of textiles. He invented a *water frame* in which the spinning was done by water power. Less than ten years after this improvement, Crompton combined the inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright into a single machine called a "*spinning mule*," which made use of water as power and spun a finer and stronger thread than any of the older machines had been able to turn out. It can easily be seen that these three successive inventions made it possible for the spinners to produce very much more yarn than the hand weavers could possibly use.

In 1785 a clergyman named Cartwright made the first *power loom*, by which weaving was done, not by hand but by power. It was nearly thirty years, however, before this loom was practicable. When power looms did come into common use, however, after the overthrow of Napoleon, they revolutionized the textile industry more than all previous inventions.

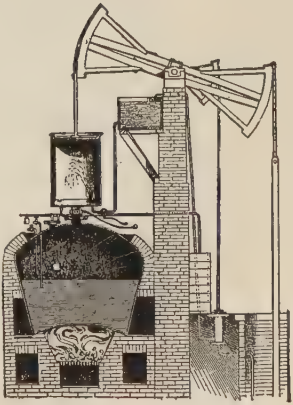
Invention and adoption of power looms.

In spite of the fact that wool raising, spinning, and weaving had been the chief industries of England for centuries, these inventions were made first for the cotton rather than for the wool industry. The last of the series of inventions which was to make cotton cheap and usable was not completed in England at all, but by a Connecticut Yankee, Eli Whitney (1793). Whitney's contribution was the *cotton gin*, which separated the cotton fiber from the seeds a thousand times as rapidly as the work could be done on the southern plantations by negro hand labor.

Completion of cotton manufacturing inventions.

189. The Steam Engine. — The invention of new machinery for spinning and weaving was only part of the great Industrial Revolution, because similar changes were brought about by the discovery of new means for developing power, that is, new uses for coal and new means for utilizing steam for power. The iron industry also was reorganized at this period, and new and better methods of transportation were devised.

Other phases of the Industrial Revolution.



NEWCOMEN'S STEAM ENGINE

About the beginning of the eighteenth century an inventor named Newcomen improved an old "steam engine" so that the great expansive power of steam could be used in pumping water out of mines and in lifting weights. *Newcomen's*

Watt invents a practical steam engine.

engine was exceedingly crude.[1] In 1763 James *Watt*, a mathematical instrument maker, was asked by the University of Glasgow to repair a Newcomen engine. He began immediately to experiment with means by which the steam could be drawn off from the cylinder and condensed without the wasteful process of cooling the engine. After several years he was able to make a practical condenser, and by 1776 the steam engine was being used as a source of power in a number of ways. In time the steam engine was improved wonderfully; it was used in transportation on steamboats and for locomotives, as well as for the mechanical power that was produced by the engine of the stationary type.

Improvements in the form of iron.

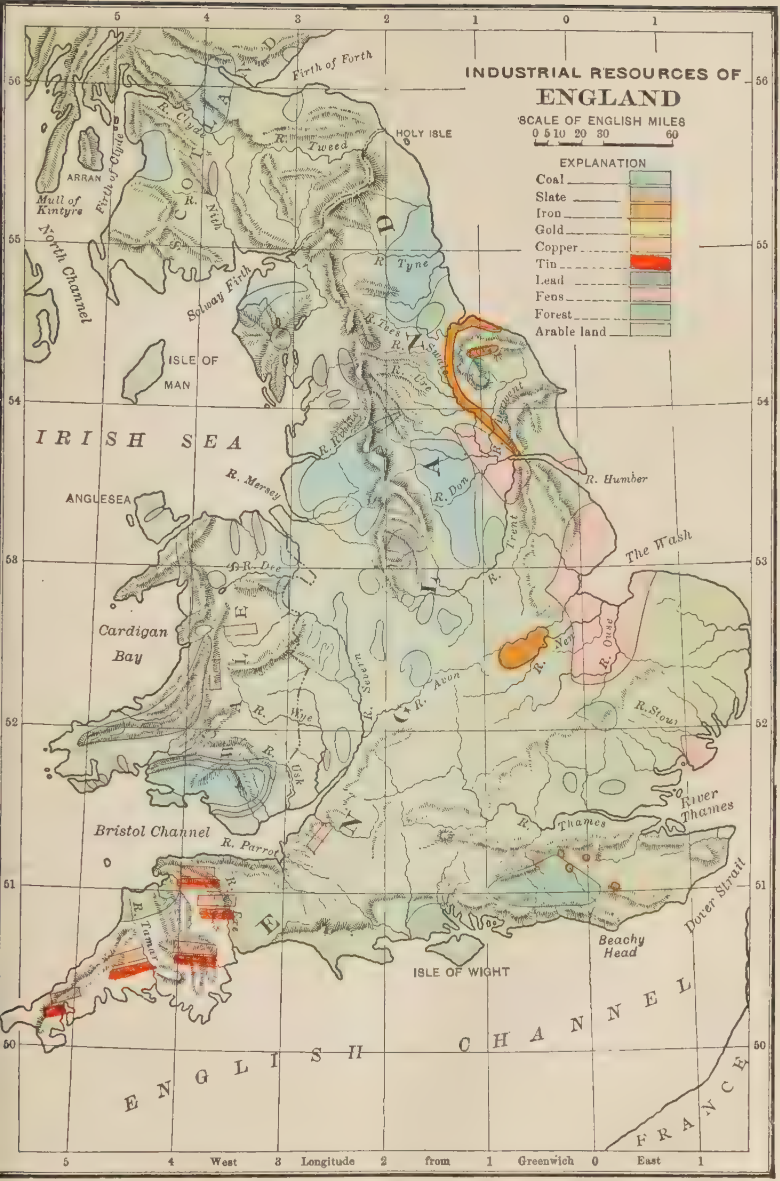
190. Iron and Coal. — The development and perfection of these machines, especially when used for power or with power, gave impetus to both the iron industry and coal mining. Before this time iron had been exceedingly brittle, but a series of inventors, of whom *Cort* may be remembered, developed new methods of smelting and cooling iron. By a process of stirring the semi-liquid, smelted iron, Cort was able to get rid of a large part of the carbon which had made the metal brittle. His iron was known as malleable iron, because it could easily be worked into different forms and shapes without breaking. It was much stronger than the older kind of iron.

Development of iron foundries and coal mining in northern England.

In the older process of iron making, charcoal had been used extensively, but inventors discovered means for making *coke* out of coal and using the coke in the smelting of iron. Since the best coal beds are located in the north of England or in Wales, the new iron industries were established in northern England, just as the new textile

---

[1] After the steam had entered the cylinder and driven up the piston, it was necessary to spray cold water into the cylinder in order to condense the steam. This cooled the cylinder very much, and it took a great deal of steam to heat it again properly.



INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES OF ENGLAND

GORMAY & CO., ENGR'S, N.Y.

factories were also established in northern and northwestern England, where they had abundant water power and were close to extensive coal beds.

Importance and methods in coal mining. Condition of the women and children in mines.

It was soon found that factories which used steam power turned out a much larger product than those that depended on waterfalls. There arose in consequence a great demand for coal, which is second to no other product of England in the development of her industries and commerce. New methods of coal mining were developed. The Watt steam engine was used by progressive mine owners in pumping out water, in sinking deeper shafts, and lifting coal out of the mine. Less progressive mine operators still clung to the older processes by which the coal was carried by women or children along the galleries of the mine and by ladders to the surface of the ground. We shall notice later (§ 341) that the conditions in these mines were very bad until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Construction of canals.

191. Transportation. — In the first half of the eighteenth century England followed the example of Holland, France, and Prussia in the construction of artificial waterways or *canals*. The first important canal was that made by the Duke of Bridgewater, who possessed large coal mines seven miles from the town of Manchester. Finding that the cost of transporting coal on horseback was too expensive, as the demand for coal grew, the Duke connected his estate with Manchester by canal. He was able to carry coal to the city for a maximum charge of six shillings a ton, a price much less than the former cost. Other canals were built, among them one connecting Manchester with the sea, which has since been developed into the Manchester ship canal and has made Manchester a seaport. By 1830 England had nearly four thousand miles of canals and navigable rivers.

This same period witnessed the improvement of the

Improved surfacing and greater use of main highways.

execrable highways (§ 48), some of which became turnpikes. A Scotch engineer, Macadam, devised a plan of surfacing roads with crushed stone, a method which survives in the pavement known as *macadam.* Although the main highways were improved somewhat, the ordinary roads were in wretched condition until late in the nineteenth century. Passengers were carried over these highways in special coaches which made excellent time. The trip from London to Edinburgh, a distance of 395 miles, was covered in forty-two hours and thirty-two minutes. Several shorter trips were made at the rate of from ten to eleven miles an hour.[1]

Development of the modern steamship.

192. The Application of Steam to Transportation. — The steam engine was used much earlier in steamboats than on railways. This was probably due to the fact that boats were in use before its invention, whereas railways were not developed until later. Different inventors, English and American, had tried to propel boats by steam before Robert Fulton succeeded in making the *steamboat* a success. In 1807 his "sidewheeler," the *Clermont*, made voyages from New York to Albany. Within a few years a sailing vessel, the *Savannah*, propelled in part by steam, crossed the ocean, but it was not until 1837 that steamers made this longer voyage. Nor was the screw propeller which is used now for steamships invented by John Ericsson until some years later.

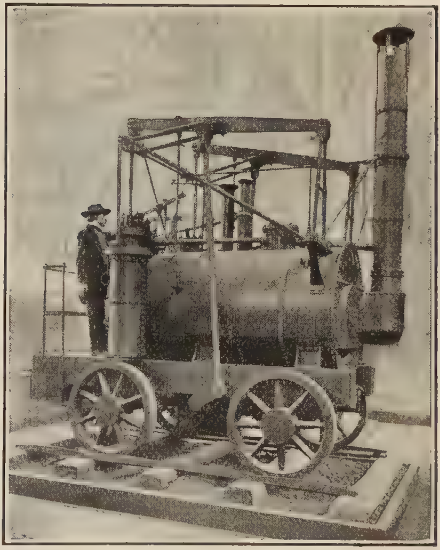
In order to reduce the jolting and the friction to which coaches were exposed on turnpikes, rails were laid on

---

[1] Speed rather than comfort must have been the object desired, for the travelers of that day make as many unkind remarks about the highways as did the travelers a century earlier (§ 48). The apparent cost of these trips was not excessive because, if one rode outside, the actual fare reckoned in shillings and sovereigns was usually less than that of the first class railway carriage at the present time, and only about double that of the third class charges on British railways to-day. Of course the shilling in that day had a much higher purchasing power than has the shilling of to-day.

Early railways and locomotives.

highways or on private rights of way. The first coaches were drawn by horses, and it was not until the close of the wars against Napoleon that locomotives were first used for hauling coaches or cars. The "Puffing Billy" (1813) was practically the first steam locomotive. About 1825 the *first railways* were constructed in England and in America. They became really successful when George Stephenson, in competition with other inventors, made an improved engine, "the Rocket," which drew a load at the high speed of thirteen miles per hour. These applications of steam to water and land transportation have revolutionized travel, expanded commerce, and united distant territories and peoples.

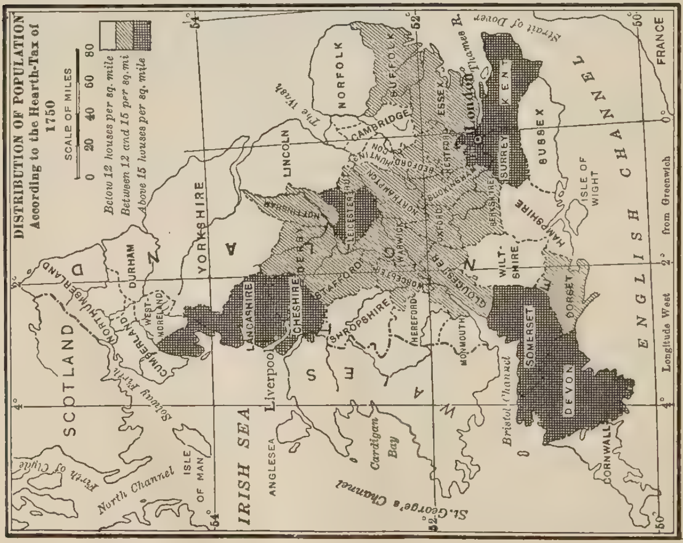


THE "PUFFING BILLY"

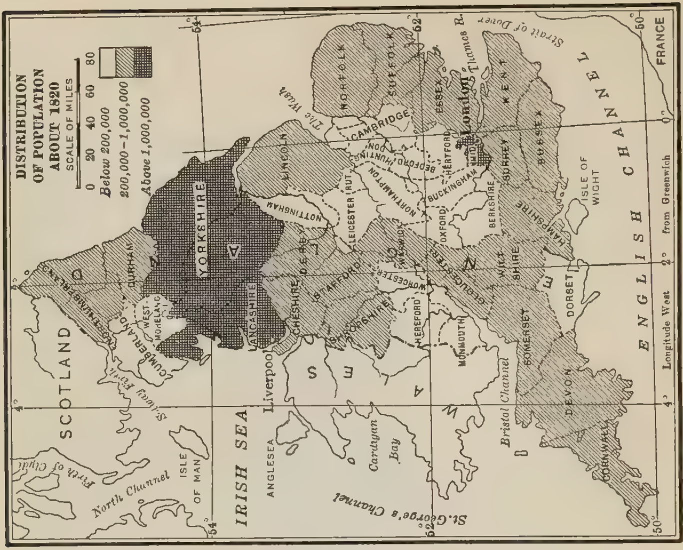
EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC CHANGES

Shifting of population to northern England.

193. Economic Changes Connected with the Industrial Revolution. — These changes which we have considered affected England in many ways. They caused an entire *shifting of the population* of the country. Whereas before 1750 the most populous counties had been found in the southeast, or in the south central part of England, within the following half century or century the center



DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION According to the Hearth-Tax of 1750



DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ABOUT 1820

of population outside of London shifted to the northern counties. These northern counties had numerous fairly swift rivers, and they contained or were near the best English deposits of iron and coal.[1]

Evolution of the factory system.

Not only did these industrial changes cause a shifting of the population of England toward the north, but they also led to the concentration of the population in villages and towns. It was cheaper to have the buildings where the carders worked near those in which the spinners were employed or weavers tended their looms. Later, some capitalists erected large factories in which there were thousands of spindles or a large number of power looms. Still later they brought under a single roof all or practically all of the different processes by which the raw wool or cotton was transformed into finished cloth. Because of this the *factory system* with its huge buildings, noisy machines, and large output became the necessary result of the Industrial Revolution.

Great reduction in the price of textiles and other products.

194. Effect on Prices and Home Industry. — It stands to reason that, if a boy or girl could manage machines on which several hundred spindles were turning, yarn should be very much cheaper than it had been in the days when a woman gave her entire attention to a single old-fashioned spinning wheel. Possibly the most important economic result of the Industrial Revolution was the very great decrease in the price of articles now manufactured by machinery. Unfortunately we cannot say the same thing of the price of farm products, because, although new and better methods were used, the common people paid as much for wheat and many vegetables as before.[1]

---

[1] The climate of many northern cities is particularly adapted to the manufacture of cotton, which can be woven best in a moist atmosphere, and they introduced the new inventions earlier than others. Of English cities to-day which have more than 250,000 inhabitants, practically all except London and Liverpool are located in the industrial district of north central England. Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds are the three most important of these cities.

Effect of the Industrial Revolution on household industry.

The economic revolution not only destroyed the open-field system and caused a shifting of population from country to factory towns, but it also destroyed home industry. After 1820 it was impractical for any farmer to spend half his time weaving, because he could not compete with the new power looms. Long before that time the spinning wheel of the ordinary farmer's home had been relegated to the attic or the woodshed. Even if "home-spun" was made for members of the family, it was no longer profitable to spin yarn by hand for the market. These changes meant that a farmer who before had supplemented his income from the soil by the sales of yarn or homespun cloth was now deprived of that extra income. It meant further that the weaver who had been able to weave a few hours and work in his garden the rest of the time must now devote himself exclusively to agriculture or to standing ten or twelve hours at a stretch before a power loom.

Condition of work in the factories.

195. Effects of the Factory System. — The factory system made England rich and made textiles cheap; but it took heavy toll of human lives. In the early days of the factories and the factory towns, conditions were almost indescribably bad. The factory itself was a hot, damp, dirty, unventilated place, in which the workers spent *long hours* of almost unremitting toil. If most of the workers had been men, this would have been endurable; but, as the machines were improved and simplified, most of the processes were performed not by men but by women and children. In some cases, before the government interfered, women and even children were compelled to work fifteen, sixteen, and even eighteen hours a day. Since the workers were rapidly exhausted by these terrible strains, it was constantly necessary to secure more labor. Overseers of the poor sold to grasping factory owners the services and, in fact, the bodies of the children who were in their charge. Nominally these children became apprentices of the capitalists; actually they were slaves.[1]

---

[1] There are two reasons why the prices of agricultural products were kept up. The first was the *corn laws* which prohibited the importation of grain or permitted it only when prices of wheat, barley, and oats were excessively high in England. The second reason was the fact that the landed aristocracy controlled most of the farm land in England. Consequently, in order to freeze out the small tenant, they raised rents to a point several times as high as they had been a century earlier. It was possible to ask these high rents because the new agriculture had made the farms more productive.

Conditions in factory towns.

Possibly it did not matter much to boys or girls or women who worked at least fifteen hours a day in what kind of home they lived or in what kind of quarters they slept, yet the *living conditions* of these first factory workers were, if anything, less satisfactory than the conditions in the factory itself. The first shacks or sheds erected in the factory towns were filthy and unfitted for human habitation. As the factory towns grew into good-sized communities, tenements replaced the shacks. In the dark, dirty rooms of these buildings the child tried to recuperate with four or five hours' sleep before a new day of heavy toil; he was fortunate if he was not one of the "submerged tenth" who lived in a cellar.

INFLUENCE OF THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION ON ENGLAND AS A WORLD POWER

196. Degree of Industrial Development. — Ever since the time when the English vessels defeated the great

---

[1] Until a law was passed by Parliament in 1802 (§ 340) limiting the hours of the apprentices from these workhouses to twelve or fourteen a day, nothing had been done to help the little children, some of whom were as young as four or five years. Even this law was for the benefit only of workhouse apprentices. The children from homes were not protected at all by the law.

England's naval and maritime development before 1763.

Armada of Spain in 1588,[1] the English sea power had been growing. By the Treaty of Utrecht (§§ 59, 84) England gained commercial advantages which enabled her to expand her trade with other countries. The Seven Years' War, destroying, as it did, the French colonial empire in North America and in India (§§ 86–87), marks the beginning of English supremacy as the first world power on the sea. From that time her navy was supreme, as it gained many victories and seldom was defeated. In truth, Britannia ruled the wave. Her trade also expanded more rapidly than before.

Causes of rapid development after 1763.

The development of England's foreign commerce after the Seven Years' War was due not only to her naval supremacy and to her numerous colonies, but also to the economic revolution. The transformation of agriculture enabled England to produce a better supply of food for her people than formerly. The new inventions gave England an abundance of cloth with which to supply the world, and they also enabled her to undersell other clothmakers, who were still spinning and weaving by old, slow, expensive methods.[2]

Development of cotton industry measured by cotton imported.

The development of the cotton industry may be illustrated by a few figures. In 1770 Great Britain imported annually only four million pounds of raw cotton. Fifteen years later nearly five times as much was brought to the country. By 1840 the imports of raw cotton reached nearly a million bales a year. Imports of wool, which in 1810 were but a million pounds annually, increased 25-fold in the next sixty years.

We must not imagine that England's development in these years was confined to the textile industry. We have already mentioned the changes in the coal and iron industries. In 1740 England imported more than half of the 40,000 tons of iron which she used annually, but in 1788 she produced 61,000 tons, and, before the Reform Act of 1832 was passed, her annual production of iron and steel was more than a million tons, some of which was exported.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 699.

[2] Until 1825 the government of Great Britain forbade the exportation of machines or plans of machines.

Comparison of production and exports of iron.

197. Military Advantages of the New Wealth. — Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when England was rated as a third, or at best a second-class power, she was in a sense wealthier than her continental neighbors because she did not waste her wealth and resources in continuous and costly warfare. In the earlier wars of the eighteenth century England was able to give large subsidies to her continental allies. With the expansion of her industries naturally she produced far more wealth than formerly and was in a position to control the markets of the world, and to win a great war (that with Napoleon) because of her revenues. Money has wisely been called the chief of the sinews of war, since more wars have been lost through lack of revenue than through lack of men.

Military advantages of the new wealth. Use of wealth instead of men to win European wars.

During the great Napoleonic wars, the English spent a sum in excess of five billions of dollars, a sum that seems small in comparison with the expenditures in the Great War (§ 452), but which was probably one third of the total wealth of the country at that time. It would have been impossible for the English government to raise and expend these immense sums had her wealth not been growing by leaps and bounds. Any other nation of that day would have been bankrupted.

Victories due to the vast expenditures in the conflict with Napoleon.

198. Commercial and Maritime Expansion. — As a very small part of the cloth and other goods made by machinery in England was used in that country, she sought new markets on the Continent and in America. It will be remembered that Napoleon's famous continen-

Needs of new markets, especially before 1815.

tal system (§§ 151–153) was an attempt on his part to keep England out of the markets of Europe. He hoped in that way to hamper her trade greatly and thus compel her to make peace. Napoleon failed to keep the countries of Europe from purchasing British-made goods, and in several cases countries which had been neutral or favorable to Napoleon opposed him in order that they might import goods from England at a lower cost than they could secure them in any other way.

Commercial policy after 1815.

After Waterloo many continental countries revived their systems of tariffs and thus excluded many English-made goods or limited the market for these goods. The United States tried by protective tariffs[1] to limit importations of manufactured articles from Great Britain, without great success. England's desire to keep and develop trade with Spanish-American countries led her to protest against the plans of the Holy Alliance to reconquer those colonies (§ 175).

Importance of the economic revolution to Great Britain.

This brief survey gives us some idea of the economic expansion of England caused by the economic revolution. We can see that England's naval supremacy, her colonial expansion, and the growth of commerce which was due to that revolution made her the first power in the world. In fact, the more we study history, the more we realize that world power is built upon solid business development more than it is upon diplomacy, national prestige, militarism, or naval supremacy.

---

[1] All students of American history remember that at the close of our War of 1812 England flooded the American market with her manufactured articles. Ever since the Embargo (1807), English goods had been kept almost entirely out of the American market, and the surplus stocks of goods which had accumulated in Great Britain, coupled with the new continental tariffs just mentioned, made the United States England's best market. In spite of our own tariffs, enacted in 1816 and in later years, it must be admitted that we imported from England large quantities of manufactured goods in the half century between the War of 1812 and the Civil War.

General References

Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 18–157.

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 395–406, II, 67–99.

Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History; Select Documents*, 482–544.

Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 199–239.

Gibbins, *Industrial History of England*, 132–181.

Warner, *Landmarks in English Industrial History*, 209–227, 262–300.

Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century, — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 18–39.

Innes, *England's Industrial Development*, 216–254.

Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, xiii–xli, 21–59.

Prothero, *English Farming, Past and Present*, 148–252, 275–315.

Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, I, 494–540, 609–745.

Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, 1–73.

Herrick, *History of Commerce and Industry*, 294–311.

Topics

CONDITIONS BEFORE THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION: Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 395–403; Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, xv–xxix; Prothero, *English Farming, Past and Present*, 148–161; Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, 7–50; Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History; Select Documents*, 482–495; Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 18–64.

THE GREAT INVENTORS: Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 203–212; Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 18–23; Scherer, *Cotton as a World Power*, 59–83.

ENCLOSURES: Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 216–220; Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History; Select Documents*, 525–544; Johnson, *Disappearance of the Small Landowner*, 83–156; Prothero, *English Farming, Past and Present*, 161–167, 214–216, 249–252, 290–305.

Studies

1. The woolen industry in early eighteenth century. Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History, Select Documents*, 482–487, 492–495.

2. The transition from home industry to the factory system. Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, 54–65.

3. The grain trade before 1750. Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History, Select Documents*, 487–491.

4. Some famous agriculturists. Tickner, *Social and Industrial History of England*, 499–509.

5. The decay of the yeomanry. Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, 34–44.

6. The condition of the wage-earners. Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, 45–59.

7. Results of the agrarian revolution. Tickner, *Social and Industrial History of England*, 541–548.

8. Some results of enclosure. Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 74–82.

9. The factory system and its results. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 212–213, 235–239.

10. Coal mining. Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 24–27.

11. Some results of the Industrial Revolution. Tickner, *Social and Industrial History of England*, 530–540.

12. Development of cotton, wool, and iron industries (1750–1850). Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, 76–89.

Questions

1. Describe the open-field system in use in medieval and early modern times. What was the nature of household industry in the early eighteenth century? Name four classes that earned a living from the soil and describe the condition of each.

2. To what extent had there been enclosures of land, home industry for general market, and shop or factory industry before 1750?

3. What do you mean by the agrarian revolution? Why was one inevitable in the eighteenth century? Explain results of new crops, improved methods, and enclosures of lands.

4. Describe the process of spinning and weaving before 1730. Name in order the inventions developed in the cotton industry before 1800, and show the nature of the changes brought about by each.

5. Explain in a general way why Watt's steam engine was better than any earlier machine. What was the importance of its use in the iron industry? Why is it connected with the

development of coal mining? In what ways was it used in transportation? Why were improvements in the iron industry connected with those in coal mining?

6. What were the methods of transportation before 1700? What improvements were made in roads; in canals and other waterways? In your opinion why were there successful steamboats before a steam locomotive was made practicable?

7. Show the effect of the economic revolution in England upon the location of the shops, upon the development of a factory system, upon England's foreign trade, and upon farm life.

8. Why was the economic revolution in England of the first importance in the development of Great Britain into a world power? Explain your last answer in detail.

When your [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Remember the [illegible]
days of youth
[illegible]
[illegible]

CHAPTER X

ECONOMIC REVOLUTION ON THE CONTINENT

The Peasant and His Land

Peasant semi-proprietorship in France.

199. The Peasant and his Land before 1789. — Before the French Revolution most of the peasants of France were practically free and " owned " their land, subject to tithes due to the church, small payments due to the lord of the estate on which the lands were located, and heavy land taxes, collected by the government (§ 119). The taxes alone sometimes amounted to half the value of the farm products. The agricultural land of France itself was divided into separate holdings, more than a hundred million in number, and some of them were so small that they contained but a single apple or plum tree. In eastern France most of the peasants were still serfs, and the total number of serfs in the kingdom was about a million and a half. They did not own lands but cultivated the fields of their lords.

Status of persons and lands outside of France.

In almost all other continental countries, serfdom was still common in 1789. In *Austria* Joseph II had abolished serfdom in his personal dominions (§ 109), and had decreed that no peasant should pay to his lord for the use of the peasant's lands more than seventeen per cent of any one year's crop. In *Prussia* Frederick the Great had granted relief to the peasants on the king's lands (§ 69), but he was not able to abolish serfdom on the lands of the nobles. Frederick did decree that there should be three grades of lands, one held by the nobles, another by the townsmen, and a third by the peasants. He decreed also that no class should take up, by purchase or otherwise, any of the lands belonging to another class. In this way he prevented the nobles from obtaining the land monopoly that the English aristocracy was obtaining, but the peasants were unable to gain more land than they had.

THE GLEANERS

Abolition of serfdom, feudal dues, and services.

200. Changes in France after 1789. — On the famous night of the 4th of August, 1789, the national assembly of France *abolished serfdom* in that country and decreed that any villein could acquire real ownership through purchase of the lands which he and his ancestors had held. In 1789 and 1790 the assembly *freed the peasants from practically all feudal dues,* such as baking bread in the lord's oven and paying tolls on the roads, and no compensation was granted to the lords for these lost privileges.

When it came to obtaining *ownership of their lands,* the peasants were obliged to expend a large sum, usually in

Payments made by the peasants for the purchase of their lands.

installments over a period of twenty or twenty-five years, in order to get a clear title to the land which they and their ancestors had cultivated. They were very much disgusted when they found that they had to pay for their lands; their disappointment took the form of a new "war on the chateaux" (§ 128).

Sales of church lands at low prices.

The church lands which had been taken over by the government were sold to peasant proprietors as well as to burghers and nobles. These new purchasers paid in cash only a small part of the value of this property, because they feared that later the lands would be given back to the church. They were allowed to keep the lands, however, without additional payments. The epoch of the French Revolution and Napoleon therefore made France a land of peasant proprietors, several million in number.

Condition of the land and of the peasants before Napoleon's time.

201. Changes in Germany. — In regard to the lands of Germany[1] the first fact to be noted is that in the southwest the holdings under cultivation were small, but the farther east one went toward Russia, the larger he found the estates to be. Secondly, the condition of the peasants varied from a light form of serfdom in the southwest to a very severe form in the northeastern provinces. In fact, in the eastern provinces or states the serf was greatly oppressed, and the law permitted the noble on the death of the peasant to take one half of his personal property. As the serf owned only personal property, this meant that the lord might take half that the serf owned; usually, of course, he would not be so harsh.[2]

Reform states subject to Napoleon.

In the states subject to Napoleon, French laws were introduced and reforms were made similar to those in France. The first and most necessary reform was the abolition of serfdom. Very little, however, was done in these states to make the peasants owners of the lands which they cultivated.

---

[1] In Napoleon's time Germany might be divided roughly into three groups: (1) those states connected with Austria, which we need not consider at this time; (2) those in the Confederation of the Rhine and some other areas, which were *dependent* upon *Napoleon;* and (3) Prussia.

[2] Cf. with twentieth century conditions, §§ 316, 501.

Attempts to relieve the Prussian peasants.

In Prussia the national spirit was aroused by Napoleon; very soon the people demanded reforms. By 1810 serfdom had been abolished. The next year arrangements were made that the peasants who had cultivated feudal lands for their lords could gain real ownership of them. The peasant was required to return to the lord one third, or in some cases one half, of the land which he cultivated, and the lord was expected to give the peasant a clear title to the balance. In this way the peasants were made proprietors of their lands on the larger estates, and thereafter they were freed from all feudal payments or obligations in services to the lords. Nevertheless, the peasants of eastern Germany were not well off. They were still grossly ignorant, poverty-stricken, oppressed, and politically unimportant. Their condition was to be improved considerably, however, by the economic revolution that reached Germany about the middle of the nineteenth century.

Results of small peasant proprietorship.

202. Landholding in France. — There was no agrarian revolution in France similar to that in England (§ 183), but in France agriculture prospered after 1789 because the peasants owned their own land and because they were freed from the excessive taxes and heavy feudal dues of the old régime. The amount of land under cultivation increased constantly until more than three fourths of the entire area of France was cultivated. In the middle of the nineteenth century at least one person out of every four in France owned a farm. As indicated above, most of these farms were small, for more than half of them contained twelve and a half acres or less.

We should compare this state of affairs with that in England. In France there are nearly ten million *landed*

Comparison of England and France.

proprietors; in England, on the contrary, practically all of the land is owned by thirty thousand men. In France there were nearly five million *additional farmers* and about five million *farm laborers;* in England there were but six hundred thousand farmers and only one million farm laborers. We can see from this comparison why England has depended to a large extent upon other countries for her supply of food. We can see also why it was possible for France to grow food for her own people and in addition to export large quantities.

Slow introduction of new crops and methods.

203. French Agriculture. — In 1787 an English writer on the "new agriculture," Arthur Young, criticized very severely the old-fashioned and inefficient methods of the French farmers. It was not until rather late in the nineteenth century that the French introduced the *newer crops* and the *better methods* which had secured for England an agrarian revolution. That French agriculturists, however, did improve their farms is shown by the fact that from six to ten more bushels of *cereals* per acre were grown in France in the last half of the nineteenth century than at the end of the eighteenth.

Increased production in crops new and old.

The form of agriculture which shows the greatest development was the raising of *potatoes*. This useful food was almost unknown in France in 1789, but by 1848 the production had reached a total of nearly eight bushels for every person in the country. The *wine* production also was very much greater than it had been before, the wine being produced particularly in the valleys of eastern France and in the southwestern part of the country. *Agricultural machinery* was not introduced until about 1840, but by 1862 the government reported that there were one thousand threshing machines in use.

204. Agriculture in Germany. — The new methods used by England before 1800 in agriculture and in industry only gradually found their way into Germany, Coming of the economic revolution to Germany about 1850.

for little progress was made in Germany in either farming or manufacture before 1850. This delay was the more unfortunate because about three fourths of the German people depended entirely upon the soil for a living. New crops and new industries would have lightened the poverty and distress of a large part of the population, especially in central and eastern Germany.

Development of agriculture: the sugar beet.

The soil of Germany is not so rich as that of France.[1] During the first half of the nineteenth century, although few improvements were made in agriculture, a considerable amount of waste land was brought under cultivation. Among the new crops which were developed during this period was the *sugar beet,* which was used for the making of sugar. In the middle of the eighteenth century a German chemist discovered sugar in beets; in 1801 another chemist found that it was possible to manufacture sugar from beets in such quantities as to make a paying industry. Little was done, however, with the growing of sugar beets, although throughout Central Europe, under the continental system of Napoleon (§ 151), sugar was derived largely from beets, because the importation of sugar from the West Indies was shut off. By 1860 the amount of beet sugar produced in Germany was more than one hundred thousand tons, about as much as the people of Indiana consumed in a single year before the war came to America.

Industry and Commerce

Belated introduction of economic changes in France.

205. French Manufactures. — The industrial revolution was not begun in France until the second quarter of the nineteenth century; the French have never been noted for their inventiveness, and the importation of English machines was prohibited by British laws until

---

[1] E. E. C., § 460.

1825. Even after that time there was a French tariff on steel and machinery about equal to the original cost of the articles.

Concentration of the French on articles requiring skill.

Since the English were manufacturing textiles by the use of machines driven by steam engines, they were able to sell goods cheap in an extensive market. Very wisely the French did not attempt to compete with this trade in ordinary cloths; instead they devoted their well-known skill and taste to the production by hand of finer articles such as silks, lace, beautiful pottery, and tapestries. In this way they gave employment to a large number of workers in small factories or shops.

Development of French textile manufacture.

Even before the great French Revolution the French had started a cotton factory, but little progress was made in the cotton or other textile industries until about 1825. To be sure, about 1800 *Jacquard* (Jac-kar′) invented a loom for the manufacture of fine pattern silks, and three quarters of a century later there were more than 20,000 of them in use in Lyons, the center of the silk industry. In northeastern France considerable attention was given, as in previous centuries, to the manufacture of fine woolens or linens, including laces and similar articles.

Making Pattern-card for Jacquard Loom

Power machines were introduced rather slowly in

France, for even as late as 1830 there were only 625 stationary steam engines in the whole country. This delay was due in part to the extensive hand industries which we have just considered. It was due also to the lack of large supplies of coal and to failure to mine coal in quantities. As late as the middle of the nineteenth century there was mined in all France less than one per cent of the amount now produced annually in the United States.

Belated development of steam power and coal mining.

206. Transportation. Commerce to 1815. — Railways developed more slowly in France than in England and the United States and even later than in Germany. That they were not constructed sooner was due to France's fine system of navigable rivers, her numerous artificial canals, and her extensive highways. Although there were only 12,000 miles of *railroad* at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, there were at the same time nearly 4,000 miles of *navigable rivers*, and the mileage of artificial *canals* was three fourths that of the rivers. Whereas, in 1789, the *roads* of France, the best in Europe of that day, included a total length of little more than 27,000 miles, or only about double the length of the Roman roads in France in the time of the early Roman Empire,[1] at the establishment of the Third French Republic in 1870 there was nearly ten times that mileage in roads and highways.

French railways, fine waterways, canals, and roads.

We recall that in the eighteenth century the French were intense and rather successful commercial rivals of the English (§ 83); for French commerce in the eighteenth century increased more rapidly than that of the British Isles, although somewhat smaller in volume at the beginning and the end of the century. The French Revolution, followed as it was by general European wars lasting for more than a score of years, interfered greatly

Growth of French commerce to 1792. Decline during the Napoleonic wars.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 383.

with the foreign commerce of France. In the year that Napoleon was made first consul (§ 145) the foreign trade of the country was only one third what it had been in the last year before the war with Great Britain; nor had it grown at all by the time Napoleon was finally overthrown by his enemies.

France under the Restoration (1815–1830).

207. Expansion of French Commerce. — When the Bourbon kings were restored to the French throne in 1814,[1] they did little for the economic development of France, because in spite of their *protective tariffs* they did not help industry,[2] and did not give proper encouragement to commerce.

Contrast between the Orleanist and Bonapartist rule.

The *July monarchy* (1830–1848, § 217) was supposed to be distinctively a business or *bourgeoisie* government. It did attempt to aid the commercial classes, but its policies were neither broad nor far-sighted. To be sure the industrial revolution occurred during this period and gave great impetus to French manufactures. Commerce also developed to some extent. Yet under the *Second Empire*, that of Napoleon III (1852–1870), which did not pose as a business government, far more progress was made in both industry and commerce than at any previous time. During those years it looked as though

---

[1] The Bourbons certainly had not learned means by which commerce might be promoted. Naturally, when the foreign wars were over, French merchants should have regained almost at once most of the trade that they had lost in the previous decades. As a matter of fact French commerce was less extensive at the time the Bourbons were again overthrown (the July Revolution, 1830, § 216) than it was before the general European wars.

[2] The wheat growers of the country possibly owed the Bourbons a debt because very *heavy duties were placed upon imports of grain*, following the example of the English tariff (§ 330). The English corn laws worked a great hardship, because England needed large importations of wheat, and were therefore repealed in 1846; on the other hand, in France, a distinctively agricultural country which raised practically its whole supply of food, the similar French laws might be considered a benefit.

France might again become the rival of Great Britain in the foreign markets of the world. This, however, she did not do.

208. Commercial Condition of Germany before 1840. — As we noted in Chapter VIII, Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century was a loosely organized feudal state made up of several hundred principalities and more than one thousand other distinct areas. Each of these had its own tariffs and collected customs or tolls at its boundaries. Since some were made up of scattered districts, entirely separated from one another by intervening states, they had many *external tariffs* besides numerous *internal toll systems*, which had survived from medieval times. In Prussia, for example, there were sixty different tariffs.

Numerous tariff systems in Germany in 1800.

When Napoleon simplified the German system, and the German Confederation was organized in 1815 with thirty-eight component states or cities (later thirty-nine), the possibilities of commerce within Germany and with foreign countries were improved remarkably. Even yet, however, the conditions were worse than in the United States before the adoption of our present Constitution in 1787. Our situation was somewhat similar, for the states were continually having tariff wars and commercial troubles.[1] Prussia's territories were more scattered than those of any other German state. In 1818 she not only adopted a uniform and rather liberal tariff for all her possessions, but she also began her epoch-making policy of uniting all northern Germany into a single commercial union (*Zoll'ver-ein*), with a single tariff system.

Commercial unity growing out of Napoleon's changes and the Prussian *Zollverein.*

The chief advantage of the Zollverein was not economic but political, and we shall study it chiefly in connection with the achieving of German unity (§ 241). The customs union, however, made it possible to carry goods from one

Removal of restrictions on internal commerce before 1840.

---

[1] Ashley, *American History*, § 184.

end of north Germany to the other without paying any tariffs. It was also possible by 1840 to transport articles down the great rivers of Germany without paying the numerous tolls which had been collected from boatmen before 1815.[1]

Agrarian and industrial conditions before 1840.

209. Development of German Industry and of Commerce. — Before 1840 Germany was in much the condition in which England was before the Industrial Revolution (§§ 178–182). Her people were tenant farmers, frequently cultivating lands in common, and using antiquated methods, without knowledge of new crops or processes. Household industry was common as it had been in England in the early eighteenth century and has been in eastern Europe until recent years. The gilds were more prosperous in Germany at this time than they had been in England since the reign of Elizabeth or in France in 1789.

The industrial revolution at its best comes to Germany.

Although the Germans were rather conservative about changing from old methods to new, about the middle of the nineteenth century they were aroused to the need of radical improvements. It is true that when the industrial revolution came to Germany it was introduced almost bodily from Great Britain. The Germans did not copy the English methods and business organization of the late eighteenth century, but they went to England and studied the most progressive factories, bought the most modern machinery, and themselves made use of the most up-to-date methods. Of course this was not true of all Germany, but wherever the factory system gained a real foothold, we find it copied bodily from the best British models.

---

[1] As Germany was still a distinctly agricultural country and as the industrial revolution had made little headway before 1840, it is probable that the Zollverein did not increase greatly the foreign trade of the country. In other words, eastern Germany continued, as it did almost to the opening of the Great War, to import grains and meats from its eastern or northern neighbors. Western Germany also brought in dairy products from its near neighbors and grains from more distant countries instead of carrying these commodities from one part of the country to another. This peculiar condition arose from the fact that most of the German rivers flow to the northwest and before 1840 roads were few and poor, and railroads were practically unknown, so that frequently it was easier for Germans to do business with people outside Germany than with their own countrymen (compare § 287).

German manufactures, middle of nineteenth century.

Because of German interest in chemistry, more progress was made in industries which involved dyes, pattern-making, or chemical processes than in most other lines of manufacture. In the Rhine valley, in Saxony, and to some extent in southern Germany, factories were introduced and technical schools were started. As the Germans began to make articles for themselves, they naturally ceased to import manufactured commodities, and they began to bring in more raw materials, which they themselves turned into completed products. During this period, however, German commerce developed more slowly than that of either Great Britain or France.

Social Progress on the Continent

Exemption of the individual from old obligations.

210. Individual Freedom and Enterprise. — For the ordinary worker the years between the opening of the French Revolution in 1789 and the Revolutions of 1848 were a time of steady progress. In 1789 serfdom was the rule; in 1850 there was practically no serfdom in western or central Europe. By the middle of the nineteenth century feudal dues had been lightened or abolished. No longer could the nobles ride at will over the peasants' fields, nor were the farmers' crops destroyed by doves and hares, sacred to the lords and their hunting parties. The peasant had his own time for his own work, and he often owned his lands, especially in France. Sometimes his holdings consisted of compact farms rather than separated strips.

Before 1789 it had been difficult for any worker to choose his own life occupation, for serfdom was heredi-

Breaking down of gild restrictions.

tary. If a man's father had been a day laborer, he was a day laborer. No artisan was allowed to open a shop as "master" unless he had served as apprentice and journeyman and later had been accepted as a master and admitted to a gild. Gild members, moreover, could not branch out in related lines of industry, for the gild did not permit its members to introduce new methods or inventions, and it refused to allow a master in any other gild to infringe on any of its rights (§ 12). By 1850 much had been done to give any worker who had skill or capital the right to better his condition in any way that he could. Although a youth still served an apprenticeship, neither law or custom kept him from opening a shop or manufacturing any article after he had served his time.

Increased production under new conditions.

211. Wages of Laborers. — On the Continent the *overthrow of the old régime* gave the worker a higher standard of living than he had enjoyed before. The lord no longer took the larger share of the fruits of his labors. The government no longer depended chiefly on him for taxes. Being relieved from these burdens and from feudal dues, he was able to enjoy most of what he produced. The *economic revolution of the nineteenth century* raised his standard still higher. The farmer raised more bushels of grain and potatoes to the acre. The artisan on his machines turned out a larger number of yards of cloth or a greater quantity of iron products. Each was beginning to get more for his time and his labors.

Why wages were highest in England and next highest in France.

Since most men worked for others, we are interested in the question of wages in this period. Wages were higher in England than they were on the Continent; they were higher in France than they were in surrounding countries. That condition existed because England had made more progress industrially than France; and because France had developed more than her neighbors. In general it might be said that wages were at least sixty per cent higher in 1850 than they had been sixty years earlier. For example, an English laborer earned twenty-five cents a day in 1790; in 1850 a similar laborer received forty cents. In 1825 a French weaver earned only three dollars a week; in 1880 his weekly wage was six dollars. In short, we find that wages have been rising steadily on the continent of Europe during the last century and a quarter.

Comparison of European standards.

212. Standards of Living. — It is not the wages in dollars and cents that counts; rather it is the amount of comforts which that money will buy that is important. These wages just mentioned seem wretchedly small, and they were inadequate, yet we must consider that most commodities were sold much cheaper in Europe in 1914 than they were in America. In 1800 and in 1850 they were still cheaper. Our object at this time, however, is not to compare the standards of living in America to-day with those on the continent of Europe a century ago, but to compare the European standards in 1789 and in 1850.

Poor housing conditions in the early nineteenth century.

Most working people spend from two thirds to three fourths of their income for food and shelter. We can therefore learn something about their standards of living if we know how they lived and what they ate. Since many workers went from the country to the manufacturing towns, we must not expect them to be better housed than they were before. In the country, houses were undoubtedly better than they had been, but the French and German cities of the early nineteenth century were crowded and unhealthy. The streets were narrow, the tenements were unattractive, and the rooms were dark and gloomy. As the governments had taxes on doors and windows, and sometimes on chimneys, landlords had as few of these "luxuries" as possible. Conditions in the towns may not have been worse than they were in the eighteenth century, but more people suffered the discomforts of town life.

Improvement in food standards and consumption.

Aside from housing conditions, the town worker was probably better off than his eighteenth century predecessor. He had more money to spend, and prices were little if any higher than they had been. In France, for example, the people ate less rye bread than formerly; for much more wheat was produced in 1850 than in 1789, although some wheat was exported. The greatest change was in the consumption of meat. Whereas the per capita consumption of meat (in France) had been 39 pounds a year, it rose to 63 pounds. What is true of meat was true of other desirable or nutritious foods, and of clothing. In brief the standard of living had risen at least fifty per cent in the years between the two great political revolutions of 1789 and 1848.

Influence on the Continent of British legislation.

213. Legislation for Workers. — The condition of workers on the Continent both before and after the beginnings of the factory system was somewhat similar to those in England (§§ 181, 341). Since factories were introduced and mining on an extensive scale was developed later in France and Germany than in England, legislation for the benefit of workers almost of necessity came later on the Continent than in the British Isles. The first laws passed for the protection of workers were those enacted by the British parliament in 1788 (§ 340) for youthful chimney sweeps and the much better known law of 1802 for the protection of child apprentices in factories (§ 340).

French laws for mine and factory workers.

Almost thirty years before any English law had been made on that subject (§ 341), children in France were prohibited (1813) from working in *mines*, although these early laws were not well enforced in either country. Influenced by the British laws for the protection of *children and women workers in factories*, the French government later declared that no child under the age of eight years should be thus employed.[1]

Prussian labor laws of the mid-nineteenth century.

That the years about 1840 witnessed a considerable interest in the subject of labor legislation is shown, not only by English laws of this period and the French law just mentioned, but by a Prussian law of 1839.[2] Some years later the minimum age of Prussian child workers was raised to twelve years, which was the ordinary age limit prescribed by our American state laws only a few years ago, and is still the regular age limit in Europe (§ 494).

European laws against unions of workers.

214. Discontent and Organization of Labor. — There were associations of gild workmen even as early as the Renaissance. These associations continued in France and particularly in Germany into the nineteenth century, but they were ordinarily groups of the old type of workmen; they had nothing to do with the new industry. Everywhere in Europe workmen were forbidden to meet or to organize in order to improve their condition. Under the reactionary governments of continental Europe after 1815 (§§ 172–174), associations or gatherings of any kind which might disturb the public peace or order were distrusted and therefore were prohibited. Although labor unions were legalized in England almost unintentionally, about 1825 (§ 481), they did not exist in France until a somewhat later period nor in Germany until after the middle of the nineteenth century. They were, of course, prohibited under the older laws.

---

[1] Those from eight to twelve were allowed to work not more than eight hours a day and should attend school part of the time. Those from twelve to sixteen should not be employed more than twelve hours per day. There were local inspectors in each French district, but the inspection was even more unsatisfactory than in England.

[2] This law declared that no children under nine years of age should work for wages, and that those under sixteen should be employed not more than ten hours a day, night work being prohibited. The Prussian law went much farther than either the English or the French laws in providing for school attendance, since it declared that all employed children should spend five hours a day in the school room, a provision which, of course, could not be carried out.

Unemployment, other hardships, and discontent.

On the *Continent*, even more than in England, the industrial revolution caused the displacement of labor. Since the change came later on the Continent than in the British Isles, and since the transition from the old methods to the new was more abrupt, the hardships suffered by continental workers, especially skilled workers of the old type, were very great. These workers were not only thrown out of employment by the introduction of machines, which turned out goods much faster than they had been able to make them, but they were either too proud or too old to adapt themselves to work of the new type. In many communities the same thing happened as in England a few years earlier (§ 331), that is, workingmen broke up the new machines and to some extent interfered with persons who tried to operate them. In France, before the Revolutions of 1848 (§ 218), there was a very large number of unemployed men, especially in the cities. There was discontent among unemployed persons, and also among those who were made restless by the change from the old industrial order to the new.

General References

Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 100–124.

Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 187–239.

Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 187–235.

Dawson, *The Evolution of Modern Germany.*

Wergeland, *History of the Working Classes in France.*

Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières* (*Avant* 1789, II, 881–982; *de* 1789 *à* 1870, II, 795–906).

Topics

The French Peasant and His Land: Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 186–191, 199–206; Ogg, *Economic Develop-*

ment of Modern Europe, 187–192; Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 187–193.

French Commerce: Day, *A History of Commerce*, 409–413; Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 204–211; Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 280–288.

Studies

1. Gilds and workers in France before 1789. Wergeland, *History of the Working Classes in France*, 106–109, 123–136.
2. Economic and social conditions in France before 1789. Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, 359–376.
3. French manufactures before 1789. Yeats, *Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce*, 231–236.
4. The peasant in Prussia before 1800. Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 200–205.
5. The beet sugar industry in Germany before 1850. Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 223–226.
6. Textile manufactures in Germany. Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 231–234.
7. Industrial changes in Germany in the nineteenth century. Dawson, *Evolution of Modern Germany*, 37–46.

Questions

1. Describe the conditions of landholding in France and in central Europe before 1789. Explain what changes occurred after that date in regard to the holding of land in France and in Prussia. Compare landholding in France and in England in the late nineteenth century.
2. Compare agricultural methods and development in France and in Germany before 1800 with those used in either country in the nineteenth century.
3. Account for the fact that the industrial revolution in France was nearly a half century later than in England. Why did the French devote their attention particularly to articles requiring skill and taste?
4. Account for the excellent roads and artificial waterways to be found in France. If French commerce had expanded so rapidly in the eighteenth century, why did it not continue to develop as rapidly in the nineteenth?

5. Show the effect upon German industry and commerce of German disunity and the undeveloped political conditions in that country. What was the character of the industrial revolution which was finally introduced into Germany?

6. To what extent was there individual freedom and enterprise in central and eastern Europe before 1789? in 1850? How did the wages of laborers and their standard of living under the old régime compare with those of the mid-nineteenth century?

7. Describe the legislation for workers in France and Prussia before 1850. (Compare with similar laws in America at the beginning of the twentieth century; with American labor legislation to-day.) Account for the fact that associations of laborers were forbidden in England and on the Continent until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Show the connection between unemployment and discontent of laborers on the Continent with the Revolutions of 1848 which are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI

POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS (1830–1849)

France (1815–1848)

Extreme reactionist rule of Charles X (1824–1830)

215. France after the Restoration (1814–1830). — It has been said of the Bourbons who were restored to the throne of France in 1814 that they learned nothing and forgot nothing.[1] Louis XVIII was liberal at first, but changed gradually, especially after the murder of his nephew, the Duke of Berry, in 1820, that first of the *three years of revolution*,[2] 1820, 1830, 1848. Then he fell under the influence of the extreme reactionaries, led by his brother, who became king in 1824 with the title of Charles X. Charles X's rule was at all times severe and reactionary. By 1829 it had become very objectionable and had aroused the opposition of most classes of the people.[3]

---

[1] France was ruled after 1814 as follows:

Louis XVIII (1814–1824)
Charles X (1824–1830)
Louis Philippe (1830–1848)
Second French Republic (1848–1852)
Napoleon III (1852–1870)
Third French Republic (1870–)

[2] Of the years especially prominent for revolutions, of course the last (1848) was by far the most important. In 1820 revolutions occurred in Spain, in Portugal, and in Italy. In 1820 an insurrection was begun against the arbitrary rule of the restored Spanish King Ferdinand. This revolution spread to other provinces of the Spanish peninsula, and the king was forced to restore the constitution of 1812 and call a meeting of the national parliament. Two years later a French army, with the approval of the Congress of Verona, suppressed the liberal government in Spain (§ 174). In Portugal also there was a revolution at this time.

The people of Italy were misruled and discontented (§ 228). In 1820 the Neapolitans also rose against the rule of their king, named Ferdinand (§ 174).

[3] In the French parliament the king was able to control only a small minority of the votes. Since Charles was not able to secure the enact-

The July Days.

When the elections of a new French parliament gave unfavorable results, Charles, on July 26, 1830, issued ordinances which reëstablished censorship of the press, provided for a much higher qualification for voters, and called a new election for parliament, although the recently chosen members had never met.

The July ordinances.

216. The July Revolution in France (1830). — Immediately the newspaper men whose rights were attacked led the opposition to Charles. The people of Paris, already organized under military leaders, rushed upon the city hall (Hôtel de Ville) and captured it. When the king's forces finally entered Paris, the Parisians threw up barricades in the narrow streets and kept them from regaining control of the city. With the Paris mob voicing the cry "no more Bourbons," Charles X was obliged to abdicate in favor of his little grandson, the Count of Cham-bord′ (§ 258), and was forced to leave France.

THE HÔTEL DE VILLE, PARIS

---

ment of laws which he desired, in 1830 he emulated the bad example of James II of England. He suspended laws and practically if not legally declared himself above the constitution.

Louis Philippe accepted as the French king.

The revolutionists were united only in their desire to overthrow the late king. The Parisians, who had their headquarters at the Hôtel de Ville, wanted a republic. The newspaper men and Orleanists demanded Louis Phil-ippe′, a cousin of the late king. The *Republicans* were not ready to carry out their plans at once; hence Louis Philippe boldly marched, practically unattended, to their headquarters, and he and his followers won the day. Later he and Lafayette appeared upon the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville; the mob wildly applauded as Lafayette embraced him and he waved the tricolor, the republican flag of France, publicly displayed for the first time in fifteen years. He ruled France until 1848.[1]

A STREET BARRICADE

---

[1] The "citizen king" was a plain man who had called himself citizen at the time of the Revolution and had been a member of the revolutionary army. With his green umbrella he was seen almost daily in the Paris

Revolutions outside of France.

The year 1830 was a period of reform, radical change, and revolution to an even greater extent than the year 1820.[1] Besides the July Revolution in France two others were of considerable interest in Europe. These were the revolution in Belgium which made Belgium independent of Holland (§ 283), and the revolution in Poland which caused that kingdom to lose its independence (§ 312). Russia and Prussia wanted to intervene in order to force Belgium to be again a part of the Dutch Netherlands, but as France and England objected and as the Polish revolution interfered with Russian intervention, Belgium's independence was recognized.

Contrast between growth of liberalism in France and arbitrariness of the government.

217. France Before the Revolution of 1848. — The government of Louis Philippe, like that of the Bourbons which it replaced, was at first liberal; as time passed it grew more despotic, though the people were becoming steadily more liberal. In the years immediately preceding 1848 Louis Philippe's rule therefore grew more and more unpopular. The Republicans had always opposed the *Orleanist monarchy*, and most of the monarchists were

streets without a guard, talking familiarly with workmen. In a democratic manner he sent his sons to a public school. Among the higher classes of the French, however, he was sneeringly referred to as "the king of the barricades." Notwithstanding his democratic ways at home, he was exceedingly ambitious to be recognized by other European monarchs as their equal. It was his misfortune to be snubbed by the rulers of central and eastern Europe; it was also his misfortune to find that his ambitious plans to marry his sons to foreign princesses and to increase the international prestige of France always went awry. In Louis Philippe's reign France prospered; that is more than can be said for the policies of the "July Monarchy" or for the plans of the "citizen king."

[1] In England and elsewhere in Europe we find the spirit of reform dominant in the year 1830. In England it was the time of the great agitation for the reform of Parliament which culminated in the Reform Act of 1832 (§ 335) and of social reforms a few years later (§§ 343–345). In America this period was marked by the beginning of active agitation against negro slavery and by numerous social and political reforms, which tended to bring equality to most white men. Ashley, *American History*, §§ 292, 298.

not satisfied with it. In time the king lost the support of the middle classes, whom he was supposed to favor especially. Most of all was his rule disapproved by the workingmen. As we noticed above (§ 205), France had introduced new machines in agriculture and particularly in industry. Consequently many of the old workers had been thrown out of employment. In the cities factories had been established which gave irregular employment to many thousands, but in 1848 the number of unemployed workmen was very large. To the government these common workers looked in vain for help. Practically all of the classes opposed the rule of the "citizen king" and demanded reforms which Louis Philippe's ministers were unwilling to grant. At the beginning of the year 1848 conditions in France were critical.

Events of February 22–24, 1848

218. The Revolution of 1848 in France. — The reform leaders met together in banquets, where they discussed necessary reforms in the government. One of the most important of these was planned for Washington's birthday, February 22, 1848. When the government objected to the banquet and the street procession which was to precede it, the reformers agreed to yield, but a typical Paris mob gathered in the Place de la Concorde, demanding reform. Soon afterwards the troops who were guarding Guizot's (Gui-zo[1]) residence fired into a crowd and killed more than a score of people. Some of the corpses were carried about Paris in a cart, the populace crying "vengeance." In rage the people threw up barricades, and rioting against the government occurred in many of the Paris streets. On February 24, Louis Philippe followed the example set by Charles X, and abdicated in favor of his grandson, the Count of Paris (§ 258). On

[1] Louis Philippe's prime minister, Guizot, had been liberal, but before 1848 had been growing constantly more autocratic.

REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

		AUSTRIA					
FRANCE	GERMANY	BOHEMIA	AUSTRIA	HUNGARY	NO. ITALY	PAPAL STATES	PRUSSIA
Growing absolute rule of citizen king.	Rule of Metternich. Zollverein (1834). Spread of ideas of nationality and democracy.	RULE OF METTERNICH SPREAD OF IDEAS OF NATIONALITY			Mazzini and Young Italy.	Pope Pius IX; reforms followed by reaction.	
Revolution, Feb. 22, 1848. Provisional gov't. Second Republic and nat. workshops. General election. Nat. workshops closed.	Parl. of Frankfort. Parl. debates theories, and some problems. Offered imperial crown to king of Prussia. King vacillates.	Nationalist Czech movement. Revolution put down by Windischgratz.	Downfall of Metternich. Windischgratz captures Vienna. Under Jellacic subject races support Austria. Francis Jos. II Emperor.	Kossuth's speech. March laws: practically independent of Austria.	Revolution Jan., 1848. Revolt of all northern Italy. Custozza, July 25. Austria demands Charles Albert abolish constitution.		Revolution. King accepts leadership in Germany.
New constitution. Louis Napoleon President.	Austria reëstablishes Confederation.			March, 1849, declares independence. Overpowered.	New war; Novara, 1849. Victor Emmanuel I succeeds Chas. Albert.	The Republic.	Proposed union of north Germany under Prussia. "Humiliation of Olmütz."

the same day that the Second French Republic was proclaimed, he fled to England.

The socialists and the "national workshops."

Two important factions shared control of the new republic, the *liberals* and the *socialists*. The liberals established *national workshops*, advocated by the leading socialist, Louis Blanc,[1] but they organized them, not to carry out Blanc's ideas, but to show that Blanc's plan was doomed to failure. Of course there was little or nothing for the numerous applicants to do, but some were employed digging trenches which were of no special value to any one. They were paid at the rate of two francs a day, and were employed on the average two days a week. This employment, therefore, gave them a weekly wage equivalent to only about two dollars in our money to-day.

Elections to the constitutional convention.

219. End of the Socialist Republic. — In April an election was held to make a constitution for the Second French Republic. The *bourgeoisie* was disgusted with a republic which had already interfered greatly with business, and the peasants, most of whom already owned land, disapproved state socialism. In Paris the Socialists elected but three of the twenty-four workmen who had been nominated for the constituent assembly. In the country districts they were even less successful.

The "June Days."

A few weeks later the "national workshops" were closed, and the laborers were requested to return to their homes. In Paris the workmen and the mob protested, the national guard was called in, and General Ca-vai-gnac″s troops fought their way through the barricaded streets until the *insurrection* was suppressed. Thousands were slaughtered; other thousands were transported to the colonies. Some of the insurrectionists were sent to prison, still others were shot. Those terrible "June days" were remembered with heartbreak not only by workers but by people in general. The French Republic was still in existence, but it was not a republic of the common people.

---

[1] *Blanc* advocated a doctrine which seems less revolutionary in our day than it did seventy-five years ago, namely, the right to work. One of the first acts of the new government was a decree approving Blanc's ideas that the government should provide labor for all citizens. Blanc himself was not allowed to put this idea into practice.

The constitution and the new national assembly.

220. Organization of the Second French Republic. — The assembly now proceeded to make a new constitution. It decided that suffrage should be universal. It proposed a single legislative chamber, and a president chosen by popular vote for a period of four years, who could not be re-elected. Even at that time the people and their leaders were much divided in their support of the new constitution, and, after a new election, late in 1848, the assembly was not controlled by the republicans at all, for two thirds of its members were monarchists.

Election of Louis Napoleon as French president.

The contest for the presidency of the French Republic was really between General Cavaignac and *Louis Napoleon*, nephew of the great Napoleon Bonaparte. Louis Napoleon had been an adventurer and an unsuccessful adventurer at that. Twice (1836, 1840) he had started insurrections in France which would place him on the throne of that country, but both were unimportant and badly managed. In spite of the fact that he had never been successful, the name Napoleon made a tremendous appeal to the French people, for it meant prestige and military glory. He was chosen from several districts to the assembly; consequently, his election to the presidency was not unexpected. His popular vote was about four times that of his opponent.

REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 IN CENTRAL EUROPE

221. Central Europe in 1848. — We have already noted that central Europe in 1848 was ripe for revolution. There were two great movements of this time which made

Embryo nations and their demand for national organization.

any possible revolution far more important in the history of the world than any previous insurrection which might have seemed similar in character. These two may be summarized by the words *nationality* and *democracy.* A nation is a well-organized, united, independent group of people, occupying a definite territory. In 1848 in central Europe there were no nations. There was, however, a number of racial groups, each of which believed that it was a nation and demanded NATIONAL ORGANIZATION. By far the largest and most important of these groups was that which we call the *Germans*, most of whom lived within the limits of the German Confederation of 1815 (§ 165). The second largest race group which had no national organization was that of the *Italians*, which occupied the peninsula known in ancient history at the time of Julius Cæsar as "Italia."

Other races in Austrian dominions.

There was, however, a large number of smaller race groups, for example, the Poles and the Bohemians or Czechs, who were *Slavic races* that lived within the German Confederation. Outside the limits of the German Confederation, but within the dominions of the Austrian Habsburgs, there was the great race of *Mag-yars'*, which we call Hungarian, occupying the central part of the kingdom of Hungary. South or east of the Magyar group was a number of other Slavic races: Serbs, Croats, Tran-syl-va'ni-ans, and others. Each of these races, animated by the spirit of the times, wanted national independence.

Extent of the liberal movement before 1848

The greatest change of this year of revolutions was the LIBERAL MOVEMENT, the reaction in central Europe against the repressive rule of Metternich. During the thirty years that that able statesman had tried to control European affairs, the liberal or democratic movement had been growing. Particularly in Germany do we find considerable progress in the granting of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and other civil rights by states, some of which had given their people constitutions. In Switzerland the liberals had won a victory over the conservative government of that mountainous country. In Italy (§ 228), Pope Pius IX was making reforms; and in various parts of Europe other monarchs were granting concessions to their subjects.

Demand for constitutions and further reform

This movement, practically universal in its scope, was bringing to the people more liberties. As real constitutional progress had been halting, almost every one demanded much more sweeping reforms than had been made; the leaders wanted radical changes, at least, constitutional government; if possible, republics. Naturally, monarchs opposed these innovations, and many of them believed that if they granted constitutions they were not bound by those documents. As Frederick William IV of Prussia declared, "No written sheet of paper shall ever thrust itself like a second providence between the Lord God in heaven and this land."

The overthrow of Metternich.

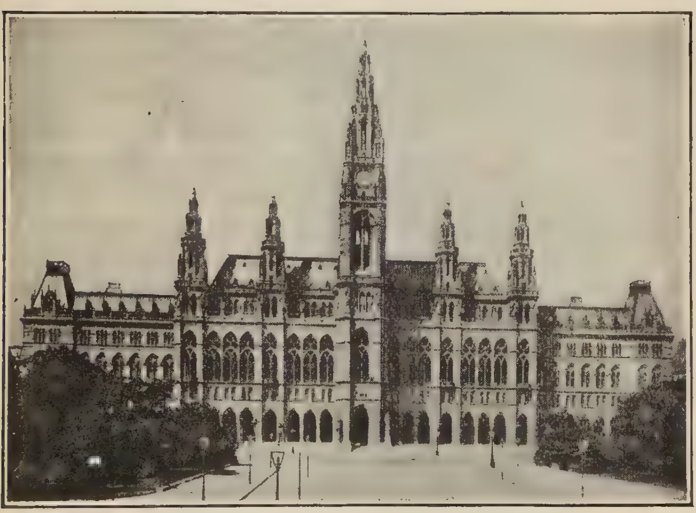
222. The Revolution of 1848 in Austria and Bohemia. — The news that France had established a republic was brought to Germany rather quickly, for already a few short railway lines had been established and telegraph lines had been erected. A few days later *Vienna* was aroused by a revolutionary speech of Kos′suth in the Hungarian parliament.[1] The Viennese students and populace, already enraged against the harsh rule of Metternich, rose *en masse*. Rioting occurred in the streets. An attack was made upon the palace of Metternich, which was burned by the mob. His life work done, this great statesman, the last leader of the old order, who for thirty years had been the conservative guide of Europe, resigned and in disguise fled to that refuge of exiled continental statesmen, England.

---

[1] When the news of events in Paris reached Buda-Pest, the Hungarian diet or parliament, which had been considering radical reforms, was startled by Louis *Kossuth*, whose eloquence in the "baptismal speech of the revolution" stirred not only Hungary but all central Europe.

National demands of the Czechs; revolt and restoration of Austrian rule.

The overthrow of Metternich influenced the Czechs of *Bohemia* to send to Vienna leaders who asked that the Czech nation be separately organized. They urged that they should have diets annually in their different provinces and should enjoy civil liberties, including freedom of the press and religion. They objected to German as the official language and wanted their education to be Czech rather than German.



RATHHAUS, VIENNA

Austria again supreme in Bohemia, June, 1848, and in Vienna, Oct., 1848.

On June 12, 1848, the Czech militia in Prague killed the wife of the Austrian commander, Win′disch-gratz. The Austrians immediately withdrew, but a few days later bombarded the city, broke up the meetings of the pan-Slavic congress, *i.e.* the congress of all Slavic peoples of Austria, and reëstablished the supremacy of Austria in Bohemia. This was in point of time the first victory gained by the Austrian government. A few months later the people in *Vienna*, again aroused by the Hungarians, revolted. They in turn were suppressed by the Austrian army under Windischgratz, who regained control of Vienna and placed it under martial law

The famous "March Laws" of Hungary.

223. Revolt in Hungary. — During this month of March, 1848, famous in the world's annals for its revolutions, the Hungarian diet passed its famous "*March Laws*," which practically created for Hungary a new constitution. They voted themselves a complete ministry, absolutely independent of the ministry which formerly had ruled Austria and Hungary. Annual meetings of the parliament were to be held. Suffrage was made almost universal, civil liberties were granted to all, and the peasant no longer was to pay more than his share of the taxes.

Slav opposition to nationalizing Hungary.

Not only was an attempt made to give Hungary a constitutional government, but the Magyars sought to *nationalize* or unify all Hungary. The Slavs of southern Hungary, who wanted separate national governments for themselves, not a single Magyar government that dominated them, rose against the new Hungarian government. Naturally the rulers of Austria welcomed this rather unexpected help, and later an Austrian force was sent to coöperate with these Slavs against the Hungarians.

Quarrels over Francis Joseph. The Hungarian Republic.

224. Hungarian Independence (1849). — The Austrian emperor believed that the contest could be waged more successfully against Hungary if he were to abdicate. In his place was appointed his nephew, Francis Joseph II, whose long rule lasted until 1916. Francis Joseph was crowned *emperor* of Austria, but the Hungarians did not accept him as *king*.[1] He in turn felt that he was under no obligation to accept and recognize the Hungarian constitution. Open war therefore resulted between the Austrian and the Hungarian forces. In spite of the numerical superiority of the Austrians, the Hungarians were at first successful. Elated by their apparent victory, the Hungarian diet or parliament, under the leadership of Kossuth, proclaimed a *Hungarian republic* with Kossuth as president.

---

[1] See § 305.

Overthrow of the Hungarian Republic.

Since the Austrians had failed to conquer the Hungarians with the aid of the Slavs in Austro-Hungarian territory, they now appealed to Slavs outside of the country and asked the tsar of Russia to help them put down the revolution in Hungary (1849). The combined armies of Austria and Russia suppressed the Hungarian republic within a short time. Some of the Hungarian patriots were shot; others were imprisoned or exiled; many fled to foreign countries. Kossuth escaped to Turkey and afterwards made a tour of the United States.

Kossuth

Prussian diet (1847). Unrest in Berlin.

225. Revolution in Prussia (1848). — Vienna, Buda-Pest, and Prague were not the only centers of revolt in March, 1848. In many south German states, especially Baden, constitutions were granted and numerous reforms were begun or promised. In Berlin occurred a crisis due largely to the attitude of the king, Frederick William IV the vacillating. The year before, Frederick William had granted to his subjects a Prussian diet which he called together for consultation, not with the intention that it should influence him greatly. The people were much disappointed that this diet did not give them really constitutional government and bring them genuine reforms.

Disorder in Berlin (March, 1848).

In March, 1848, rioting occurred in the streets of Berlin. Although it was suppressed by the troops and many lives were lost, the victory was with the populace. In Berlin, as in Paris, corpses were carried through the streets to the royal palace. The Prussian king was forced to view these bodies, removing his hat at the demand of the crowd below.

The Prussian King assumes leadership in Germany.

Later Frederick William placed himself at the head of a procession in which he waved a triumphant banner bearing the old colors of Germany, red, black, and yellow. That same evening the changeable monarch issued this proclamation: "I assume to-day the leadership in the hour of danger; my people will not desert me, and Germany will gather around me with confidence. Prussia henceforth takes the lead in *Germany*." However, the king did not have the force of character to live up to these brave words.

Calling of the pre-parliament.

226. Failure to Form a German Empire (1848). — Even before the revolution broke out, there had been a movement for the reorganization of the German Confederation. Consequently one of the first developments in that momentous month of March, 1848, had been an effort not simply to reorganize the Confederation but to consolidate a new Germany. This movement took effect when a group of liberals called together a pre-parliament which in turn asked the people of Germany, excluding Austria, to elect by manhood suffrage one delegate for each fifty thousand people. This national assembly or parliament was called for the purpose of uniting Germany and framing a constitution for the new nation.

The meetings of the *national Parliament* were held

The national Parliament wastes time and finds no leader.

in Frankfort. Instead of attending strictly to business and organizing a new government, while their arch-enemy, Austria, was in distress (§§ 222–223), the delegates wasted valuable time talking about a united fatherland, or extolling the virtues of constitutional government, or discussing minor questions. The constitution was finally completed and accepted by twenty-eight of the smaller states, but a strong leader was needed at once. Since an Austrian prince was out of the question, the liberals naturally turned to the king of Prussia. In spite of the statement which Frederick William had made, that he placed himself at the head of a new Germany, he refused to take "out of the gutter" an imperial crown which was offered to him by a parliament elected by the people; he wished to have it granted by the German princes. Without a leader the parliament was lost, especially as the restored monarchs in Germany did not approve its work. When the Prussian delegates withdrew, the work of the parliament really came to an end, although for several months some members continued to meet and discuss questions.

Prussia attempts to organize a union of North Germany.

227. The Humiliation of Olmütz. — The failure of the Frankfort parliament to organize a new Germany with a constitutional government left both nationalists and liberals very much disappointed, since all hope of union seemed at an end. The next year (1849), however, *Prussia proposed a German union* under her leadership. This union was rejected by the kingdoms but was accepted by twenty-eight of the still smaller principalities of North Germany. The union was not to include Austria, of course, though it provided for closer connection with Austria than with any other foreign country.

Naturally Austria objected to a Germany in which she had no direct authority, especially a Germany organized by her rival, Prussia. As she insisted upon the revival

Prussia is forced to abandon all her plans.

of the German Confederation under her own leadership, the two powers came into conflict, and war seemed inevitable. Since Prussia was not properly prepared for war, the Prussian envoy met Prince Schwar′zen-berg at Ol′mütz (1850). As a result of this conference, Prussia backed down absolutely. She agreed to dissolve the new union and to withdraw her troops from Hesse, where they were confronted by the Austrian army, and was forced to accept the restoration of the German Confederation. Indeed, if England had not protested, Austria would have brought her entire non-German population into an enlarged German Confederation. Thus was the humiliation of Prussia made complete.

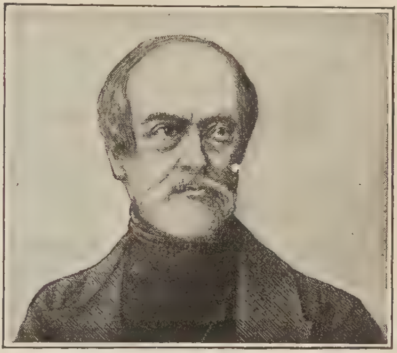
ITALY (1830–1849)

Discontent and the Carbonari.

228. Conditions in Italy before 1848. — In Italy there were discontent, secret organizations, intrigues, and revolution. Before 1848 there was little unity, for, as Metternich said, Italy was simply a geographical expression. Because Austria's influence was supreme throughout the peninsula, the Italians were obliged to organize secret revolutionary societies. One of the earliest and the largest of these was a purely destructive organization, the *Car-bo-na′ri*, which it was estimated in 1820 included one out of every twenty-five persons in the kingdom of Naples, and which sought the overthrow of established governments. The most active revolutions occurred in Naples and Sardinia in 1820 and in the Papal States in 1830.

Mazzini, Risorgimento, and Young Italy.

A scholarly, rather visionary, yet practical leader, named Joseph *Mazzini* (Mat-si′ni) saw that the work of the reformers must not be simply destructive as was that of the Carbonari. There must be something to take the place of the governments which were overthrown. Not only did Mazzini therefore preach a united Italy and work for the establishment of a republic for the whole peninsula, but to accomplish this object he organized secret societies called *Young Italy*. Before 1848 scholars and leaders were teaching throughout the peninsula a doctrine which they called *ris-or-gi-men'to,* the "resurrection" of Italy; and people everywhere took up the idea that once more there should be a united Italy, this time with a constitutional government.


MAZZINI

Reform and revolution in Italy, 1847–1848.

Italian reformers succeeded in interesting the new Pope, *Pius IX*, to such an extent that he introduced many reforms in the Papal States. When these reforms did not work out well, because the radicals abused their new opportunities, Pius became rather reactionary. Some other rulers, however, were also influenced to attempt reform. That more did not do so was probably due to the fact that Austria's power loomed threatening on the horizon. In January, 1848, almost all Italy was seething with revolt, although a united Italy under a constitutional government seemed yet a long way off. Then a revolution broke out in France, and opportunity came not simply to the people of Italy but to those of all central Europe to secure for themselves the new ideals of the period, nationality and democracy.

229. Revolution in Italy (1848). — In Sicily, before the famous Paris banquet on Washington's birthday (§ 218), there had been an insurrection which was quelled only

Granting of constitutions in Naples and Sardinia (Jan. and Feb. 1848).

when the king granted a constitution. In Naples somewhat later the people also forced the king to make concessions to them. On February 8, *Sardinia*, which alone had kept itself partly free from Austrian influence, received from her king, Charles Albert, a constitution (*Sta-tu'to*) that was destined to become famous and helped the citizens of Milan rid themselves of Austrian troops.

Demoralization and defeat of the pan-Italian army.

In spite of the fact that Naples sent troops under the leadership of a revolutionary general, and that soldiers came from other states to join Charles Albert of Sardinia, the Italian army was not united and could make no headway against the Austrian commander, Ra-detz'sky. As time passed, the rulers in the central and southern Italian states again regained control of their governments and countries. Inevitably their troops withdrew from the Italian army, leaving the north Italian forces to their fate. In July, 1848, Radetzsky made an attack at *Custozza* (Cus-tod'za) upon the poorly organized remnant of the pan-Italian army and completely defeated it. No peace was made until later.

Italian republics and their problems.

230. End of the Revolution in Italy. — The outlook in Italy, while not favorable to the revolutionists, was nevertheless rather dark for Austria. From Rome the Pope had fled, and a republic had been established. The same thing occurred in Florence, for after the Grand Duke of Tuscany had left, the government was republican. In Venice also a republic had replaced the rule of Austria.[1]

Austria defeats Sardinia again (1849).

In 1849, however, the Austrians with the help of the Russians were regaining control everywhere in Austrian dominions across the Alps. Once more Radetzsky, now reënforced, took the field against the Sardinian king, Charles Albert, and at *No-va'ra* (March 23, 1849) the Italian force was again completely defeated. It was now necessary to make peace. With the hope that better terms would be granted by Austria to Sardinia, Charles Albert abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II. In spite of Austrian opposition, the young king kept his constitution.

---

[1] Most of these Italian states were in disorder and confusion, and different factions of republican leaders quarrelled incessantly. Even if Austria had not regained the upper hand in Italy in 1849, probably no one of the republics, except Venice under Daniel Ma-nin', would have proved a success.

Restoration of Austrian rule or control.

Austrian influence was rather quickly established again throughout the rest of the peninsula, for the republicans were overthrown easily in Florence and in Rome, and the Venetians, who fought bravely, were of course unsuccessful. By the close of the year 1849 absolutism had been restored throughout the peninsula, and apparently the hope of a free, united Italy under constitutional government had been abandoned for good.

IMPORTANCE OF EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS

Difficulties in abandoning out-of-date social customs and economic methods.

231. The Old Era. — It is unnecessary to repeat details of conditions which existed in Europe before the Age of Revolutions. They were described in the introductory chapter and have been explained under more than one topic. That many of these conditions were medieval, or at least out-of-date, is well known. That those which were built upon privileges of kings, nobles, or clergy could not easily be changed without force or violence is equally certain, for no class ever gives up voluntarily a position of prestige or power. It was almost as difficult to change from old agricultural methods to new as it was to bring new rights to the people. To abandon spinning and weaving by hand, processes used not only by the fathers and grandfathers of those that witnessed the Industrial Revolution, but by scores of preceding generations, was no less than revolutionary.[1]

---

[1] On the old régime in general see §§ 111–119. On economic conditions in England see §§ 178–182, on the Continent see §§ 199, 210.

Nationality and democracy before 1789.

From the political point of view the contrast between the old order and that which supplanted it was as striking as that in the social or economic field. The dominant principles of the revolutionary era had no place in the old régime. At the close of the eighteenth century these ideas were expressed in the form of sovereignty of the nation and by the expression "liberty, equality, fraternity." In the middle of the nineteenth, they were much the same in substance, for they were embodied in the terms "nationality and democracy." Before 1789, we hear little of these principles. Louis XIV, not the French people, was the state Even in France the mass of the people, represented in the third estate or not at all, counted for nothing, as Sieyes declared; yet in other countries they were, if possible, even less important. They did not understand the idea of nationality, and they had no practical acquaintance with liberty.

Revolution and changes in the half century before 1848.

232. The Apparent Failure to Get Constitutional Government. — In order to understand the revolutionary movement of 1848, we must study it in relation to the whole revolutionary epoch, of which it was a part. We must see that it represents an attempt of the people of central Europe to throw off burdens which had been galling a half century earlier but were insufferable in the mid-nineteenth century. To the grandfathers of the revolutionists of 1848, serfdom had seemed inevitable, payments to lords a natural thing, and local systems of law or differing local governments unescapable, if not desirable. In a few decades, serfdom had practically disappeared. To the noble, still the great man of his estate or the village, reverence and courtesy were due, but special privileges were as much in disuse as the suits of armor worn by his medieval ancestors. Instead of thousands of tolls and numerous systems of local law, France, all restrictions removed, had free trade and fairly uniform legislation. In Austria and in Italy, and especially in Germany, there was hope of these reforms.

Success of revolutionists in securing a beginning of their program.

It was the purpose of the leaders of '48 to carry this work much farther; to unify their countries, free the people, and give them a share in their own governments. They asked much, and they were not prepared to perform tasks of such magnitude. Under the oppressive rule of Metternich, they had not been able to communicate with each other, to express their needs and their discontent with their reactionary governments, or to organize for the great work to which they had dedicated themselves. The revolutionists of central Europe were obliged to take advantage of an opportunity to revolt offered by the overthrow of an unpopular French dynasty; but a successful revolution naturally must be caused by internal disorder, not external, or by pronounced weakness in their own governments. Scattered, with different ideals, unable to keep together, they were nevertheless obliged to contend against governments that had dominated all continental Europe, against armies that still obeyed their autocratic rulers. Their success consisted chiefly, therefore, in this: they expressed their common protest against reactionary government and voiced their common demand for nationality and democracy. That, under the circumstances, they should gain the right to organize themselves as nations, and should have a real share in their governments, was not to be expected. A constructive program like theirs could not have been carried into effect in so short a period or under such great difficulties. To destroy takes little time; to build up requires years or generations.

233. Importance of the Age of Revolution. — In spite of its apparent failure the movement of 1848 was a success, and its real success is proved by the fact that it did bring to central Europe both nationality and

Development of nationality and democracy after 1848.

democracy within a comparatively brief period. Before a quarter century had passed, Germany and Italy, politically disunited for centuries, had been built into substantial nations; each had been brought under a single national government. At the time these peoples were united, they did not have a great share in their governments; but they and all other European nations have gradually extended the elective franchise to their subjects (§ 457), and have become more democratic.[1]

Epoch-making changes of the short period from 1789 to 1849.

It is not too much to say, therefore, that the six decades which we have called the Age of Revolution (1789–1849) witnessed the creation of a new Europe. Because the old Europe was practically a Europe that in the preceding centuries had been growing, but outwardly had changed little, these changes were abrupt and radical. Because they were resisted by the institutions that were modified and by the classes who lost rights, privileges, or power, they were of necessity revolutionary. That the revolutionists were successful not only in destroying the old but in creating the new is proof of the necessity and of the wisdom of the new principles. The Age of Revolution was not an age of completed tasks by any means; it was an era of beginnings, for even to-day we have gone but a short way toward the perfection of either nationality or democracy. Liberty, equality, fraternity are still ideals rather than bases on which we have erected modern systems of law or built up social relations.

Discontent and revolution in Europe (1820–1847).

234. Summary. — In spite of Metternich's reactionary policy (§ 173), after 1815 there were many minor revolutions, especially in Spain and Italy. In 1830 the Bourbon government in France was overthrown (the July Revolution) and replaced by the Orleanists (Louis Philippe). Belgium gained her independence from Holland, but elsewhere revolutions failed, especially in Poland, which lost her constitution. After 1830 there was discontent in Italy, which found expression in the formation of the Carbonari and young Italy, the latter a national secret organization of Mazzini. In 1848 revolutions broke out in Italy before they occurred in France. In the latter country, all classes were dissatisfied with the "July Monarchy" and the mediocre but rather arbitrary rule of Louis Philippe and his minister, Guizot.

---

[1] Germany has done this to a less extent than other countries, because Germany started with universal manhood suffrage, thanks to Bis′marck.

Revolutions in France, Germany, Hungary, and Italy, 1848.

In February, 1848, Louis Philippe's government, attempting to forbid reform banquets, was overthrown. The Second French Republic was at first organized with national workshops, and Louis Napoleon was chosen president. In Austria, Hungary, in many German states, and in Italy, revolutions broke out in March; Metternich was overthrown, and everywhere the revolts were successful at first. In Hungary, Louis Kossuth led the movements for liberal laws. Italy threatened to unite. At first the Austrian government was helpless and promised constitutions and reforms.

Suppression of the revolutions of 1848 by Austria.

Then the army under Windischgratz regained Bohemia and took Vienna, while Radetzsky conquered Italy. When Francis Joseph II came to the throne, late in 1848, Hungary revolted again and declared herself independent. She was overpowered by armies of her own Slavic peoples, combined with those of the Austrians and the Russians. Apparently the revolutions had failed, for the autocratic governments were again in authority. Austria was supreme in Germany and in Italy, except for the moral victory of Victor Emmanuel's refusal to give up his Sardinian constitution, and the German patriots at Frankfort had failed to unite Germany under a constitutional government.

The revolutions, however, had not failed. They rested on the two great ideas of the time, which most people

Apparent failure but real success of the revolutions of 1848.

held but had not been allowed to express, namely, nationality and democracy. Neither was realized at the time, but in later years unity came to Italy and Germany; and to-day practically all Europe believes in universal manhood suffrage.

General References

Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, II, 1–10, 53–89.

Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, 1–14, 16–22, 27–30, 73–114.

Hazen, *Modern European History*, 270–324.

Hayes, *Political and Social Development of Modern Europe*, II, 14–20, 50–57, 116–160.

Phillips, *Modern Europe* (Periods, VIII), 168–292.

Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 103–170, 326–346, 374–448.

Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 603–633, 674–823.

Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, 134–448.

Cambridge Modern History, XI, 22–233.

Topics

The July Revolution in France: Hazen, *Modern European History*, 273–279, 289–292; Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 125–134; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 603–619.

Hungary in 1848–1849: Hazen, *History of Modern Europe*, 298–305; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 709, 713, 748–752, 762–770; *Cambridge Modern History*, XI, 172–173, 180–185, 202–215.

Italy before 1848: Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, 188–192, 213–228; Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 326–339; *Cambridge Modern History*, XI, 65–79; Probyn, *Italy*, 1815–1890, 1–70.

Studies

1. France under Louis Philippe after 1840. Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 145–152.
2. France under bourgeoisie rule. Guérard, *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century*, 105–109.

3. The national workshops of 1848. Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, 345–357.

4. Liberalism and nationalism in Germany before 1848. Richard, *History of German Civilization*, 459–469.

5. The Revolution of 1848 in Prussia. Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, 348–352.

6. The Frankfort Parliament (1848–1849). Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, 352–354, 360–369.

7. Kossuth. Latimer, *Italy in the Nineteenth Century*, 150–172.

8. Mazzini. Mario, *The Birth of Modern Italy*, Chaps. I–III.

9. Pius IX and Rome (1847–1848). Probyn, *Italy*, 1815–1890, 71–77.

Questions

1. What was the nature of reaction in France after 1815? Was it not inevitable that this reactionary rule should lead to revolution? How much better off were the French people under Louis Philippe after 1830 than under the Bourbon kings?

2. In what respects did the rule of the July monarchy become reactionary before 1848? Describe the factions controlling the Second French Republic and explain why the national workshops were a failure. Was the Second French Republic less of a bourgeoisie government than that of Louis Philippe?

3. Explain each of the two great movements which were popular in central Europe in 1848. Name a few of the races which had not then, and have not yet, obtained for themselves a separate national government.

4. Describe in chronological order the events on the continent of Europe during February and March, 1848.

5. Explain the connection of the following directly or indirectly with the Revolutions of 1848: Metternich, Louis Blanc, Kossuth, Mazzini, Windischgratz, and Radetzsky.

6. To what extent did the Revolutions of 1848 center in Hungary and why? How could the Magyars nationalize Hungary without arousing the opposition of the non-Magyar races of that country? How has that problem been solved since 1848? Would it be possible or wise to grant to-day national independence and separate national governments to each racial group in the Austrian possessions or in southeastern Europe? (Compare §§ 304, 412.)

7. What was "Germany" before 1848? Could there have been a Germany with two leading and dominating states such as Prussia and Austria? What attempts were made at Frankfort in 1848 and by Prussia in 1849 to form a new German State? Describe the humiliation of Olmütz and show its importance. (Compare §§ 242–243.)

8. Show that Italy before 1848 was only a "geographical expression." What was the work of Mazzini? What was meant by *risorgimento?* Explain the part played in the Italian Revolution of 1848 by Piedmont (Sardinia).

9. Compare the ancient régime with that following the six decades of revolutions, 1789–1849. If the revolutions of 1848 apparently failed to gain either national or constitutional governments, why did they really lead to both? Explain the importance of the Age of Revolution.

10. Compare the conditions, the unrest, and the popular demands in central Europe before 1848 and in central and eastern Europe before 1914. In what countries did revolts break out during the Great War? What was accomplished in each case?

PART III

DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

(1849–1918)

© Horace K. Turner Co.

BRITISH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

CHAPTER XII

NATIONAL UNITY (1849–1871)

The Unification of Italy

The situation in Italy in 1849.

235. Constitutional Government in Sardinia. — The unification of Italy followed rather closely the revolutionary movement of 1848. The darkest hour in the history of Italy and of Sardinia, however, came in the spring of 1849, after the defeat of the Sardinian king, Charles Albert, at Novara (§ 230). Then Austria reëstablished both her rule in northern Italy and her supremacy in the Italian kingdoms throughout the peninsula. Nevertheless, Sardinia was simply defeated, not conquered.

Attitude of Victor Emmanuel toward Italy and Austria.

The abdication of Charles Albert, who never knew his own mind, in favor of his son *Victor Em-man′u-el,* who not only knew his mind but stood absolutely and unequivocally by his principles, was in itself a great gain for the Italian cause. Victor Emmanuel stood first of all unswervingly for a *united Italy.* Secondly, he stood just as steadfastly by the constitution (*Statuto*) which his father had given Sardinia. Austria offered to grant Sardinia much more favorable terms of peace if she would give up this constitution. It was especially offensive to Austria because it held up before the eyes of Italian liberals a standard of constitutional government which they in turn could demand of their own rulers, but Victor Emmanuel refused the bribe.

Great idea of Cavour.

236. Cavour and His Work. — Under the leadership first of d'A-ze′glio and afterward of Count Ca-mil′lo de

Ca-vour′, Sardinia developed into a prosperous and successful small Italian state, and prepared to bring the cause of united Italy before Europe in the hope that at least part of Italy might really be united.

Character and early experience of Cavour.

Cavour was one of the remarkable men of this period. He presents that rare combination, a scientist and a practical man of affairs, an independent spirit and a matchless diplomatist. As a young man he had traveled extensively, studying particularly the nature of the industrial, commercial, and political development of England and of France. On his return to Italy he devoted careful attention to his own estate, on which he introduced agricultural improvements. So well managed was this farm that it gave its owner practical experience in the importance of business success and prosperity as the basis of national power.

Cavour

Work of Cavour for Italian business.

As minister of business interests he worked unceasingly during the first three years of his leadership in Sardinia to improve the agriculture and the industry of his country. At the same time he made commercial treaties with Switzerland, France, England, and other countries, in order that foreign trade might be developed. Railways were built in different places and a tunnel was planned through the Alps to connect Sardinia (Piedmont) with France.

Military preparation of Sardinia under Cavour.

237. Cavour Makes Preparation for a United Italy. — It can be seen from these statements that Cavour was building on sound foundations the future greatness of Sardinia and of Italy. He believed in preparedness in the most complete sense, but his *preparedness was not simply economic.* He laid the foundations also for Italy's place among the Powers by gaining *diplomatic friendships* among English and French statesmen. Knowing also that in the last analysis Sardinia and the cause of united Italy would fail unless he could depend upon a *well organized army*, he gave his attention to military affairs. Under Victor Emmanuel and Cavour Sardinia had an army which was large and efficient out of proportion to her size. Had it not been for the economic development of the country, however, little Sardinia would have been unable to carry successfully the heavy financial burdens imposed by so great a military program.

Sardinia takes part in the Crimean War and the subsequent peace council.

It was through the army that Cavour was first able to bring the Italian question to the attention of Europe. Since the Italians lacked organization and had more than once failed to free themselves from Austrian rule, Cavour realized that the cause of united Italy must be supported by the European Powers or it would fail. His opportunity came when France and England joined Turkey in making war upon Russia in the *Crimean War* (§ 409). Sardinia sent nearly twenty thousand troops to aid the allies. When peace was to be made, Cavour asked to be admitted to the *council in Paris* (1856) which decided the terms. Not only was he allowed to be present, but with little difficulty he persuaded Napoleon, always anxious to play a large part in European politics, to introduce before the assembled diplomats the question of Italy. The English envoy immediately denounced Austrian interference in Italy as a menace to Europe and asserted that the government of the kingdom of Naples and many smaller Italian states under Austrian supervision was a disgrace to the nineteenth century. Cavour had gained a great victory.

Agreement between Cavour and Napoleon III.

238. The War against Austria. — Cavour realized that the first step in Italian independence must be war with Austria. Sardinia, though aided by other Italian states, had failed in her campaigns against Austria, even when Austria was in difficulties at home (§§ 229, 230). Hence, she needed an ally. Because of the temperament, policies, and ambitions of *Napoleon III*, Cavour was able finally to interest the French emperor in his project. At secret meetings at Plombiéres (Plum-byar′), 1858, Napoleon and Cavour discussed the problem and agreed, as they took drives together, that if Austria made war on Sardinia, Napoleon should come to the aid of Cavour and should *free Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic."*[1]

Preliminary events and battles of war with Austria.

It was not easy for Cavour to bring on a war with Austria in which Austria should appear as the aggressor. He was aided, however, by the arbitrary rule of Austria in Italy, by the unrest and discontent throughout the peninsula, and by the continual criticism of Austria which was made by Sardinian leaders and newspapers. After months of effort he succeeded in "baiting" Austria successfully; and Emperor Francis Joseph II demanded the disarmament of Sardinia within three days. Cavour and the Sardinians were overjoyed. On the arrival of Napoleon's forces, the combined French and Sardinian armies marched against the Austrian troops, whose organization and leadership were inefficient. At Magenta, and later at Sol-fe-ri′no, two decisive defeats were sustained by the Austrians. The latter now withdrew to the famous Quadrilateral, which even the first Napoleon had found difficulty in wresting from his enemies. All Lombardy was now freed.

---

[1] Napoleon had always been interested in Italy, especially in the revolution of 1831, in which he had taken part. He wished to be a patron of a new state of northern Italy, but was not persuaded to take sides with Cavour until after a fanatic had tried to assassinate him early in 1858. Strangely enough this attempt, instead of turning him against the Italian cause, led him to give it aid.

Peace between Napoleon and Austria.

The success of the Sardinians led the people of the Italian duchies farther south to expel their hated rulers and demand annexation to Sardinia. Napoleon was alarmed. He realized fully the difficulties of driving the Austrians from the Quadrilateral; he was sick of bloodshed; he feared an attack by Prussia along the Rhine boundary; and he was afraid to help the Sardinians create a state which, if it reached from the Alps to the papal states, was bound to give offense to his friend, the Pope. Without consulting his Sardinian allies, he, therefore, made peace with Austria. *Lombardy* was given to Sardinia; but Austria was to keep Venetia, and the princes of the north-central states were to be restored to their thrones.

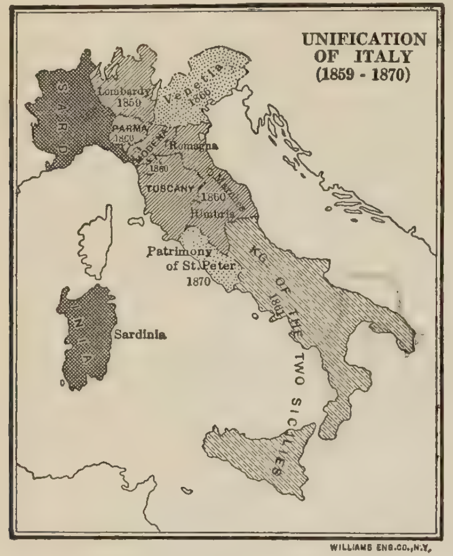
Voluntary annexation of other territories in north Italy.

239. The Union of Italy. — Disappointed and disgusted, Cavour resigned; but Victor Emmanuel, foreseeing the inevitable expansion of the new Sardinia, finally agreed to peace. In this he showed wisdom, because the duchies south of the Po valley refused to take back their rulers, and Austria, influenced by the opposition of England and other countries, decided not to intervene again. Early in 1860 these duchies, *Tuscany, Parma, and Modena,* and a part of the papal states on the Adriatic Sea, by popular vote asked for annexation to Sardinia and adopted the Sardinian constitution. In this way a new state was formed which included all of Italy north of the Tiber river, with the exception of the province of Venetia.

Southern Italy was not content to remain under Austrian supervision while northern Italy freed itself from the hated rule of the foreigners. Consequently there was

Garibaldi and the conquest of the "Two Sicilies."

great unrest and discontent in the *Kingdom of the Two Sicilies*. In the Island of Sicily the insurrection against the government was aided by a famous Italian patriot, Ga-ri-bal′di.[1] This republican, withal an enthusiastic supporter of Victor Emmanuel, in 1860 gathered together in northern Italy a band of more than a thousand "Red Shirts." Cavour warned him against leaving Genoa, but did not prevent him from sailing for Sicily. By desperate fighting Garibaldi gained control of the island, claiming it for Victor Emmanuel. He then crossed to the mainland, the English and French fleets carefully remaining in ignorance of his movements. Garibaldi was welcomed to Naples by an enthusiastic populace. "The Neapolitan kingdom was not overthrown; it collapsed." He then marched north against the States of the Church, but Victor Emmanuel, anxious not to offend the Pope more



WILLIAMS ENG.CO.,N.Y.

UNIFICATION OF ITALY

---

[1] Garibaldi had taken part unsuccessfully in former insurrections in Italy. He had then fought for liberty in one of the South American republics. Later he was active in the unsuccessful revolutions of 1848–1849. After those disasters he went to New York where he engaged in business, first as kettle-maker and later as sea merchant. Having amassed a moderate fortune, he bought for himself the Island of Caprera off the Italian coast.

than was necessary, himself occupied the eastern papal states and relieved Garibaldi of the command. By overwhelming majorities the people of *Naples, Sicily, and* all of *the States of the Church*, except the territory around Rome, voted for annexation to Sardinia.

240. The Kingdom of Italy. — After two years of fighting and intrigue this successful national movement was practically completed, and in 1861 a parliament representing all Italy except Venetia and Rome proclaimed Victor Emmanuel king of Italy. Soon after, the country lost her great statesman, Cavour, who died at the early age of fifty-one, worn out by the extraordinary exertions of this crisis. For five years Victor Emmanuel and his ministers worked on the problem of making a united kingdom out of these different possessions. In 1866 they were able to strike one last decisive blow against their old enemy, Austria. They aided the Prussians against Austria (§ 246) in the struggle to organize a new Germany. The quick collapse of Austria gave the Italians possession of the province of *Venetia:* the Habsburgs lost their last territories in the peninsula, and ceased to have any real influence in Italy.

Annexation of Venice (1866).

In 1871 the Franco-Prussian War forced France to withdraw from the city of Rome the troops which Napoleon had kept there for the protection of the Pope for several years. Alone, the papal troops were of course unable to defend Roman soil against the Italians, who soon occupied *Rome.* The capital of modern Italy was then transferred to the capital of the ancient world. The Pope protested against this seizure of his territories, treated the king of Italy as a trespasser, and refused to leave his palace, the Vatican. The enmity between the Pope and the Italian king, begun even before the time of Cavour, has continued practically to the present day (§ 276). The Popes have refused to send ambassadors

Occupation of Rome and trouble with the Vatican.

THE CAPITOL, ROME, ITALY

to the Italian Court or to treat in any way with the usurper of their rights; ever since they have remained "prisoners of the Vatican."

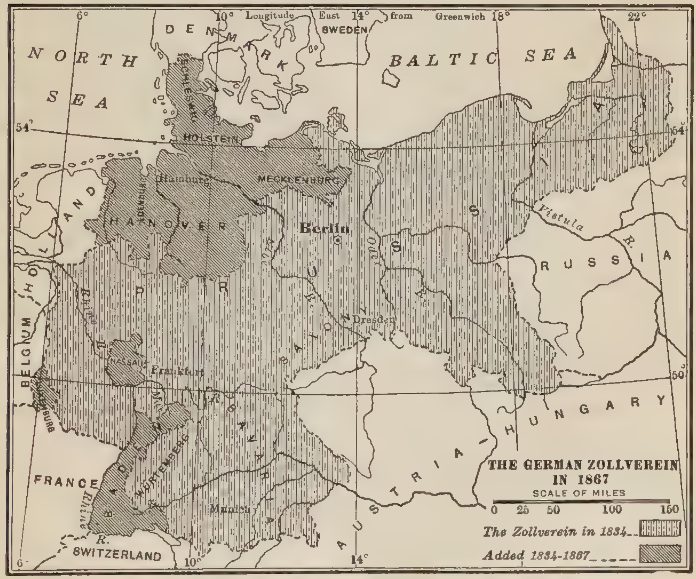
THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Beginnings of commercial unity under the leadership of Prussia.

241. Commercial Union under Prussia. — It will be remembered that the political disunity of Germany before 1800 was disgraceful. Even after Napoleon's drastic reorganization of Germany (§§ 162–163), the country was not united even against his oppression. After 1815 the German Confederation of 39 states was little more united than the old Holy Roman Empire had been, although the way had been prepared for unity by the destruction of numerous small states. Real unity was not political, nor was it developed under the leadership of Austria; it grew out of economic needs and was worked out by Prussia. On account of the numerous tariffs within Prussia, that state in 1818 made a uniform tariff for all her scattered possessions. At first Prussia forced some of the petty states whose territories lay between her own scattered possessions to unite with her in a Customs Union, even against their own will. She gave to each its share of the revenues collected at the outside boundaries of the whole Union.

Formation of the Zollverein (1834).

After Prussia had brought in most of the lands which had formerly separated her own territories, she abandoned a policy of force. Thereafter she tried to persuade other states to enter her *Customs Union.* So pronounced were the advantages of commercial union, and so opposed to Prussian leadership and domination were other states, that two other commercial unions were formed, one in



WILLIAMS ENG.CO.,N.Y.

South Germany and one in central Germany, including important seaports, such as Hamburg. Between 1828 and 1834 most of the states in these other Unions abandoned their own plans and joined with Prussia in the formation of the single commercial Union, which after 1834 was known as the *German Zollverein*. This included about two thirds of the territory of the present German empire and a population equal to that of the United States fifteen years later.[1] Other states afterwards joined the Zollverein, as shown in the map on the preceding page, but admittance was refused to Austria.

Advantages of the Zollverein.

There was a single tariff for the whole Union for commerce with other countries, and within the territory there were no tolls or tariffs. A conference of delegates decided policies and made changes in tariff schedules. The states became accustomed to giving up their own diverse wishes and interests for common advantages. In other words, they learned to unite and coöperate.

Commercial successes and political failures of Prussia before 1855.

242. Austria Loses Leadership in Germany. — Austria was expressly excluded from the Zollverein, for Prussia was determined to oust the great southern state from her traditional leadership in Germany, and was equally determined that commercially, if not politically, there should be a united Germany which Austria did not dominate. In the political field Prussia suffered many defeats, due largely to the vacillating policy of her king, Frederic William IV, in the critical years from 1848 to 1851. Austria's triumph over Prussia at Olmütz (§ 227) was short-lived, for Schwarzenberg died in 1852, and his successors were not men of real ability. Moreover, Prussia was already the leading German state commercially and within ten years was to become such politically.

The Crimean War, in which neither Austria nor Prussia

---

[1] 23,000,000.

Loss of Austrian influence in Germany on account of the Crimean War.

took active part, had an important influence on Germany. In the first place Austria's attempt to look after her *Balkan* interests showed conclusively to the other German peoples that Austria was not distinctively a *German* state. Furthermore, Austria's failures to show herself a great power at this crisis caused her to lose prestige throughout Europe. In Germany she lost the moral influence which had come from her ability under Metternich and Schwarzenberg to direct the affairs of Europe. Consequently after 1856 the smaller German states came more and more to consider Prussia rather than Austria the greatest German power.

Political and military reorganization under William I.

When Frederick William IV was succeeded by his brother William, a new era came to Prussia and to Germany. *William I* was a soldier. As a boy he had witnessed the overwhelming defeat of his country at Jena (§ 150). As a young man he had fought for Prussia and Germany in the later Napoleonic wars. He was determined that Prussia should not again be humiliated as she had been at Olmütz. Since he was a soldier, he naturally looked upon the army as the best means of restoring to Prussia her former influence, but in addition he reorganized the whole central government and put new men at the head of affairs. The greatest of these ministers was von Roon, minister of war, one of the group of soldiers who created a renewed military Prussia. With the consent of King William, he asked the Prussian parliament to call to the army 63,000 recruits each year, instead of 40,000.[1] He wanted also to keep the troops in active service for a longer time than under the older system.

---

[1] As noted above (§ 164), the Prussian army after 1807 was made up of 40,000 new recruits each year. These were supposed to serve only two years, and, in spite of the increase of the population of the country the number of recruits each year was still 40,000.

Conflict between king and parliament.

243. The Policy of Blood and Iron. — The Prussian parliament voted the additional money needed for the army because the members thought it would be asked for only one year. When the request was repeated, the lower house declined to vote supplies as the king and von Roon requested. Believing that without a new army his plans for Prussia were doomed to failure, King William in despair wrote out his abdication. At this crisis he was persuaded to appoint as his chancellor a man already known for his ability and decision of character, *Prince Otto von Bismarck.*

Bismarck's experience, character, and policy.

The selection of Bismarck was a disappointment to the German liberals, for he was a pronounced conservative and reactionary. In 1848 he had shown little sympathy with the liberal cause, and *at no time had Bismarck favored constitutional government.* Between the Revolutions of 1848 and his appointment as chancellor he had had extensive diplomatic experiences and had gained a clear knowledge of complicated German and European politics. For eight years he had served as Prussian delegate in the diet of the Confederation at Frankfort. Three years at the court of Louis Napoleon had given him practical knowledge of the character and methods of the French emperor. A year at St. Petersburg (Petrograd) had made him familiar in a general way with the Russian statesmen and problems. Bismarck very promptly announced his policy, and in no uncertain terms. He declared that "Prussia's boundaries, as determined by the Congress of Vienna [§ 171], are not conducive to her wholesome existence as a sovereign state. *Not by speeches and resolutions of majorities the mighty problems of the age were solved — that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849 — but* by IRON AND BLOOD." Bismarck meant what he said; these words formed no mere figure of speech, and in a very true sense a policy of "blood and iron" was inaugurated.

Bismarck overrides the Prussian parliament.

Bismarck's first problem was to secure funds for the new army. When the lower house of the Prussian parliament refused to vote these supplies, and the upper house did vote them, the chancellor immediately ruled that the supplies had been voted and raised the money. For four years he and the Prussian parliament were at odds over this question, but in spite of criticism and antagonism, Bismarck found a way to carry through the policies which he had blocked out.

Wars which marked steps in the creation of a new Germany.

The heart of Bismarck's policy was, of course, *the creation of a new Germany under Prussian leadership. In the accomplishment of this plan we find three well defined steps, each of which was marked by* WAR. The first was the Danish War (1863) growing out of the Schleswig-Holstein controversy. The second was the Austro-Prussian War (1866), and the third the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) (§ 254), which was really a war between France and Germany, not simply a war of France with Prussia.

Relation of Schleswig and Holstein to Denmark.

244. The Schleswig-Holstein Question. — Schles′wig and Hol′stein were two duchies in the lower part of the Danish peninsula which were under the rule of the Danish king, but were not part of the *kingdom* of *Denmark;* that is, the union between Schleswig and Holstein on the one hand and Denmark on the other was a purely personal union.[1] However, at this period, as we have noted several times, there was a movement on the part of most countries to nationalize their governments and people. Denmark was influenced by this spirit of the age and sought to consolidate Schleswig and to a degree Holstein with the Danish kingdom proper. As the independence of Schleswig and

---

[1] Nevertheless *Holstein* had been a member of the German Confederation since 1815. By an agreement of the European powers at London in 1852, Schleswig and Holstein were to be *independent* under the rule of the Danish king. On the death of the ruling Danish monarch, Frederick VII, without heir, Christian of Glücksburg was to become king of Denmark.

Holstein was guaranteed by the treaty of London (1852), which had been signed by Prussia and Austria, but not by the German Confederation, Prussia and Austria protested and German troops entered Holstein.

Conquest of Schleswig and Holstein by Prussia and Austria.

Bismarck wished the help of Austria in the war on Denmark, but he did not want the German *Confederation* to take any part in the struggle. He was able to arrange this plan, and the combined Prussian and Austrian armies occupied the lower part of Denmark.[1] He then persuaded the other European Powers that had signed the Declaration of London to agree that the duchies were not under the king of Denmark. Schleswig and Holstein were then turned over to Prussia and Austria.

Bismarck's policies in the duchies.

Bismarck immediately insisted that, because the duchies were near Prussia, they should be brought into the Prussian Zollverein and should have their post-offices and other affairs administered by Prussia. He also declared his intention of occupying the harbor of Kiel and of constructing under Prussian auspices a ship canal from the Baltic to the North Sea. In brief, he was determined to use the duchies as an excuse to pick a quarrel with Austria by which he would be able to break up the old Confederation, drive Austria out of it, and form a new confederation without her.

New plan of administering the affairs of the duchies.

245. Bismarck Prepares for War with Austria (1865–1866). — In the year 1865 (by the treaty of Gas′tein) Prussia and Austria agreed that the affairs of Holstein should be administered by Austria while those of Schleswig should be cared for by Prussia. The real object of this scheme was to create friction with Austria.

In the war which Bismarck intended to provoke with

---

[1] At first the European Powers upheld the legality of Bismarck's action in invading Denmark, since he was upholding the Declaration of London of 1852. At a new conference of the Powers, called to consider this whole question, it was later decided that it would be wise to abrogate the Declaration of London.

Bismarck gains assurance that France and Italy will be neutral.

Austria, it was necessary that he should be assured of the neutrality of the French government and the neutrality or friendship of Italy. He had a famous interview with *Napoleon III* at Bi-ar-ritz′. Napoleon gave assurance that he would not take active part in a war, but intimated that he expected territorial compensation if Prussia or Austria gained new lands. Napoleon really believed that if Prussia and Austria became involved in war the struggle for the control of Germany would be so prolonged that, even though not extended as the Thirty Years' War had been[1] two centuries earlier, he might like Richelieu[2] become the arbiter of German affairs and make notable gains for France. After great difficulty, in the spring of 1866, Bismarck succeeded in making an arrangement with *Italy* by which the Italians agreed to help him if, within three months, war broke out between Austria and Prussia. The Iron Chancellor now made it his first business to see that such a war did occur.

Mobilization and disarmament.

The Schleswig-Holstein question, of course, furnished the pretext. The Prussian governor of Schleswig was able to make repeated complaints that Austria's rule in Holstein was not what it should be. Both Austria and Prussia began to get their armies in readiness for trouble. Then it was proposed and agreed that both should disarm; but the mobilization of Italian troops near the border of Venetia was thought by Austria to be sufficient excuse for reorganizing her army and stationing it near the Adriatic Sea.

Events in the German Diet and on the battle field.

246. The Austro-Prussian War (1866). — Prussia immediately used this as a pretext and armed again. Austria then tried to bring the Schleswig question before the German diet. Prussia insisted that Austria was failing to keep her treaty agreements. All Germany, foreseeing a crisis, began to prepare for war. On June 11 the German diet, at the request of Austria, began to organize the Confederation army in order to punish Prussia. Prussia treated this action as a declaration of war; she forthwith declared the Confederation dissolved and proposed a new organization for Germany. Within a few days her armies had overrun Hanover and other of the smaller German states which had made common cause with Austria against Prussia. Three Prussian armies now prepared a "drive" on the Austrians. By skillful campaigning they united, and at *Sa'do-wa* near *Kö'nig-grätz* they met an equal number of Austrians, whom they defeated decisively, partly because they had better rifles.

---

[1] E. E. C., §§ 704–707.

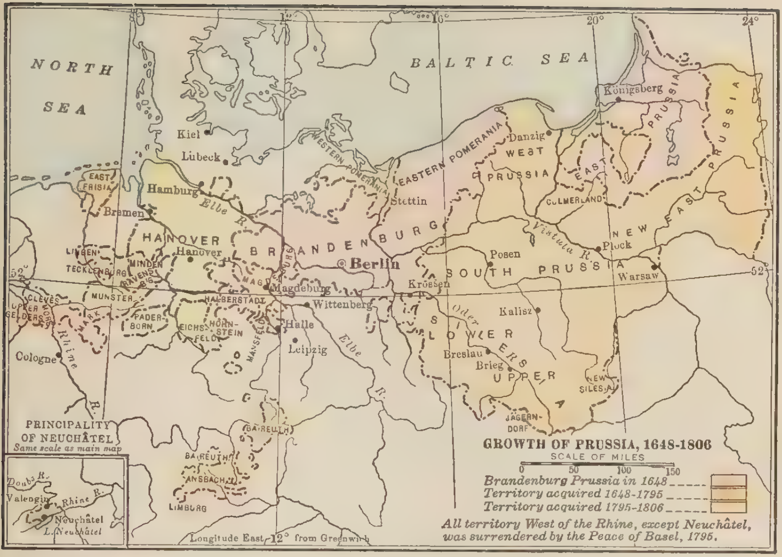
[2] E. E. C., § 703.

Bismarck's foresighted policy toward Austria.

When von Moltke informed the king that "your Majesty has won not only the battle but the entire campaign," Bismarck is reported to have said: "Now we must endeavor to establish the old friendship with Austria." This remark showed that, although he wished to defeat Austria and drive her out of the Confederation and organize a new confederation without her, he wished to retain her friendship. After all, Austria was a German state, useful against Russian enemies on the east and French opponents on the west.

Territorial changes of the war.

In point of fact, Austria was merely forced to give Venetia to the Italians and was not humiliated in any real way. The Italians were deserving of this help because their army had kept a large Austrian force occupied and had thus enabled the Prussian generals to win at Sadowa. Although Prussia did not take any Austrian territory, she followed the traditional Prussian policy of seizing any lands for which there was the slightest pretext. As in earlier periods she had added to Brandenburg the Polish Prussias on the east and Westphalia and the Rhine Province on the west; so now she forcibly increased her possessions by parts of Saxony, and Holstein as well as Schleswig. In addition she rounded out her territory, for



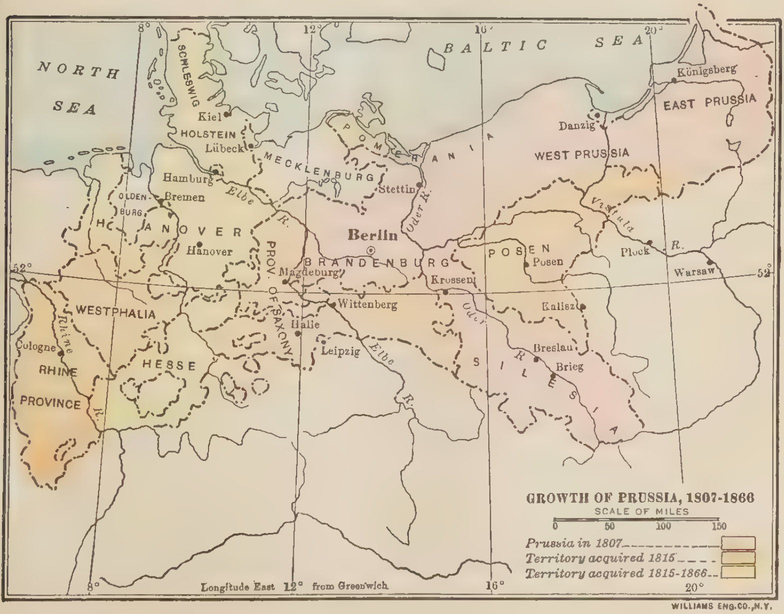
GROWTH OF PRUSSIA, 1648-1806

SCALE OF MILES

Brandenburg Prussia in 1648
Territory acquired 1648-1795
Territory acquired 1795-1806

All territory West of the Rhine, except Neuchâtel, was surrendered by the Peace of Basel, 1795.

PRINCIPALITY OF NEUCHÂTEL
Same scale as main map



GROWTH OF PRUSSIA, 1807-1866

SCALE OF MILES

Prussia in 1807
Territory acquired 1815
Territory acquired 1815-1866

WILLIAMS ENG.CO.,N.Y.

she seized and annexed Hanover, the free city of Frankfort, and some of the smaller German states. The policy of "blood and iron" was in good working order, and Prussia had made notable gains which she might or might not keep in the future.

Formation of a federal state in north Germany.

247. The North German Confederation. — The year after the Austro-Prussian War, popularly known as the Seven Weeks' War, because of its short duration, all German states north of the river Main formed a new united Germany, called the North German Confederation. This was not truly a confederation; it was really a federal state. The hereditary president of the organization was to be the king of Prussia. There was to be a *federal council* (*Bundesrath*) (Boon′dez-rat) made up of princes or delegates of princes from the different states and a lower house elected by universal suffrage. Provision was made for the admission of the South German states of Bavaria, Würtemburg, Baden, and Hesse without amendment of the constitution of the Confederation.

Organization of a commercial German empire (1868).

Soon after, the Zollverein was reorganized and the members from the South German states were admitted to both the federal council and the lower house in order to look after commercial affairs of the Zollverein. Commercially, therefore, the German Empire was organized as early as 1868.

THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE AND GERMAN UNITY

Restriction of suffrage by the French Republic.

248. Louis Napoleon Dictator of France. — The completion of German unity, or, more correctly, the organization of the German Empire (1871), was accomplished by Bismarck through a war with France. He was able to bring this about by shrewd and unscrupulous negotiations with the French emperor, Louis Napoleon, who was ambitious and at the same time rather shortsighted. To understand the story it is advisable to consider first the history of France in the twenty years following the Revolutions of 1848. As we noticed above (§ 220), the *Second French Republic* was organized in December, 1848, with *Louis Napoleon as President.* One of the first acts of the new government showed that it did not trust the common people, for it abolished universal manhood suffrage and allowed only those to vote who had lived and paid taxes in their commune for three years.

How Napoleon gained new supporters.

Louis Napoleon, being a good politician, opposed this change and made himself more popular with the people than before. In addition he tried to keep the support of the middle classes by encouraging industry and trade. By restoring the control of the schools to churchmen, and by supporting the Pope and the church in other ways, he was able to count on the support of the clericals.

Napoleon III

Establishment of a dictatorship (1851) and an empire (1852).

By 1851 the Second Republic, with the exception of President Louis Napoleon, was comparatively unpopular in France. The President therefore decided to make himself dictator of the country. On December 2, 1851, the anniversary of his great uncle's military victory at Austerlitz (§ 149), Louis Napoleon, by a *coup d'état* (stroke of state), established a dictatorship, and reëstablished universal suffrage. On that morning all prominent republicans were arrested and temporarily imprisoned. Napoleon at once appealed to the people to support him in this arbitrary action, which he declared to be for the best interests of France. In a *plebiscite* the people voted by an overwhelming majority to support him and authorized him to frame a new constitution. By this constitution the government of the country was really vested in Louis Napoleon, but the people thought that they were having more power than before, because every man was allowed to vote. On December 2, 1852, the anniversary of the *coup d'état,* Napoleon took a final step by declaring that the Second French Republic had been replaced by an empire; he assumed the title Napoleon III.[1] This "*Second Empire*" lasted until 1870.

Popularity and marriage of Napoleon.

249. The Work of Louis Napoleon for France. — As emperor Louis Napoleon was at first more politic, more popular, and more successful than he had been as president. He was exceedingly affable and approachable at practically all times, but his experiences had shown him the wisdom of keeping his plans to himself. His popularity and his success were increased by his marriage to a brilliant and charming Spanish countess, Eugenie, who made his court the most attractive in Europe.

EMPRESS EUGENIE

Encouragement of business and protection of labor.

Being himself a good politician and aided by so skillful an empress, Louis Napoleon proceeded to add to his popularity in France by working for the prosperity of the country. In the largest seaports fine docks were constructed. The building of railways, which had been neither long nor numerous when he became emperor, was encouraged, as was the further introduction of the telegraph. New roads were opened, some rivers were made more easily navigable; and canals were constructed in various parts of France. In order to encourage the investment of capital in agriculture, industry, and these other enterprises, Napoleon permitted new banking organizations to be formed which loaned money to those who wished to start businesses, or to landed proprietors who wished to introduce new crops or improvements. In order that the workmen might not feel that more was being done for capital than for labor, laws were passed to benefit disabled or needy workers.

---

[1] The honorary title Napoleon II had been granted to the youthful son of Napoleon I and Maria Louisa.

Boulevard system in Paris.

Under the able guidance of Baron Haussmann, Paris was replanned and to a certain extent rebuilt; on the site of the old walls a ring of boulevards was constructed, wide and beautifully paved. In order that these fine streets might be properly shaded, large trees were transplanted bodily from the neighboring forests. Along these boulevards buildings were required by law to be of fairly uniform height and character.

Ambition of Napoleon to be the arbiter of European affairs.

250. Napoleon III as the Arbiter of European Affairs. — Napoleon was not satisfied to be the first man in France; he wanted to be considered, as his uncle had been, the greatest ruler of Europe. In spite of his repeated declaration that "*the empire means peace*," his ambition to be the arbiter of European affairs led to numerous wars. Since he wished to be the *deus ex machina*, the directing deity who solved the international problems of Europe, and since he believed thoroughly in the doctrines of '48 that every race had a right to organize itself as a nation, Louis Napoleon easily became a meddler. If, in the end, his plans failed to succeed, other statesmen, possibly more unscrupulous than himself, made him the scapegoat. At first, however, he was quite successful. As the self-appointed defender of the holy places in Jerusalem, together with England he made war upon Russia in a Crimean war (1854–1856) (§ 409).

Misunderstanding with the Italians.

251. Failures of Louis Napoleon. — The failures of Louis Napoleon seem to begin with his failure to free the Italians (§ 238). He went far enough to offend Austria and the Pope; but his unwillingness to go as far as he had promised lost him the cordial friendship of the Italian race, whom he really had aided.

Failure of French plans in Mexico.

His first conspicuous failure, however, was not in Italy, but in America. Here the ambition to establish a colonial empire led him astray. In 1859 the Mexican government had refused to pay the debts which it owed abroad; consequently several European countries united to compel payment. After the debts had been settled, troops which had been sent to Mexico were kept there by Napoleon. In order to gain the friendship of Austria, he persuaded the younger brother of Francis Joseph II, the Archduke Max-i-mil′i-an, to accept the throne as emperor of Mexico. Since the United States was engaged in the Civil War, it could do no more at the time than protest against this violation of the Monroe Doctrine. When the war closed, however, France was told to withdraw from Mexico the French troops that kept Maximilian on the Mexican throne. This was done without great delay, and Maximilian, left without military support, was overpowered by the great Mexican patriot Benito Juarez (Hu-ä′rez) and put to death. This failure in Mexico was a great blow to the pride and prestige of the "Second Empire."

Relations with Bismarck.

Not in southern Europe nor in America, however, was Napoleon's humiliation to be completed.[1] His downfall was due directly to his relations with the Prussian empire builder, Bismarck. The story of how he was outwitted in negotiations by the unscrupulous Iron Chancellor and how his armies were defeated by the military machine of Roon and Moltke, is the story of Germany rather than of France. Napoleon desired to obtain for France more territory in the Rhine valley. He was also anxious to be consulted by the German statesmen about the numerous and important changes that were occurring in the German Confederation (§§ 243–247).

---

[1] An adventurer and a politician who was visionary and ambitious, the third Napoleon was treated with more or less contempt by his

Attempts connected with the Austro-Prussian War.

252. Napoleon's Attempts to Get Territorial Compensation on the Rhine. — In the interview with Bismarck at Biarritz (§ 245), Napoleon had intimated that he expected territorial compensations as the price of his neutrality in a war between Prussia and Austria. He had tried also to secure from Austria promises that he should have certain territories in case of war. Later, after the battle of Sadowa (§ 246), when he was selected as mediator between the warring nations, he tried to dictate what new territory Prussia should have, what Austria should give up and receive, and what should be given to France as her share.

Napoleon's desire for territory as "revenge for Sadowa."

Although Napoleon had failed to get any Rhine territory as a result of the struggle between Austria and Prussia, he was not satisfied to accept his failure as final. He proposed to Bismarck that France should annex the duchy of Luxemburg, paying for it a sum to the king of Holland, by whom the duchy was ruled. This fell through. He also negotiated for Belgium, and Bismarck led the French emperor on without committing himself, in order that later he might expose to Europe Napoleon's ambition and alleged double-dealing. Bismarck's statements were

---

contemporaries and was popularly dubbed "Napoleon the Little" in contrast with his great uncle. Nevertheless Napoleon was a man of big ideas and a ruler of no little ability.

made public at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War, and aroused public sentiment against Napoleon in many countries. Meanwhile the ambition of the French emperor was used by the wily Bismarck as means for securing the aid of the South German states, who feared Napoleon's scheme for territorial expansion in the Rhine valley.

How Napoleon III was outwitted by Bismarck.

253. Napoleon vs. Bismarck. — Napoleon had been completely outwitted by Bismarck, first, by allowing a powerful new state to be organized with territories on both banks of the Rhine river, which France looks upon as her natural eastern boundary; and secondly, by giving Bismarck proof of his desire for territory on the east, without getting any territory.

The Hohenzollern candidacy and the Ems dispatch.

Bismarck finally so outplayed Napoleon in the game of diplomacy that in 1870 France declared war against Prussia, which was exactly what Bismarck wanted. In 1868 the republicans of Spain had driven their king from his throne. In 1869 the throne was offered to Leopold, a prince of the house of Hohenzollern, though of a different branch from that to which the king of Prussia belonged. France naturally objected, because she did not wish even distant relatives to reign in countries on either side of her. Leopold agreed not to be a candidate for the Spanish throne, and Napoleon's ministers might have been content. Instead, Napoleon allowed his foreign secretary to send to King William a demand that Leopold's candidacy should never be renewed. William flatly refused to bind himself by a promise. Bismarck, anxious for war, and knowing that Prussia was ready and that France was not, sent out a statement condensing the king's account of the interview. It was his intention that this famous *Ems dispatch* should make the Prussians think their ruler had been insulted by the French ambassador and should give the French the impression that their ambassador had been insulted by the king. France immediately declared war against Prussia. Napoleon alone of those high in authority realized that the French army was in no condition to meet the trained Prussian troops, as all his attempts to prepare a better army had come to naught.

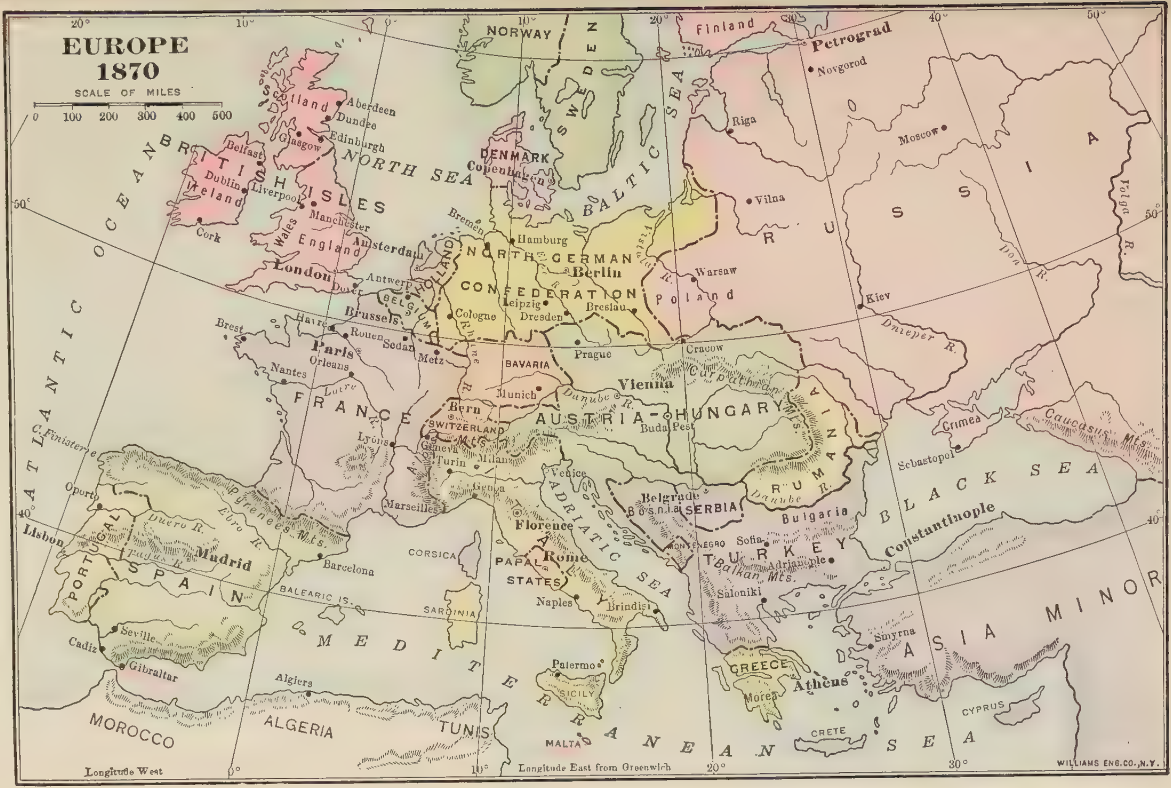
Disparity in preparedness of the opponents.

254. The Franco-German War (1870–1871). — In July France found herself at war with Prussia, which had been carefully prepared for this war that she had deliberately provoked. It is said that the Prussian war office had a map of every road in France. Beside her great army, equipped with modern guns, highly organized, commanded by von *Moltke*, Prussia had the support of the North German Confederation and the states of South Germany.

The Old Tuileries
(Before their destruction in 1871)

French disasters in the fall of 1870.

The French plan of invading Germany was abandoned at the beginning of the war. In four divisions the German veterans crossed the Rhine and invaded France. Accounts of 1871, which give details of the German advance, read like records of the atrocities in Belgium in



EUROPE
1870

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITISH ISLES
Scotland
Aberdeen
Dundee
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Belfast
Dublin
Ireland
Cork
Liverpool
Manchester
Wales
England
London
Dover
NORTH SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
Copenhagen
BALTIC SEA
Finland
Petrograd
Novgorod
Riga
Vilna
Moscow
RUSSIA
Volga R.
Don R.
Dnieper R.
Kiev
Warsaw
Poland
Vistula R.
Bremen
Hamburg
NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION
Berlin
Amsterdam
HOLLAND
Antwerp
BELGIUM
Brussels
Cologne
Leipzig
Dresden
Breslau
Prague
Cracow
Rhine R.
BAVARIA
Munich
Vienna
Danube R.
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Buda Pest
Carpathian Mts.
RUMANIA
Danube
Brest
Havre
Rouen
Sedan
Metz
Paris
Orleans
Nantes
Loire R.
FRANCE
Lyons
Bern
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
Alps Mts.
Turin
Milan
Venice
Genoa
Marseilles
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Florence
ITALY
Rome
PAPAL STATES
Naples
Brindisi
ADRIATIC SEA
Belgrade
Bosnia
SERBIA
MONTENEGRO
Bulgaria
Sofia
TURKEY
Adrianople
Balkan Mts.
Saloniki
Constantinople
BLACK SEA
Crimea
Sebastopol
Caucasus Mts.
GREECE
Athens
Morea
Smyrna
ASIA MINOR
CYPRUS
CRETE
C. Finisterre
Oporto
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Duero R.
Tagus R.
Ebro R.
Madrid
SPAIN
Pyrenees Mts.
Barcelona
BALEARIC IS.
Seville
Cadiz
Gibraltar
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Palermo
SICILY
MALTA
MOROCCO
Algiers
ALGERIA
TUNIS
Longitude West
Longitude East from Greenwich
20° 10° 0° 10° 20° 30° 40° 50°
50° 40°
WILLIAMS ENG.CO.,N.Y.

1914 (§ 438). The principal French army was besieged in the fortified city of *Metz*, where it could be of no possible service. Napoleon tried to stop the invaders; at *Se-dan′* his army was surrounded and captured, and the emperor himself was taken prisoner.[1] *Paris* was now besieged, Metz was captured with a French army of 180,000 officers and men, and the new army[2] that was hastening to the relief of Paris was defeated. Notwithstanding these reverses, the new republican government of France rejected the harsh terms of peace offered by Bismarck.

Siege of Paris and Treaty of Frankfort

After a siege of several months, the Germans began to bombard Paris. Food was so scarce that rats sold for forty cents each. Wood was exhausted, although many trees were cut down, and most of the fires in the city during the bitter cold of January, 1871, were started by the bursting of the German shells. Meanwhile the German princes had agreed to create a larger political organization to be known as the *German Empire*. On January 18, 1871, William of Prussia was proclaimed German emperor in the palace of Louis XIV at Versailles. After Paris surrendered, in the *Treaty of Frankfort* (1871) France accepted the harsh and humiliating terms demanded by Bismarck. An indemnity of one thousand million dollars was to be paid and *Alsace* with part of *Lorraine* was to be ceded to the newly organized German Empire, which in this way excluded France entirely from the valley of the Rhine. German troops were to remain in France until the indemnity was paid, a humiliation which aroused French patriots and led to the rapid cancellation of the heavy debt. France has never forgiven Germany for the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine (§ 268).

---

[1] A republic was proclaimed at Paris (§ 256), Sept. 4, on receipt of the news from Sedan, since the capture of the French emperor left the government without a head.

[2] Leon Gambetta escaped from Paris in a balloon. By his enthusiasm and eloquence, he inspired the French to organize citizen armies which included twice as many troops as had confronted the Germans at Metz and Sedan. They were however poorly equipped and led by inexperienced generals. The chief of these citizen forces was the Army of the Loire.

Unification of Italy.

255. Summary. — The two Napoleons greatly aided Italy in arousing the national sentiment of the country and wresting northern Italy from Austrian rule, but unification was the work chiefly of the Italians themselves, especially of Mazzini, of the society of Young Italy, and of Victor Emmanuel, who clung to Sardinia's constitution and to his idea of Italian unity. By his diplomacy Cavour gained the friendship of England and France and made other Italian states willing to unite with Sardinia. The war with Austria added Lombardy directly and all north-central Italy indirectly. Garibaldi and his forces occupied Sicily and Naples, which next voted to join Sardinia. In 1866 Venetia was added, and in 1871 Rome. All Italy was then united under the house of Savoy, which rules it at present.

Unification of Germany — first phases.

German unification had been the dream of thinkers and statesmen for more than two generations. It occurred under the leadership of Prussia, which was an autocratically governed state, the largest of North Germany. She first brought all northern and central Germany together in a commercial union, the *Zollverein*. She then schemed to replace Austria as the first German state. To do this, under the new king William I she organized a fine army (Prussian traditions favored militarism) against the wishes of the Prussian parliament. Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, then proceeded to provoke three wars by means of which Germany (without Austria) was united. The first of these was the Danish war, which took from Denmark the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Prussia controlled one, Austria the other. Quarrels over the proper administration of affairs in the duchies gave excuse for the Austro-Prussian war (1866), which really lasted but three weeks, when the Austrians were defeated at Sadowa.

Second French Empire of Louis Napoleon.

Louis Napoleon, president of the Second French Republic, made himself popular and in 1851 by a *coup d'état* established himself as dictator. In 1852 he was declared emperor with the title of Napoleon III. He aided business at home; abroad he favored the idea that each race should form a nation, and tried to make himself arbiter of international affairs. In the last years of his reign his government was quite autocratic in France and his international policies did not prosper in Italy, in Mexico, and in Germany; he was outwitted by Bismarck in all his dealings with that crafty statesman.

Unification of Germany (1866–1891).

Napoleon, greedy for more land along the Rhine, and French politicians, determined that no prince with the title Hohenzollern should sit on the Spanish throne, gave Germany excuse to invade and crush the Second Empire, boastful but really unprepared. Sedan, Metz, and Paris followed in rapid succession. Citizen armies failed to defeat German veterans, of course. France, prostrate, was forced to pay five billion francs as indemnity and to yield Alsace with part of Lorraine; and the Alsace-Lorraine question has kept Europe in ferment for more than a generation. At Versailles, in January, 1871, the South German states joined the North German Confederation and formed the German Empire.

General References

Hazen, *Modern European History*, 325–362.

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 150–210.

Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 170–184, 344–363, 448–484.

Phillips, *Modern Europe* (Periods, VIII), 293–489.

Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, II, 1–277.

Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, 824–1019.

Cambridge Modern History, XI, 286–308, 366–506, 529–549, 576–612.

Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe.*

Topics

CAVOUR: *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. "Cavour"; Latimer, *Italy in the Nineteenth Century*, 183–188, 199–200, 212–214, 238–245; Orsi, *Cavour*.

THE ZOLLVEREIN: Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 451–454; Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress*, 212–217; Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 297–301.

THE AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN WAR: Henderson, *A Short History of Germany*, II, 398–410; Baring-Gould, *Germany*, 388–394; Hawksworth, *The Last Century in Europe*, 308–328; Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, 211–275.

Studies

1. Conditions in Austrianized Italy. Thayer, *Life and Times of Cavour*, I, Chapter VII.
2. Activity of the Reds in Italy after 1848. Thayer, *Life and Times of Cavour*, I, Chapter X.
3. The Powers at Paris, 1856. Thayer, *Life and Times of Cavour*, I, Chapter XIV.
4. How Cavour prepared for war with Austria. Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, II, 111–120.
5. The work of Garibaldi. Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, 163–177.
6. The policy of blood and iron. Henderson, *A Short History of Germany*, II, 379–398.
7. The Schleswig-Holstein question. Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 466–469.
8. Sadowa. Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, 237–246.
9. Napoleon III. Thayer, *Throne Makers*, 44–78.
10. Coup d'état of Dec. 2, 1851, in *Scribner's Magazine*, 38 (1905), 417–423.
11. Napoleon's loss of prestige after 1860. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 175–180.
12. Sedan. Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, 329–341.
13. Paris in war time. Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, 350–367.

Questions

1. What was the importance of Victor Emmanuel's determination to keep a constitution? In what ways did Cavour

aid the king of Sardinia in planning for a united Italy? (Consider work in Sardinia, relations with France, and participation in the European council in Paris, 1856.)

2. What was the attitude of Austria toward Italy from 1815 to 1860? Why did Napoleon III at first help the Italians against Austria and then withdraw his aid? Account for the fact that all northern Italy desired annexation to Sardinia. Explain the causes of the annexation later of (*a*) the kingdom of the two Sicilies, (*b*) of Venetia, (*c*) of Rome and the surrounding territory. How do you account for the remarkable achievements by which the whole peninsula of Italy was united into a single kingdom within a period of twelve years?

3. Explain the political condition of Germany before 1800 (§ 160). To what extent was the German Confederation after 1815 more successful in uniting the German people than the old Holy Roman Empire had been? For what reasons did northern Germany organize a Zollverein, and what was its significance?

4. Explain the position before 1815 of Prussia as a German power. Show how the events of the ten years following the humiliation of Olmütz favored Prussian rather than Austrian leadership in Germany. What was the work done by William I and Roon for Prussian headship?

5. Who was Bismarck? Explain carefully what is meant by his policy of "blood and iron." Describe his quarrel with the Prussian lower house over money for the army. What were the three steps by which Bismarck developed a united Germany?

6. Explain the Schleswig-Holstein question and describe the Danish War. Show how Bismarck used the Danish duchies as an excuse to pick a quarrel with Austria. Describe the Seven Weeks' War, and explain the nature of the North German Confederation organized in 1867.

7. Who was Louis Napoleon? What qualities did he possess which made him a rather successful ruler of France and for ten years the arbiter of general European affairs? How did Louis Napoleon become president of France, then dictator, then Emperor Napoleon III? What work did he do for France? Why was he at first successful and later a failure in his attempt to manage European affairs?

8. Describe the different negotiations between Napoleon and Bismarck over territorial "compensation" of France along the Rhine. How was the ambition of Napoleon for additional

territory used against him by Bismarck in 1870? Describe the negotiations between Bismarck and Napoleon over the Hohenzollern candidacy for the Spanish throne. Show the part played by the famous Ems dispatch in bringing on war between France and Prussia.

9. Describe the German invasion of France in 1870. Show how the French lost their two main armies. Describe the siege of Paris and French attempts to raise new armies. Name the provisions of the Treaty of Frankfort. Why has the cession of Alsace-Lorraine remained a cause of dissension to the present day?

Nov

CHAPTER XIII

FRANCE, ITALY, AND THE NETHERLANDS

ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

Proclamation of a republic.

256. The First Organization of the Third French Republic. — When Napoleon III was captured with his army at Sedan (§ 254), September 2, 1870, the Second Empire came to an end. Two days later, at the Hôtel de Ville, in Paris, the Third French Republic was proclaimed by the radical republicans.

The conservative assembly of 1871.

When an election was held for members of an *assembly* to form a legal government, few republicans were chosen, because the republicans wanted to continue the war. Consequently the monarchists were in the majority, but they were divided into several groups, one of which supported the Bourbon Count de Chambord, grandson of Charles X, in whose favor that monarch had abdicated in 1830 (§ 216). Another supported the Orleanist Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe who had abdicated in favor of this grandson in 1848 (§ 218). Since the Orleanists were comparatively numerous, one of their number, Adolphe *Thiers* (Ty-er), the leader of newspaper men in the July Revolution (1830) (§ 216), a moderate who desired peace, was chosen "chief of the executive power of the French Republic."

257. The Republic and the Commune. — In order not to be influenced by the Paris mob, sessions of the assembly were held at Versailles, two centuries earlier the

The National assembly *vs.* a Parisian communal government.

home of Louis XIV. The Parisians considered this a direct insult. Moreover, they did not desire to be ruled by an assembly of French business men,[1] for they wished their city to be practically self-governing. In the early spring of 1871, Paris organized a government of her own, known as *the commune*, and refused to take further orders from the Thiers government in Versailles.

Suppression of the commune.

Before many weeks the commune was controlled by the extreme radicals and by the leaders of the Paris mob. The communards defied the government at Versailles and for two months fought the troops of the republic, finally in the streets of Paris. The advance of the Versailles forces was marked by terrible slaughter, by fires, and by the shooting in cold blood of communards captured in the streets.[2] Paris has not yet forgotten the horrors of "the bloody week," but the Parisian mob has never since interfered with the management of France by her national government.

Periods in the history of the Republic.

258. The Republic and the Monarchists. — The history of France under the Third French Republic may be divided into three periods. The first of these lasted from 1870 to 1879. During this time the monarchists were in control, at least of the presidency. The second period extended from 1879 to 1890. During these years the republicans had opportunity to show whether they could manage a republic successfully. The third period, from 1890 to the present time, has been marked by (1) the successful solution of several difficult internal, political problems, (2) by the expansion of France, and (3) by the restoration of the country to her former exalted position among the Great Powers.

---

[1] The government of France at this time was actually controlled neither by monarchists nor by republicans; it was really managed in the interests of the middle class, the bourgeoisie, which had controlled several governments in France during the preceding century. These merchants, manufacturers, and professional men had little sympathy with the radical republicans or with the working classes.

[2] More than seventeen thousand were butchered in this way, and many thousands were tried and put to death, sent to prison, or exiled to French colonies in the south seas.

Payment of the large German indemnity (1873).

After the Franco-Prussian War, the French people, much to Bismarck's amazement and disgust, reached down into their famous " woolen stockings " and took out their savings. They loaned to the French government a sum much greater than that needed to pay the exceedingly large indemnity of a billion dollars demanded by Germany (§ 254). Consequently, this debt was paid before it was due, and the last Prussian grenadier withdrew from French soil in 1873.

The problem of a royal or a republican chief executive.

In the same year Thiers was forced to resign from his office as chief executive, and Marshal Mac-Ma-hon′ was chosen as his successor. MacMahon was an out-and-out monarchist, although exceedingly honest and devoted to the interests of France as he saw them. It was expected that he would hold this position temporarily and that he would be succeeded by the *Count of Chambord*, with the title of Henry V. Since the Count had no children, an agreement was made that he should be supported by the Orleanists, and that in turn he should recognize as his successor the *Count of Paris*. However, the supporters of monarchy in France reckoned without their host, for although the Count of Chambord believed that he was already the French king, he refused to accept the title unless he were allowed to use as the legal flag of France the white lilies of the

THE COUNT OF PARIS

Bourbons.[1] Even his own supporters knew that the French people would never give up the tricolor. The Count of Chambord, last of the Bourbons, proved that, even in the late nineteenth century, the Bourbons never learned anything nor forgot anything.

The title and position of the chief executive.

259. The Constitution of France. — It was now necessary to decide how long MacMahon should remain in office, and seven years was agreed upon as the term of the chief executive. In 1875 the assembly passed three "constitutional laws," which taken together practically form the present French constitution. The first of these laws, passed by a majority of a single vote, was the first real recognition that *France was a republic*, because it declared the official title of the chief executive to be "president of the republic." We must remember that this constitution of the French republic was made by monarchists and was so planned that the president might resign and his place be taken by a king. Since the king was to reign but not to govern, the president was not to be responsible to any one, either the French parliament or the French people. As a result, some French presidents have been simply figure heads; the great powers of the executive are exercised by ministers who are nominally selected by the president, but actually form a committee of the parliament.

Organization of the two chambers.

The French parliament is made up of two chambers. The upper house, the *Senate*, consists of three hundred members elected for terms of nine years. The lower house, the *Chamber of Deputies*, is made up of about twice as many members, elected for a term of four years by universal suffrage from separate districts.[2] The

---

[1] The Orleanists were not able to make the Count of Paris king of France, because they had already agreed to support the Count of Chambord during his lifetime.

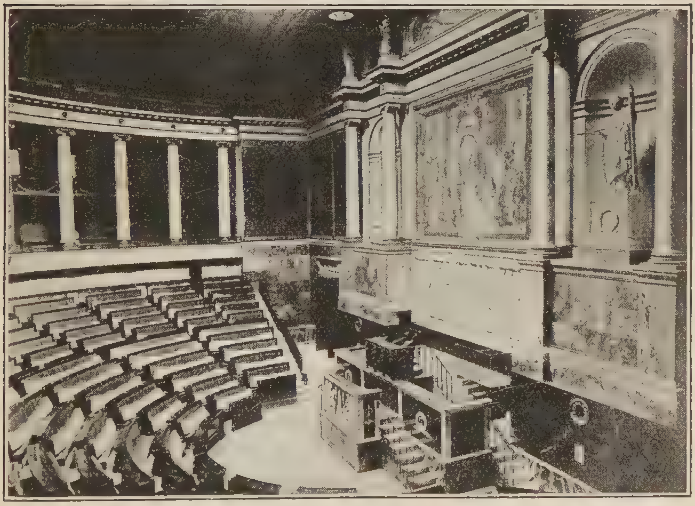
[2] For a short period (1885–1889), deputies were elected on a *general ticket by departments* instead of from separate districts. During that interval the Boulanger affair occurred.

Chamber of Deputies may be dissolved by the ministers, with the consent of the Senate. It therefore would seem to be a combination of the American House of Representatives and the English House of Commons (§ 358), but it is more like the latter.

Meetings of the national assembly.

Ordinarily the chambers of the French parliament meet in Paris, in different buildings. When a president of the republic is to be elected, however, or a change is to be made in the constitution, they meet together as a *National Assembly;* and to prevent possible influence by the Paris mob, they meet for that purpose in Versailles.

260. Parliamentary Government in France. — The ministers who direct the affairs of France would seem to need the support of both houses of the French parliament; but, as it is not possible for a ministry to obey more than one master, *the ministers are responsible* not to the parliament at all, but *to the lower house, the Chamber of Deputies.*



INTERIOR OF CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

Responsibility of ministries to the Chamber of Deputies.

Since France does not have two well-organized political parties, such as the Republican and Democratic parties in America, or the Liberals and the Unionists in Great Britain (§ 346), it has been very difficult for groups of the numerous parties to work together and for a ministry which represents any *group* of several different parties to keep the confidence and support of the Chamber of Deputies. Consequently, one ministry has succeeded another in almost bewildering succession.

Groups of parties in control of the government.

It must not be imagined that a change of ministry usually means a change of either policies or principles for the government. Most of the time from 1879, when the monarchists finally lost control altogether, until the beginning of the twentieth century, the government was controlled by the same general set of *middle class bourgeoisie politicians*. Frequently a new ministry would be composed of the same persons as the old cabinet, with the exception of two or three men. From 1900 to 1914 the radical *republicans* (§ 267) furnished most ministries.

Usages in the French Chambers.

The French ministers are allowed to speak in the Chamber of Deputies in order to explain their policies and secure support from the members. In turn the deputies may question any minister in regard to any bill, law, or policy. This is called "interpellation."[1]

EXPERIENCE UNDER REPUBLICAN RULE (1879–1914)

First great republican victory.

261. The Republicans in Control. — In 1877 the republicans finally obtained a majority in the Senate as well as in the Chamber of Deputies. For two years longer MacMahon clung to the presidency, but finally he resigned, and the republicans then gained entire control of the government. Thus the republicans won their first great victory.

---

[1] In a Chamber representing a large number of parties it is very easy to ask of the ministers embarrassing questions. If a reply of any minister fails to satisfy the deputies, they can overthrow the whole ministry, simply by voting a lack of confidence in that one minister.

Unpopular policies of the Grevy administration.

Because of their experience with MacMahon, the republicans selected an exceedingly moderate president, Jules Gre-vy′, who was unwilling to intrust the government to the real leader of the republicans, Leon *Gam-bet′ta*, until a few months before Gambetta's death in 1882. Under the leadership of Jules *Fer-ry′*, however, an ardent expansionist and a broad-minded statesman, France created new colonies in Tunis and in southeastern Asia.[1] The expansion policy of France and the new republican laws to reduce the number of church schools[2] weakened both the friendship of the other European countries and the support of many factions at home.

GAMBETTA

Partly because of factional quarrels, the republicans

---

[1] During this period the French Chamber of Deputies refused by an overwhelming vote to take part with Great Britain in a joint expedition against Ar′a-bi Pa-sha′, who had revolted in Egypt, and consequently Great Britain alone has since that time controlled Egyptian affairs (§§ 377–378).

[2] Under Ferry as minister of education a *new free public school system* was begun. Free primary schools were established and high schools were encouraged. Since many of the former schools had been controlled by the clergy and some of them by the order of Jesuits, who could not legally organize and teach in France, Ferry drove out of France the Jesuits and suppressed some of the other church schools.

Groups opposed to the new republic.

found that it was much easier to get rid of the rule of the monarchists than it was to make France really democratic. The *monarchists* were not yet willing that France should remain a republic, and the *clericals* not only disliked the republic in general but were naturally much offended by the new school laws. The *radicals* favored care of the workingman at home and were therefore opposed to the expansionist movement of Ferry, with its high taxes. There was in addition a comparatively small but ardent group, which organized itself into the *league of revenge* and was determined to stir up war with Germany in order to regain Alsace and Lorraine (§ 268).

Rise of Boulangism.

262. Boulangism. — In 1886 some of these discontented parties succeeded in naming, as minister of war, General *Boulanger* (Bu-lan-zhe′), a brilliant politician and orator. Boulanger appealed to the French nation as a leader who would restore the ancient prestige of France. He was supported by almost all of the discontented factions because they believed that he would give them what they wanted. He and they thought that this could be done through the army, and he intimated that the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine would be one of the first changes. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies from many departments, and his fame grew with each new election.

General Boulanger

Downfall of Boulangism.

Finally in 1889 he announced himself as a candidate in Paris. In spite of the fact that the republicans in control of the government united and rallied their forces, they were not able to check the rising tide of Bou-lan′gism. The Boulangists carried on a publicity campaign of remarkable splendor; the streets and shops were placarded with huge election cartoons and proclamations in colors as numerous as those of Joseph's famous coat. When the votes were counted, the majority of Boulanger in Paris was found to be more than eighty thousand. Had he followed this election by a stroke of state similar to that of Louis Napoleon in 1851 (§ 248), he might have made himself ruler of France; but he lacked the courage to follow up his advantage, and, when the government took action against him for conspiracy, he fled from France, and his cause collapsed.[1] The republic had survived its second crisis.

The Dual Alliance (1891).

263. The Dreyfus Affair. — In 1891 France emerged from the position of isolation into which she had been thrust by Bismarck (§ 421), for she made with Russia the *Dual Alliance* (§ 422), by which the two countries agreed to help each other against their enemies. They thus agreed to protect each other against Germany. Meanwhile, the internal troubles of France became even more serious than before. Taking advantage of the Drey-fus′ case, the enemies of the republicans attempted to overthrow the government.

Accusation against, and first trial of, Dreyfus.

In 1895 a French officer, an Alsatian Jew, Captain Alfred Dreyfus, was accused of selling French military secrets. The trial in a military court attracted little public attention. Dreyfus was found guilty and sent to Devil's Island, off the coast of French Guiana in South America, but some of his friends, believing him innocent, demanded that the case should be tried again. Nothing was done, however, until Colonel Picquart

---

[1] Two years later, an exile from his native land, Boulanger committed suicide; but the danger had passed with his departure from France.

(Pi-kar′) discovered new evidence which indicated that Dreyfus was not guilty, but that the guilty parties were two other army officers.[1]

Victory of the reform parties and of the Dreyfusards.

During the next few years the Dreyfus affair became really *a giant contest between the old conservative anti-republican factions*, which sought to discredit the republic, *and the newer reforming factions*, which were the supporters of French government. The contest raged throughout the country for a number of years. Finally, in 1906 the highest French tribunal, the Court of Cassation, declared that the verdict at the second trial was unjust and that Dreyfus was innocent.[2] The parties which were responsible for the government of the republic came through the Dreyfus affair with renewed prestige and strength. The republic had passed successfully through its third crisis.

Controversy between the clericals and the republic, especially over education.

264. Church and State Before 1901. — Before the Dreyfus affair was settled, the government had another titanic struggle with its opponents, this time the clericals, whom Gambetta, in his radical days, had called "*the* enemy." During the nineteenth century the relations of the French government with the church in France were regulated by the Concordat of 1801, arranged by Napoleon and the Pope (§ 147). This arrangement had survived numerous changes in the French government and had been quite satisfactory before the establishment of the

---

[1] The second trial was almost a repetition of the first, because the military court was afraid that a reversal of a verdict would be considered a reflection upon the army, but Dreyfus' punishment was lightened. This second trial, however, was the beginning of the real Dreyfus affair. An eminent novelist, Emile Zo-la′, with wonderful enthusiasm, took up the cause of Dreyfus and made it the cause of the *reform factions* in France.

[2] Since the friends of Dreyfus and Picquart were now in power, they restored Dreyfus to the army with a rank of major, and they made him a member of the Legion of Honor; and Picquart, first appointed a general, afterwards became minister of war.

Third Republic.[1] The controversy between Church and State was particularly connected with education.[2]

The Associations Act and closing of religious schools.

In order completely to secularize education in France, the "*Associations Act*" of 1901 declared that religious orders should exist in France only under government license, and that members of unauthorized religious bodies should not be permitted to teach in any schools, religious or secular. This law was enforced with extreme severity, with the result that comparatively few religious orders were authorized. In fact more than 10,000 church schools were closed, and many former clerical teachers left France. Three years later a second law was passed which provided that after ten years no religious schools should be permitted.

Severance of relations between the republic and the papacy.

265. Separation of Church and State. — In the meantime the feeling was growing among French politicians that Church and State must be separated. This feeling came to a head when in 1904 the president of France returned an official visit of the king of Italy. The Pope, who had never "recognized" the Italian kingdom (§ 240), protested, and diplomatic relations were severed. The ensuing controversy gave the French government a pretext for annulling the Concordat of 1801, an agreement which should have been abrogated only with the consent of both parties.

---

[1] After 1893, however, Pope Leo XIII urged the French clergy not to cling to lost causes, but to rally to the support of the French government.

[2] Before the French Revolution most of the school teachers were clergymen, and even the efforts of Napoleon to *secularize education* (§ 169) were not at all successful. During the last half of the nineteenth century, moreover, the religious orders which were particularly interested in teaching had increased greatly in numbers and in wealth. As we noticed, under the leadership of Jules Ferry (§ 261 *n.* 2), there had been a strenuous and fairly successful campaign to make the schools more numerous and better, and to make education non-sectarian. This of course had aroused the serious opposition of the religious organizations.

Provisions of the separation law of 1905.

The law of 1905 not only *separated Church and State*, but it provided that *associations* should be formed in each community or district, which should have control of all church buildings and other church properties and should arrange for the conduct of religious services.[1]

Compromise laws and arrangements.

By later arrangements, however, provision was made that the actual use of the churches should be under the control of members of the Catholic church in each community or district, especially in those places where associations provided by the law of 1905 had not been separately organized. This compromise was another victory for the republic.

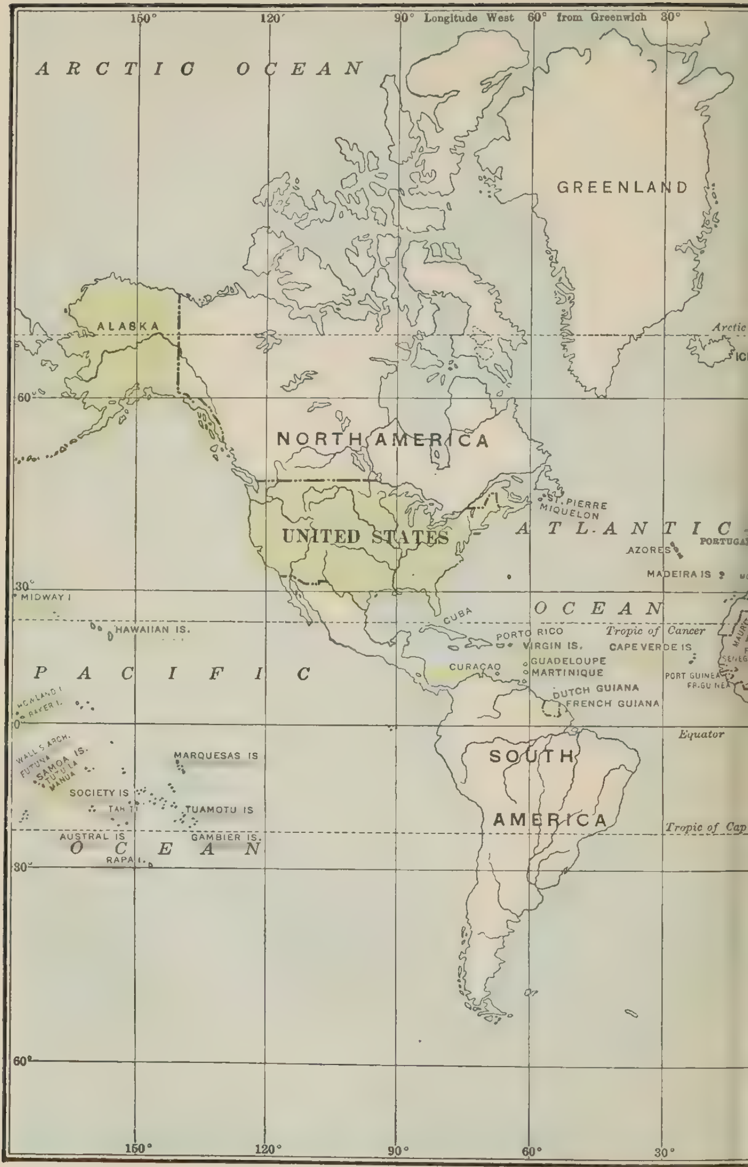
France in northern Africa.

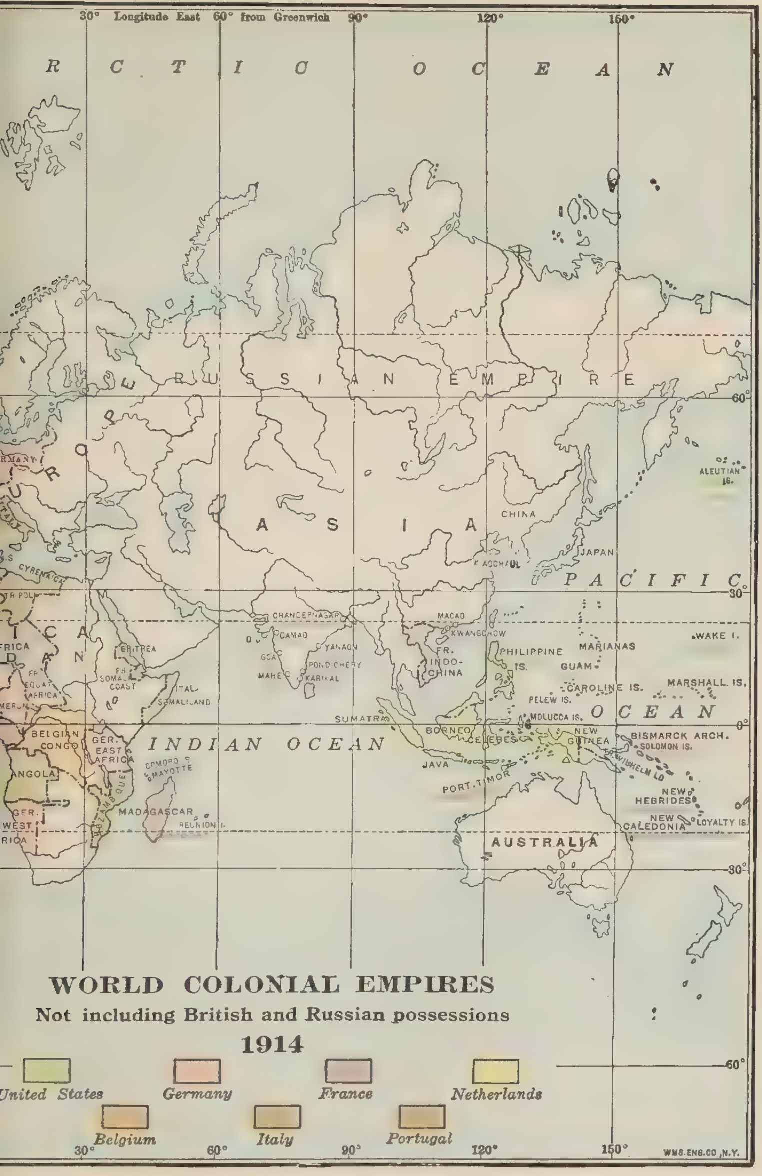
266. The Expansion of France. — We have already noticed in Chapter IV that the French colonial empire, which promised to gain for France the finest basins of the North American continent and a large share of India, was absolutely destroyed in the commercial wars of the eighteenth century and in the Treaty of Paris, 1763 (§ 87). France did not venture again on colonial enterprises until about 1830.[2] After the ruler of Algiers had insulted the French consul, the French immediately began a series of campaigns which resulted in making Algeria into a French colony (§ 405) and really into a part of France. In 1881, largely through the influence of Bismarck (§ 418), the French acquired Tunis, which was desired by the Italians (§ 279), and after 1911 (§ 427) Morocco practically became a French protectorate. From the north and the west France expanded into the interior of Africa and developed

---

[1] All these changes were of course exceedingly objectionable to the Pope and to most clergymen. Although the government had formerly paid the salaries of all priests, thereafter compensation was granted only in the form of temporary pensions to clergymen who had served in a public capacity for about a quarter of a century.

[2] In Napoleon's time she had become interested in affairs in Egypt and had some share in the destinies of that country until she withdrew and left England to take entire control in 1882 (§ 376).


150°
120°
90° Longitude West 60° from Greenwich 30°
ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
ALASKA
Arctic
IC
60°
NORTH AMERICA
UNITED STATES
ST. PIERRE
MIQUELON
ATLANTIC
PORTUGA
AZORES
MADEIRA IS
30°
MIDWAY I
HAWAIIAN IS.
CUBA
OCEAN
PORTO RICO
Tropic of Cancer
VIRGIN IS.
CAPE VERDE IS
CURAÇAO
GUADELOUPE
MARTINIQUE
SENEG
PORT GUINEA
FR.GUINEA
PACIFIC
HOWLAND I
BAKER I.
DUTCH GUIANA
FRENCH GUIANA
0°
Equator
WALLIS ARCH.
FUTUNA
SAMOA IS.
TUTUILA
MANUA
MARQUESAS IS
SOUTH AMERICA
SOCIETY IS
TAHITI
TUAMOTU IS
Tropic of Cap
AUSTRAL IS
GAMBIER IS.
OCEAN
RAPA I.
30°
60°
150°
120°
90°
60°
30°



WORLD COLONIAL EMPIRES

Not including British and Russian possessions

1914

in *North Central Africa* a magnificent colonial empire, which at one time threatened to involve her in difficulties with the English in the upper Nile valley (§ 406).

Madagascar and southeastern Asia.

In southeastern Africa the French had gained a foothold in Mad-a-gas′car, over which a French protectorate was established in 1895. The island was later made into a colony. In *southeastern Asia* the French acquired, under the Second Empire, control of the area known as Cochin-China. To this was added, under the ministry of Ferry,[1] the neighboring area of Ton-kin′.

The new French colonial empire and new alliances.

We can see from this brief survey that within less than a century the French created a colonial empire in two of the continents of the Old World; an empire of magnificent extent, governing as it does an area more than half as large again as the continental United States, and inhabited by a population greater than that of France before the Great War. As we shall see, under the guidance of her skillful foreign minister, Del-cas-sé′, France used her interest in African affairs to arrange in 1904 with Great Britain an understanding, known as the "*Entente*[2] *Cordiale*" (§ 423), which grew into the famous *Triple Entente* (§ 425).

The New France

Difficulties in using a parliamentary system in France.

267. Modern French Political Parties. — Although France was so successful in carrying out her colonial plans and in arranging "alliances" with other Powers, it can easily be seen from the preceding sections that the course of French politics has not run very smoothly under the Third Republic. This has been caused, not by the republican form of government, but in large part by the attempt to use a parliamentary system like that of Great Britain, when the country has not had two large well developed political parties (§ 359).

---

[1] Ferry was called "the Tonkinese."

[2] Ahn-tahnt′.

Method of seating members of a lower house on the Continent.

Following the continental plan those deputies who are most conservative sit upon the right of the presiding officer. In France the "*Right*" is made up of conservatives, including a very few monarchists. Between the conservative "Right" and the radical "*Left*" are seated in the center of the chamber a large number of more or less liberal or moderate groups, no one of which has ever had a very large number of members.

President Poincaré

Dependence of French ministries upon unstable combinations of parties.

The ministries, of which France has had many, have depended as a rule upon a combination of these parties, usually from the center of the chamber. Between 1900–1910, however, the ministries carried through their policy in opposition to the church and in favor of Dreyfus and army reorganization by a "bloc," or *group of parties*, from the center and left. Since the outbreak of the Great War, the government has had somewhat less difficulty, because patriotism has made it possible to unite most of the factions; but changes of ministries have continued to occur with unfortunate frequency. Certainly, since the outbreak of the Great War, in the midst of hardships and privations, the French people have shown themselves noble, heroic, and united. Their wonderful morale since 1914 may be considered the fifth great victory of the republic.

268. Alsace-Lorraine. — The experience of Alsace-Lorraine explains to some extent why France and Europe

The larger problem of Alsace-Lorraine.

oppose the extension of German authority in Europe. Since 1871 *the Alsace-Lorraine question has been a disturbing element not alone among the French, but in general European affairs.* For more than a half century it has been customary among civilized peoples to make no annexations of territories in Europe without the consent of the people of the territory transferred from one country to another.[1] The Prussians had not before, nor have they since, observed this usage of nations.[2] *In its larger aspects,* the Alsace-Lorraine question is therefore a problem of the right of a conquering country to settle a problem of territory and of nationality by force without the consent of the people who are transferred or of other interested parties.

Political, military, and economic problems.

In its narrow aspect, the Alsace-Lorraine question involves three elements, the military and the political, the economic, and the social. (1) One object of the Franco-German war was to secure for Germany a boundary more easily defended than was the upper Rhine. By possession of the forts around Metz, Germany expected to control the gap between the Vosges (Vozh) mountains and the Ardennes (Ar-den′) mountains. (2) Even in 1871 the Germans desired Lorraine because of its rich deposits of iron and its coal beds. Before the Great War most of the iron ore produced in the German Empire came from the provinces torn from France. It is small wonder that the Germans wanted to have, and now want to keep, territory so valuable. If they had known of the rich supplies of iron still farther west and north, they would not have been so moderate in their demands for territory in 1871.

---

[1] See § 239. In 1859 the French took a plebiscite before annexing Savoy.

[2] As the delegates from Alsace-Lorraine protested in the German Reichstag, at the time of their admission in 1874, "If, in times remote and comparatively barbarous, the right of conquest has sometimes been transformed into effective right; if, even to-day, it is upon ignorant and savage peoples, nothing of this sort can be applied to Alsace-Lorraine. It is at the end of the nineteenth century, of a century of light and progress, that Germany conquers us, . . . has reduced us to slavery."

The question of race, language, and culture.

(3) The social and racial problem is one of very great interest. The Germans maintain that Alsace and Lorraine were formerly parts of the Holy Roman Empire and were therefore "German," but even Germany proves they are not, for since 1871 they have been treated as conquered territory.[1] The *people* of the provinces are not in any true sense Teutonic, and in 1871 in *language, culture, and interests,* practically all of the million and a half Alsatians and Lorrainers were French. In a half century the severe methods used by Germany to make the provinces really German have not destroyed the influence of France before 1871. When a Prussian officer at Sa-verne[2] in 1913 made an unprovoked attack upon a lame cobbler, absolutely unarmed, he typified the attitude of the Germans toward the provinces and toward all peoples who stand in their way. In Alsace-Lorraine and elsewhere Germany has lived up to her faith that might makes right, but in Alsace-Lorraine and elsewhere France and the rest of the world have thought otherwise.

Different kinds of lands.

269. Land and People. — Without Alsace-Lorraine, France has an area three fourths that of the state of Texas, and somewhat smaller than that of Germany before the Great War. Her population has never exceeded 40,000,000, considerably less than two thirds that of the German Empire in 1910. A large part of her *land* is suitable for agriculture, on which the majority of the people depend for a living. There are some *forests,* particularly in the southwestern part. A few deposits of *coal* and *iron* are to be found in southern France and in the western part of the country; far more valuable are those in the northeast, on the borders of Germany, Luxemburg, and Belgium.

---

[1] Before 1911 they sent no representative to the German Bundesrath, and their fifteen members in the Reichstag have only limited power. Not until 1911 did the people of these provinces have any real self-government.

[2] Since 1911 there has been more friction between the army and the people. For example, at Saverne in 1913 a trouble between an upstart lieutenant and the populace caused so much trouble that the matter was brought before the Reichstag, but the right of the army to do about as it pleased was admitted if not upheld.

City and country folk.

Unlike England and Germany, France is not a country of great cities. Before the war Paris had about 3,000,000 inhabitants; but, aside from *Paris, Marseilles* and *Lyons* were the only large French cities. The small cities were numerous, but in general they were old and have grown very slowly, even during the last half century. Most of the people in France therefore live in the country.

Difference between character and reputation of the French people.

These French people are among the most patient, industrious, and thrifty to be found anywhere in the world. Formerly they had a reputation for frivolity and fickleness; but it undoubtedly arose from superficial observations of travelers who were but slightly acquainted with the boulevards of the capital, or from equally superficial studies of historians, to whom the frequent changes in French cabinets were proof that the French did not know their own minds.

Agricultural products.

270. Occupations. — As explained in section 202, half of the men of France own farms. Of necessity most farms are small. Among agricultural products, wheat, wine, and *potatoes* occupy a prominent place. For its size the country is one of the famous *wheat*-growing areas of the world.[1] On the slopes of her river valleys, notably the Meuse (Mus), and the Mo-selle′ in northeastern France, the Ga-ronne′ in the southwest, and the Rhone in the south, there are extensive vineyards, from the grapes of which very fine *wines* have been made.[1]

---

[1] In fact, during a large part of her history, France has exported considerable quantities of wheat. During the twentieth century, however, she imported, for the use of people in some sections, as much as other sections sent to foreign countries.

Manufactures. Industrial centers and districts.

For the skill of her hand workers France has always been famous. Even after the industrial revolution introduced machinery and power for the manufacture of goods, her artisans specialized in fine work, preferring quality to quantity. Yet some centers are also famous for the volume of their manufactures.

THE BOURSE, PARIS

Evidences and value of French thrift.

271. The Banker of Europe. — The Middle Ages had very little free capital for investment in industries, even on a small scale. From the time of the Fuggers and Jacques Cœur[2] the amount of *capital* increased somewhat, particularly after the industrial revolution began to create enough wealth to leave a real *surplus*. Even then,

---

[1] The wine of the region around Reims and Verdun, matured in the grottoes of that limestone region, took its name champagne from the old county in which most of the grapes are grown.

[2] E. E. C., §§ 660–661.

France did not have the amount of capital which England possessed; for she was obliged to depend upon the *savings* of her thrifty and fairly prosperous farmers. Within two years after the close of the Franco-Prussian War the loans of these savings by the people made it possible to pay the huge German indemnity of a billion dollars (§ 254). The *thrift* of which this gave evidence has been a characteristic of most Frenchmen during the last century. Where other nations have devoted their attention to large-scale industry and to the creation of great quantities of raw materials or finished products, the French nation has gone on in its own quiet, unobtrusive way, producing and saving, a little at a time, but an immense quantity in the aggregate.

French loans and other investments.

Among the investments which these thrifty peasants and other Frenchmen made outside of France is *the purchase of bonds of foreign governments*.[1] In addition, *they invested a large sum in foreign stocks*, some in Russia, some in Germany, some in Great Britain, some in America, and a very large amount indeed in the African colonies of France. It is probable that the total amount of the foreign holdings or investments of the French people before 1914 amounted to nearly ten billion dollars.

Pioneer work of the French protective legislation.

272. Social Reform. — In some respects more progressive than any other European peoples, in others the French have been considerably more conservative. Although France had a law for the protection of women and children in mines thirty years before any other country in Europe (§ 213), and although laws for the benefit of workingmen were passed under the Second Empire (§ 249) years before Bismarck instituted a more comprehensive system of protective labor legislation in Germany (§ 296), nevertheless modern French laws for the protection of workers do not go so far as those of either Great Britain or Germany.

---

[1] Chief among these are the loans made to Russia since the formation of the Dual Alliance in 1891 (§ 422). The total loans made by French people to the Russian government have amounted to more than two billion dollars.

Social legislation of the present.

In a great many instances the French have depended upon voluntary organization for reforms which in other countries, including the United States, have been undertaken by the governments (§§ 486–491). Insurance against accidents is handled by voluntary organizations of workmen, as is insurance against sickness. On the other hand, the state bears the burden of a system of old age pensions for all those poor but worthy persons over seventy years of age who need public help.

French families and standards of living.

273. Characteristics and Spirit. — France has been noted in recent years for the slow growth of her population. This is easily explained: most French families are landowners, and the income from each small farm is not sufficient to maintain a high standard of living for a large family. Among people of the upper class there is a laudable desire to give a high school education to every son, and whenever possible to prepare a son for a government position. At the death of the parents, if there were a large number of children, it would be necessary to subdivide and re-subdivide farms that are already rather small, too tiny for the proper support of many persons.[1]

Morale, courage, and loyalty.

The admiration of the world was aroused by the ability shown by the French during the first year of the war to face with courage and without loss of spirit an enemy that broke far into their country. We have been amazed by the readiness of the French women, formerly sheltered and protected, to take up the work of the men who have been called to the front. Cheerfully and without complaint they have gone as workers into shop or street car; very frequently they have done the heavy work in the fields.

---

[1] The French methods of arranging marriages through parents would not appeal to Americans, but it seems to have worked well in France.

The French excel in the fine arts; for that reason they have been for centuries leaders in styles and in the social graces. In art, in literature, and in science they have made notable contributions. Possibly the French Academy of forty immortals is the most distinguished body of men in the world to-day. The leadership of those Frenchmen in the refinements of life is typical of France's position among the nations.

French leadership in the fine arts.

ITALY SINCE 1870

274. The Government of Italy. — Southeast of France, and associated with her because of similarities of race, language, religion, civilization, and general interests, "beyond the Alps," lies Italy. Although only a half century old, the modern Italian kingdom is treated as one of the Great Powers. This position she has maintained, however, with considerable difficulty, because in population, and particularly in wealth and resources, she is outranked by all other members of the great alliances.

Italy as a Power.

Outwardly at least the government of Italy resembles that of Great Britain. Nominally, the king possesses very great power; actually, he has comparatively little share in the government of the country. He appoints a *premier* and other ministers who exercise considerable influence and are responsible not to him but to the parliament, that is, to the Chamber of Deputies or lower house. He also appoints, for life, members of the Senate or upper chamber of the Italian parliament. The *Italian cabinet* does not have as much authority as the British ministry (§ 359), after which it is modeled, and the *Senate* may be compared rather closely with the House of Lords, which in recent years has lost most of its old influence.

The Italian cabinet and Senate.

Italy is governed to a very large extent by the *Chamber of Deputies*, a body of about five hundred members, elected for a period of not more than five years by all men over

The lower house of the Italian parliament.

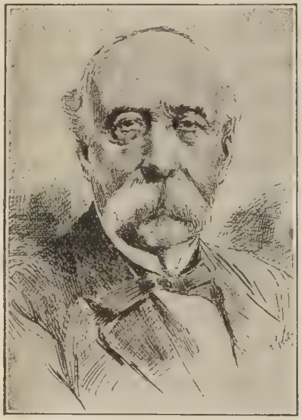
thirty, in addition to those between twenty-one and thirty who have served in the army, or who can read or write.

Difficulties in maintaining ministries.

Since the unification of Italy, there have been a large number of political parties or factions. In consequence ministerial government in Italy has shown the same characteristics as in France (§ 260). It has been very easy in Italy, as in France, to overturn any ministry; it has been more difficult to continue one in power, chiefly because there have been, not two well-organized parties, but many distinct factions.

Politicians and Crispi the imperialist.

275. Problems and Politics. — The political history of Italy since unification in 1871 does not present many events of particular interest to foreigners. One is impressed, of course, with the fact that a kingdom created within so few years out of so many separate states has really succeeded in remaining united and carrying out a unified policy, without the use of the army or any other form of force. In the early years of the kingdom its politics and policies were controlled by a group of rather conservative statesmen from the Po valley, but since 1876 the more radical politicians, most of whom have come from southern Italy, have been more often in power.[1] Although each



CRISPI

---

[1] Before Crispi's time *De-pre'tis* had shown that it was possible to hold together ministries supported by political groups or factions, but he did this through wholesale bribery and misuse of political influence more disgraceful than that employed a century and a half earlier by the first real prime minister of England, Walpole (§ 42). After Crispi's time,

of these leaders directed the destinies of Italy for a period of about ten years, only one name need be remembered, that of *Cris'pi,* a warm-blooded and capable politician. Crispi was chiefly noted for his interest in the Triple Alliance (§ 418) with Germany and Austria, and for his imperialist ideas. He was exceedingly anxious that Italy should become a great colonizing power.

Seizure of the Pope's temporal possessions by the Italian king.

276. The Quirinal and the Vatican. — On the twentieth of September, 1870, a few weeks after the French troops were withdrawn from the Papal States (§ 240), the Italian forces entered Rome. The Pope not only protested against this seizure of his territories, but he shut himself up in his palaces and held himself as the "*prisoner of the Vatican.*"[1] He called upon Catholic rulers to free him from the oppressor; furthermore, he insisted that no Catholic prince should ever visit the king of Italy, so long as the Italian monarch kept the temporal possessions of the Holy See. Ambassadors were sent to, and received from, all Catholic princes except the King of Italy.

Differences between Italy and the papacy.

Under the conservative rule of Pius IX, and even under his distinguished successor, Leo XIII, a Catholic in good and regular standing was not allowed to take active part, as voter or officeholder, in the Italian government. In 1905, after Pius X became Pope, this prohibition was removed, but cordial relations between the kingdom and the papacy were not established.

It is natural that the Pope should find his chief inter-

---

and during most of the years of the twentieth century, the affairs of Italy were directed by an adroit politician, *Giolitti* (Zhi-o-lit'ti).

[1] The Italian Parliament proceeded to pass an act, called the "*Law of Papal Guarantees,*" which recognized the Pope as a sovereign prince. That law stated what powers could rightfully be exercised by the Pope as a sovereign. It provided that a sum of money, about $650,000 a year, should be paid by the Italian government to the papacy as a substitute for the revenues which the Pope would have had from lands taken from him by the Italians. The Pope has always refused to accept any part of this sum.

International position of the papacy.

national friend in the ruler of that Catholic country which was most hostile to Italy; but the Holy See has always sought to occupy in international controversies a disinterested position which would give it opportunity to use its unexampled moral prestige on the side of peace, justice, and right. Especially during the pontificate of Leo XIII (1878–1903) the papacy wielded a great international moral influence.

POPE LEO XIII

Geographical conditions and resources.

277. Natural Resources and Agriculture. — The area of Italy is about two thirds that of the State of California.[1] Like that state, it possesses several mountain ranges which reduce greatly the amount of desirable agricultural land. Outside of the fertile Po basin and a few other river valleys, Italy is not well adapted to ordinary agriculture, although the sunny hillslopes are suitable for the growth of the vine. Italy has always been famous for her vineyards. Because of the mountains and numerous streams, there is a great amount of undeveloped waterpower, but the deposits of coal and iron and other minerals are neither numerous nor large.

---

[1] The population of Italy is more than one third that of the United States. Since food land is relatively scarce, and large industrial cities are not numerous, the people are forced to work hard for a living, and Italy has devoted herself to the raising of those crops which require labor rather than land. Sixty per cent of the people before the Great War depended upon agriculture for a living, but of these only three or four hundred thousand cultivated farms of their own; the others were tenants, or, far more frequently, laborers in the vineyards or on the extensive plantations of wealthy land owners. These large estates may be compared with the "Latifundia" of the later Roman Empire (E. E. C., § 409).

Different agricultural products.

Wheat is by far the most important single crop of the country, although maize or *Indian corn* is grown in large quantities. In fact, in some parts of Italy the people depend upon corn rather than upon wheat for food. A fair percentage of the wheat is made up into favorite Italian dishes, such as macaroni and spaghetti. Italian agriculture is not progressive or remarkably successful, as the yield per acre is not much more than one third that of Belgium or Great Britain, and considerably less than half that of Germany; it is about the same as that of Hungary. Aside from cereals, *wine* is the most important single product, although *olive oil* is important, and Sicilian *lemons* have been fairly successful in the years they have been able to meet the competition of those from California.

Retarded industrial development.

278. Industrial Development and Taxation. — During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, slight progress was made by Italy either in manufactures or trade. The industrial development is far more marked in the north than in the south; for example, even before 1910 Milan had distanced Lyons and had become the chief silk-manufacturing center of the world. In the north, cotton manufactures also developed very extensively.

Growth of foreign trade since 1900.

Foreign trade, which had not prospered particularly before 1900, grew by leaps and bounds during the early years of the twentieth century. This was due in part to the revival of trade with France, with whom a favorable commercial treaty was made through the influence of the great French foreign minister, Delcassé.

Problems of finance and migration.

Italy is poor compared with many of the other great Powers, and her national wealth and income are limited; but she was expected to maintain a large army and navy for the Triple Alliance (§ 418), in addition to the necessary expenses of internal government. It was therefore necessary to levy *heavy taxes* which frequently took from one fifth to one half of the total produce of the soil. This heavy taxation, coupled with the rapid increase in the population, has been partly responsible for the *extensive emigration* from Italy to other countries, particularly to the United States and Argentina.[1]

Alliance (1882–1915) with Germany and Austria.

279. Foreign Affairs. — In this connection we need mention only a few changes in Italian foreign policies, because they are treated at greater length elsewhere. In 1882 Italy found herself quite isolated; gladly she renewed her friendship with Prussia, and of necessity made peace with her old enemy Austria, by joining *the Triple Alliance.* She remained a member of the alliance until 1915. It gave her powerful friends, but it left her with heavy debts.

Colonies in eastern Africa.

Her imperialist plans, fostered particularly by Crispi, would have included Tunis if that state had not been seized by the French before the Italians were ready for colonial expansion (§ 404). It did lead the Italians to seek colonies on the south end of the Red Sea and still farther south in So-ma′li-land, colonies which they had hoped to extend inland over the fertile plateaus of Ab-ys-sin′i-a.[2]

Colonies in northern Africa.

In 1911 the Italians proceeded to make war upon Turkey with the avowed intention of acquiring *Tripoli and Cy-re-na′i-ca.* They gained those two Turkish provinces, and temporarily held some Ægean Islands and retained a foothold on the south coast of Asia Minor.

---

[1] Although the gross emigration amounted in one year to nearly eight hundred thousand, about half of the Italian emigrants usually return to the home country with the profits of a season in Argentina or from a few years in the United States. Consequently most of the Italians in the United States have located in cities of the northeastern coast states.

[2] These plans were wrecked by the overwhelming defeat of the Italian forces at A′do-wa by Men′e-lek, king of Abyssinia, in 1896.

The problem of North *vs.* South.

280. Some Present Problems. — One of Italy's problems grows out of *the radical differences between the North and the South.* The North is well developed and economically fairly rich and prosperous, but the South is poorer and less orderly, and is inhabited by a race quite different from the people of the North. The union of these two dissimilar sections, with their different temperaments, interests, and outlooks, has been and will continue to be a serious problem.

Illiteracy and new educational laws.

When Italy was united, three quarters of her people could not read and write; at the present time only half of the Italians are illiterate, and not more than one third of the men are unable to read and write. The great preponderance of illiteracy is in the South, where the schools are inferior. The government of the communes or local districts provides *primary education*, but the law insists upon only three years' attendance and it is very laxly enforced.[1]

"Italia irredenta" and control of the Adriatic.

One of the most interesting and important problems of Italy is that embraced in the phrase "*Italia irredenta,*" or unredeemed Italy. In 1866, when Venetia was added to the kingdom (§ 240), Austria did not give up her hold on the upper valleys of the A'di-ge river, known as *the Trenti'no.* This she still holds. Besides the Italians living in the Trentino there are a great many, possibly a million or more, to be found in Is'tri-a and Dal-ma'tia or other provinces on the northern or eastern shores of the Adriatic. Italy feels that she must regain these alien territories which are still inhabited by Italians. She believes also that her national success depends upon her real control of the Adriatic Sea. She therefore desires control of *Al-ba'ni-a* in the Balkan region, and of most if not all of the excellent harbors on the east Adriatic coast north of Albania.

---

[1] There are no proper means for the preparation of teachers, and consequently the instruction given in these schools is chiefly of an inferior type. There are some private schools attended by girls.

Italy in the Great War.

Italy did not enter the Great War until near the end of the first year of conflict, partly because she had been allied with Germany and Austria and was unwilling to fight with them against the Entente Allies, partly because she was not ready, and partly because in the war she wished first and foremost to regain "Italia irredenta" and secure control of the east Adriatic shore. Even after she made war on Austria, she did not ally herself with the Entente Powers; to a large extent before December, 1917 (§ 442), she played a lone hand in the war game of chance, although in 1915 she signed the "Pact of London" and agreed not to make peace until the other enemies of Germany were ready.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM

Holland (1579–1815).

281. Holland in the Nineteenth Century. — Most of us will recall[1] that soon after the Reformation, the Dutch people, most of whom were Protestants, revolted against the narrow religious policy and unjust taxes and commercial measures of the Spanish government, to which all the provinces of the Netherlands previously belonged. In 1648 the independence of the Dutch Republic was acknowledged in the Peace of Westphalia.[2] During the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era many changes occurred in the Netherlands, and most of the time the Dutch and Belgian Netherlands were closely allied with France.

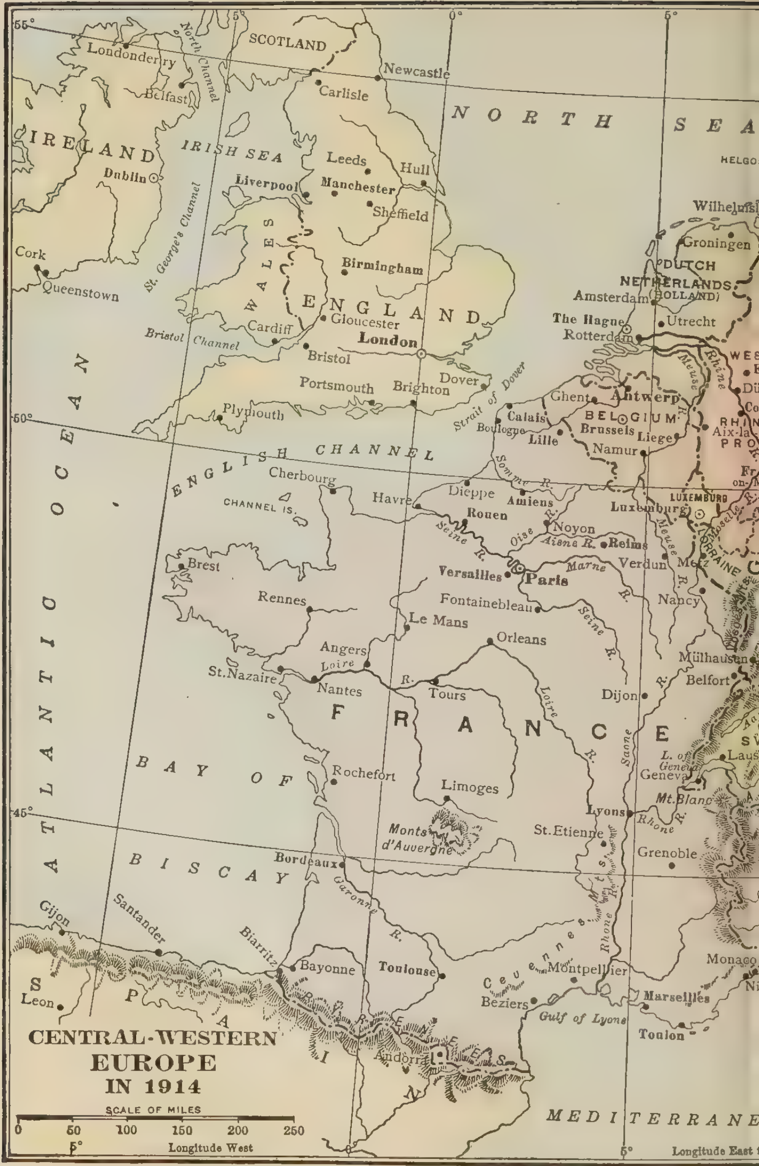
Status of the Netherlands in 1815.

After the overthrow of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna sought to compensate Holland for the numerous Dutch colonies which had been seized and retained by Great Britain (§ 171), by uniting under the king of Holland the whole of the Netherlands, Belgian as well as Dutch. By

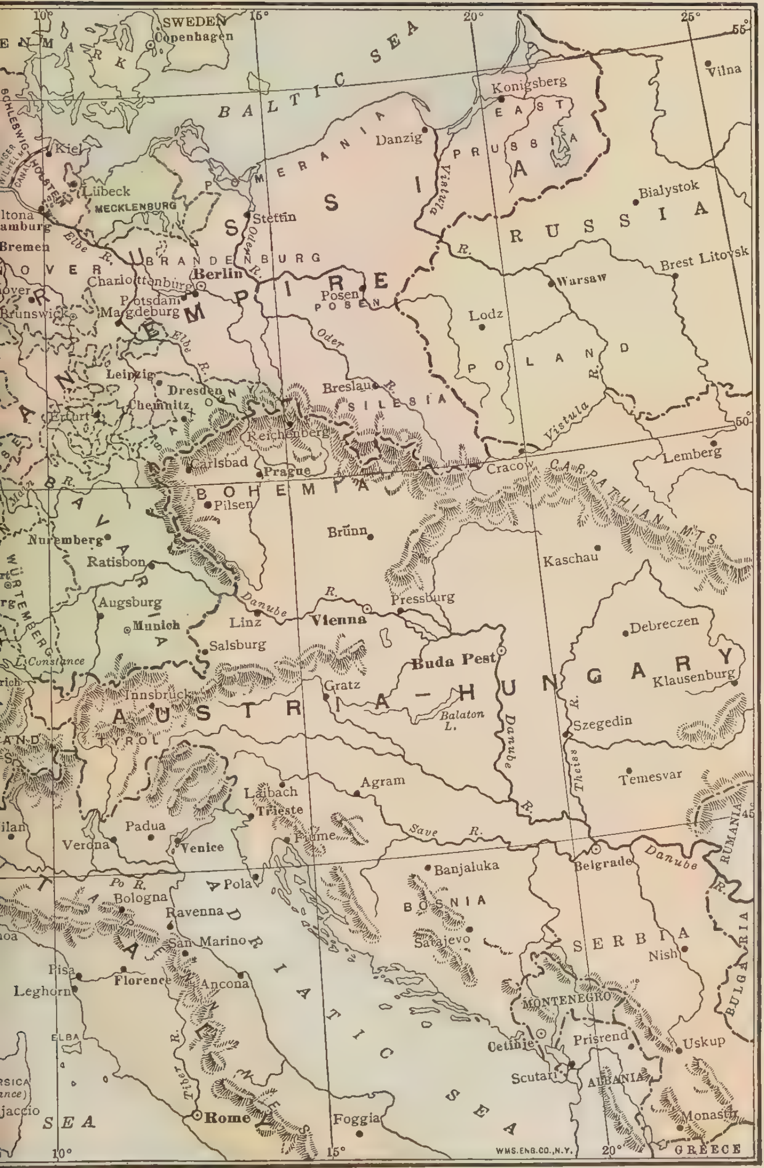
---

[1] E. E. C., §§ 694–696.

[2] E. E. C., § 707.



CENTRAL-WESTERN EUROPE IN 1914


10°
15°
20°
25°
55°
50°
45°
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
DENMARK
BALTIC SEA
Konigsberg
EAST PRUSSIA
Vilna
Danzig
POMERANIA
Vistula
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN
KAISER WILHELM CANAL
Kiel
Lübeck
MECKLENBURG
Altona
Hamburg
Bremen
Stettin
Oder R.
Bialystok
RUSSIA
R.
Elbe R.
BRANDENBURG
HANOVER
Berlin
Brest Litovsk
Charlottenburg
Warsaw
Posen
POSEN
Potsdam
Brunswick
Magdeburg
GERMAN EMPIRE
Lodz
Oder
Elbe R.
POLAND
R.
Leipzig
Breslau
R.
Dresden
SILESIA
SAXONY
Chemnitz
Erfurt
Vistula
Reichenberg
Carlsbad
Cracow
Lemberg
Prague
CARPATHIAN MTS.
Main R.
BOHEMIA
Pilsen
Brünn
Nuremberg
BAVARIA
Kaschau
Ratisbon
WÜRTEMBERG
Augsburg
R.
Pressburg
Danube
Linz
Vienna
Debreczen
Munich
Salsburg
L. Constance
Buda Pest
Klausenburg
Zurich
Gratz
Innsbruck
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Balaton L.
TYROL
Danube
R.
Szegedin
SWITZERLAND
Theiss
Temesvar
Agram
Laibach
Trieste
R.
Milan
Padua
Save R.
Verona
Venice
Fiume
Belgrade
Danube
RUMANIA
Po R.
Pola
Banjaluka
R.
Bologna
BOSNIA
Ravenna
ADRIATIC SEA
Genoa
San Marino
Sarajevo
SERBIA
Nish
BULGARIA
ITALY
APENNINES
Pisa
Florence
Ancona
Leghorn
MONTENEGRO
ELBA
R.
Cetinje
Prisrend
Uskup
CORSICA (France)
Tiber R.
Scutari
ALBANIA
Ajaccio
Rome
Foggia
Monastir
SEA
10°
15°
20°
GREECE
WMS.ENG.CO.,N.Y.

the Treaty of 1815, not only was the *independence* of the new kingdom of the Netherlands guaranteed by the five great European Powers, but for the first time the *neutrality* of a small kingdom with powerful neighbors was also guaranteed.

Economic and political changes, 1830–1890.

After the separation of Belgium in 1830 (§ 283), the Dutch prospered, as their foreign commerce continued to grow. At the time of the revolutionary movement of 1848 (§§ 218–225), the Dutch people forced their king to grant them a new constitution. This document gave them a States-General chosen entirely by themselves, and gave to the States-General some real power in legislation as well as taxation. Furthermore, it made the king's ministers responsible to the parliament. Very little was done, however, at that time to extend the franchise to the common people. The suffrage laws passed in the late nineteenth century were somewhat more liberal, but even at the present time nearly half of the men of Holland are without the right to vote.

Holland and her colonial empire.

282. Holland in Recent Years. — Under the rule since 1890 of her present exceedingly popular queen, Wilhelmina, Holland has made progress.[1] At the beginning of the Great War, the possessions of the Dutch Netherlands included, in addition to the area we call Holland, which has more than six million inhabitants, an extensive colonial empire. Many colonies were in the East Indies, including the large island of Java, and the subject population was about three quarters that of the colonial empire of France.

The problem of Holland in the Great War.

The location of Holland has made her an important factor, although not an active participant, in the Great War. Before war broke out, Holland had reorganized her military forces; since that time she has been willing, so far as the Allies permit, to furnish foodstuffs and other materials which the Germans need. Her position has at no time been an enviable one, because it has been practically impossible to maintain strict neutrality. In fact, neutrality such as is desired by the Allies would of necessity give offense to the Germans, and neutrality which would be satisfactory to Germany would be construed by the Allies to be coöperation with Germany.

---

[1] In 1815 the kingdom of Holland was united with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, south of Belgium. However, when the present queen, Wilhelmina, came to the throne, Luxemburg was separated from Holland and has since been ruled by her own dukes and duchesses.

Queen Wilhelmina

Failure of attempt to unite Holland and Belgium.

283. The Independence of Belgium. — The union of Belgium with the Dutch Netherlands lasted only from 1815 until 1830. The reasons for this were numerous.[1] The two peoples had little in common, since the Belgians are Catholics, speak French or Flemish, and are interested in agriculture and industry rather than in fishing and commerce. In spite of the fact that the Belgians had more than sixty per cent of the people, they selected only half the members of the new parliament; and the king, a prince of the Dutch house of Orange, was able to carry through many measures which were particularly favorable to the Dutch people. The Belgians were especially aroused by an attempt in 1822 to make Dutch the official language of the whole kingdom.

In 1830 they took advantage of the disorder created by the revolution in France (§ 216) to protest vigorously against Dutch rule. After several months of controversy, they declared their independence of Holland. Twice a Dutch army failed to subdue the Belgian provinces, a feat which would have been accomplished but for foreign intervention. In fact, Russia and Prussia wanted to come to the help of the Dutch in order to maintain the treaty arrangement of 1815, but France and England objected. With the aid of French armies the Dutch were driven back and Belgium's independence was established. In 1839 her independence was admitted by Holland, and the same year *Belgian neutrality was guaranteed by treaty agreements of the five great Powers, including Austria and Prussia.*

---

[1] E. E. C., § 694.

Independence (1830) and neutrality (1839) of Belgium.

284. The Problem of Belgium before the Great War. — Unlike Holland, Belgium contains large deposits of coal and some iron. In consequence an industrial district has grown up in the central and southeastern part of the country. Liége (Li-azh′) is the best known of the manufacturing centers. Since, however, Belgium has a large amount of fertile soil, her people very wisely have specialized in agriculture of an intensive type, that is, in the cultivation on small farms of fruits and vegetables and other crops. In this way Belgium has been able to feed a population considerably larger than that of Holland, on a somewhat smaller area.[1] She has been able also to develop a very large foreign commerce, much of which she has carried on for the use of her own people, but nearly half of which, largely through the port of Antwerp, has consisted in the transportation of goods between the Rhine valley and the outside world.

Industries, agriculture, and commerce.

As Antwerp and other Belgian coast towns have been particularly desired by the commercial classes of west Germany, Belgium has occupied a position of danger between the countries of the two great alliances. Because of the fear that she might be invaded by Germany, she

The menace of Germany before 1914.

---

[1] Before 1914 the food importations, however, exceeded food exports.

erected a series of powerful fortresses close by her finest industrial district, notably at Liége. In addition, she began before the Great War to reorganize her army in order that she might be in a better position to safeguard her independence and to maintain her neutrality. Knowing that Germany had made plans for a possible invasion of Belgium in case of a general war,[1] she consulted with British and French statesmen regarding means by which she could maintain her territorial integrity.

Part of heroic little Belgium

285. Belgium and the Great War. — It is impossible in a single paragraph to estimate the part played by heroic little Belgium in the Great War. Most people recall those terrible first weeks in which the German drive through Belgium on Paris (§ 438) was delayed by the small Belgian army and by the siege, for several days, of Liége and Na-mur′, thereby giving the French and English forces an opportunity to mobilize. The rapid movements of the Germans, and the technical skill of their engineers and artillerymen,

© *Underwood and Underwood*

ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS

---

[1] Belgium was not only coveted by the Germans because she would be an advantage to them commercially, but also because she controlled an immense area in the center of the African continent (§ 403). If the Germans could have acquired this Belgian Congo, they would have united their colonies, that is, the colony of German East Africa on the Indian Ocean with that of the Kamerun on the Atlantic coast.

enabled them to conquer the country with but little delay, forcing the Belgian king, Albert, and his armies to seek shelter in northern France.

Belgian losses.

The Belgian population was aroused to frenzy by the brutality of German invaders, and by the excesses and atrocities which make one of the most unpleasant chapters in modern European history. Among the burdens thrust upon Belgium were the indemnities placed upon cities and communities which had the temerity to oppose the German invaders. The least of her losses was the deportation of men into Germany. During these terrible years a praiseworthy attempt was made by the Belgians, the American people, and the Allies to keep the civilian population of the country from actual starvation. The story of Belgium in relation to the Great War belongs, of course, not to Belgian history but to that of Europe.[1]

Organization and government of the Third French Republic.

286. Summary. — Organized after Sedan (§ 254), the Third French Republic in 1871 made peace with Germany and overthrew with terrible bloodshed the Paris commune, which wished to be practically independent of the French government. Some years later, France organized a republican constitution, which provided for a government with president, responsible ministry, a Senate, later elected entirely by popular vote, and a Chamber of Deputies, somewhat similar to the English House of Commons.

Experience under republican rule (1879–1914).

The creation of the French republic was a long, slow, difficult process. The first president was really a monarchist, and the Senate at first was non-republican in character. In time both of these became a real part of the French republic, but the enemies of the government were numerous and active. Besides the royalists and clericals, there was a discontented army group which supported Boulanger, but he failed them in the crisis. Later, the enemies of the republic fought out the Dreyfus affair, but when Dreyfus was finally acquitted in the third trial, the republicans triumphed over all their foes. One of the greatest difficulties of the French government arose out of the church question. It was settled by limiting the field of church schools, and by the separation of Church and State. During the last part of the nineteenth century, France acquired a large colonial empire in northern, western, and central Africa, and in southeastern Asia. Since the outbreak of the Great War, the French people have proved themselves united; they have won the admiration of the world by the spirit with which they have overcome difficulties and have met all dangers.

---

[1] See Chapter XXII.

The new France.

France does not have two great parties, and numerous changes in cabinets have given the erroneous impression that the French parliamentary system is a failure. Her most acute international problem has been that of Alsace-Lorraine. The French are preëminently devoted to agriculture, to hand industries, and to those forms of manufacture which require skill and taste. They are a patient, hard-working people who are anxious to maintain good standards of living. Because of their extraordinary thrift, they have made large investments at home and abroad, in the bonds of other countries and in stable business enterprises, especially in French colonies.

Italy.

Italy is ruled by a king and parliament. The upper house is made up of nobles, and the lower of deputies elected by popular vote. Italy has " responsible government," and her greatest statesman after 1871 was Crispi, the imperialist. The problem of the relations of the Italian government to the papacy has been serious, but a fairly generous spirit now prevails, although the Pope is still the " prisoner of the Vatican." Italy does not have a large amount of arable land, but she has a vast number of hard-working peasants. She, therefore, raises large quantities of wheat and Indian corn, and from her hillside vineyards produces great quantities of wine. Italy joined the Triple Alliance largely for the purpose of protecting herself at home and abroad. She has gained in Africa several colonies, notably Tripoli. Italy did not enter the Great War until 1915; she is anxious to get back her unredeemed territory, and desires to control the Adriatic.

Holland and Belgium.

The Congress of Vienna created a greater Holland, including Belgium, but in 1830 Belgium gained her independence. The political development of Holland has been slow but continuous. In 1848 she obtained a constitution, and later the elective franchise was extended somewhat. Holland has not yet, September, 1918, been drawn into the Great War, but she is in continual difficulties on account of her location on the border of Germany and across the narrow edge of the North Sea from England. The independence and neutrality of Belgium were recognized by five powers: Great Britain, France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Because she is the youngest and smallest of the neutral nations in the disputed strip of the Rhine valley, she has been exposed to dangers from her near neighbors, especially Germany. Since the fourth day of August, 1914, the story of Belgium has been a record of invasion, violence, and outrage, which has won her the sympathy of the world.

General References

Hazen, *Modern European History*, 384–415, 522–526.

Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, 131–141, 208–238.

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 331–378, 389–396, 439–442.

Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 187–256, 361–372.

Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, II, 343–367, 391–414.

Cambridge Modern History, XII, 91–133, 213–256.

Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 301–403, 517–551.
Lowell, *The Governments of France, Italy, and Germany.*

Wright, *History of the Third French Republic.*
Bracq, *France under the Third Republic.*
Guérard, *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century.*
Poincaré, *How France is Governed.*
Lynch, *French Life in Town and Country.*
Barker, *France of the French.*

Underwood, *United Italy.*
Wallace, *Greater Italy.*
King and Okey, *Italy To-day.*
Zimmern, *Italy of the Italians.*

Rowntree, *Land and Labor.*
Ensor, *Belgium.*
Boulger, *Belgium of the Belgians.*
Boulger, *Belgian Life in Town and Country.*
Boulger, *Holland of the Dutch.*

Topics

THE TERRIBLE YEAR (1870–1871): Hazen, *Modern European History*, 357–360, 384–387; Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 187–194; Guérard, *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century*, 150–159; Wright, *History of the Third French Republic*, 11–42.

PARLIAMENTARY RULE IN FRANCE: Poincaré, *How France is Governed*, 185–204; Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 311–315, 325–334; Lowell, *Governments of France, Italy, and Germany.*

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR: Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 354–357; Guérard, *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century*, 169–172; Hazen, *Modern European History*, 396–400.

ALSACE-LORRAINE: Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*, 1–20; Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 282–287; Fife, *German Empire between Two Wars*, 217–233; Hazen, *Alsace-Lorraine under German Rule.*

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND DEVELOPMENT IN ITALY: Wallace, *Greater Italy*, 141–158; Zimmern, *Italy of the Italians*, 220–235; Underwood, *United Italy*, 194–207; King and Okey, *Italy To-day*, 143–164.

Studies

1. The Chambord fiasco. Wright, *History of the Third French Republic*, 50–56.
2. Policies of the French bourgeoisie republic before 1895. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 345–352.
3. Church and State in France. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 357–361.
4. Expansion of France. Hazen, *Modern European History*, 403–408.
5. French political parties. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 361–367.
6. The French constitution and parliament. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 304–307, 315–319.
7. The ministers. Poincaré, *How France is Governed*, 185–204.
8. French commerce and wealth. Bracq, *France under the Third Republic*, 56–73.
9. The banker of Europe. Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 317–323.
10. Socialism and syndicalism in France. Guérard, *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century*, 205–218.
11. French family life. Barker, *France of the French*, 6–25.
12. Quirinal and Vatican. Wallace, *Greater Italy*, 159–183.
13. Mafia and lynch law. Garlanda, *The New Italy*, 267–277.
14. Italian music. Underwood, *United Italy*, 334–340.
15. A century of Dutch political development. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 517–523.
16. Holland's colonial empire. Boulger, *Holland of the Dutch*, 99–109.
17. National characteristics of the Dutch. Boulger, *Holland of the Dutch*, 236–246.
18. Characteristics of the Belgians. Ensor, *Belgium*, 40–64.
19. Social conditions and agencies in Belgium. Ensor, *Belgium*, 195–221.
20. Belgian home industries. Rowntree, *Land and Labor*, 88–100.

Questions

1. What circumstances led to the organization of the Third French Republic? Compare them with those that produced

the First and Second Republics. What problem arose in connection with the commune, and how was it solved?

2. What groups of monarchists were there, and who was the leader of each? Explain why neither the Count of Paris nor the Count of Chambord became king of France. Explain how the constitution of France was planned for a monarchy, if necessary.

3. Discuss the nature of parliamentary government in France. Show why there are numerous French parties, and explain why it is difficult to keep a complete ministry in power. What was meant by the "bloc" of the early twentieth century?

4. Explain the different problems which the republicans solved in succession in the process of creating a real republic. Show how the monarchists, the clericals, and the radicals interfered with the republican control of the government. Explain how Boulangism threatened the existence of the republic. How did the enemies of Dreyfus help the republicans to gain in power and prestige?

5. What was the relation of Church to State in France before the Third Republic? What had been done regarding education in public and church schools before 1901? Give the provisions of the education act of 1901. Explain the separation of Church and State.

6. Give in the order of their founding, or in good geographical order, all important colonies in the French colonial empire at the outbreak of the Great War. What has been the nature of the support given by the French people to the government and the army in the war against Germany?

7. Why has Alsace-Lorraine been an international problem? Give military and economic reasons why the Germans took it in 1871. How have the Germans refuted their own argument that Alsace and Lorraine were German? In what respects are the two provinces French? What has been the feeling of France toward the "lost provinces"?

8. Name and explain three important characteristics of the French. In what kind of work do they excel, and for what occupations and industries is France most noted? Prove French thrift by citing investments made by the French people in the last half century.

9. Compare the government of Italy with that of Great Britain, noticing similarities and differences. By what means has it been possible to hold groups of Italian political parties

together? Why is there a "prisoner of the Vatican"? Explain the most important events in the relations of the papacy (the Vatican) and the Italian government (the Quirinal).

10. For what kinds of agriculture is Italy especially adapted by nature? Since her supply of labor is large, can these crops or others be grown most successfully? Why has Italian industry developed rather slowly?

11. Explain the connection between heavy taxation in Italy and the Triple Alliance. Name the most important colonies in the Italian colonial empire. What is meant by "Italia irredenta"? What share has Italy had in the Great War?

12. What was Holland in 1815? What difficulty was found in keeping both of the Netherlands under one rule? Why have the Dutch never regained the commercial position they held in the seventeenth century? What progress in government and business has been made by Holland in the last sixty years?

13. When will the first centennial of Belgian independence occur? What countries guaranteed the independence and neutrality of Belgium? Was there any good reason for her fearing either of her two powerful neighbors before 1914?

14. Outline briefly the share which Belgium has played in the Great War. Explain your idea of what should be done with and for Belgium when the present conflict closes.

CHAPTER XIV

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA (1870–1920)

Germany and Her Government

287. Land and People. — From 1871 to 1918 Germany was an Empire. To understand European history during the last fifty years we must understand imperial Germany, her geography, her autocratic government, her history, her ideas, and her policies. We speak of Germany and the German people as a nation, but there are marked differences between different parts of Germany. Geographically, South Germany with its hills is different from Northwest Germany, with its fertile valleys and large deposits of coal and iron. Each in turn is radically different from northeast Germany, from the Elbe River, which has few natural resources besides its soil. The soil, moreover, is sandy, and the plains are much wider than those in the northwestern part of the country. Instead of one Germany, there are three.

South Germany and western Germany.

South Germany, south of the Main River, is Catholic and liberal. Its interests are both agricultural and industrial. *Northwest Germany* is preëminently industrial and commercial. The huge beds of coal and fairly large deposits of iron, which underlie Lorraine, Westphalia, and part of the Rhine district, give raw materials by the use of which the industrial cities of the Rhine valley have grown rich. Most of these manufactures of western Germany have been exported through the Belgian port of Antwerp. Consequently the Germans hoped that in the future they would still be sent through Antwerp, but not a Belgian Antwerp. Many people in South and West Germany do not love the Prussians.

North-eastern Germany.

Northeast Germany is devoted almost exclusively to agriculture. The land is held in large estates, and the *landed proprietors, the junkers,* have furnished most of the nobles who have become officials, high or low, for Prussia and the German Empire; therefore *the junkers have practically ruled both Prussia and Germany.*

Character of the German Empire.

288. Prussia and the German Empire. — *The German Empire* (§ 254) *was a federal state,* made up of twenty-two states,[1] three free cities, and the imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine.

Importance of Prussia in forming and managing the empire.

Two thirds of the area of the empire was included in the kingdom of *Prussia,* which had also nearly two thirds of the inhabitants. Not only was Prussia predominant because of her size and population, but it is literally true that *the recent German Empire had been built up by Prussia and around Prussia.* The proof of this is easily understood if we review the history of the *Zollverein* (§ 241) and the three Wars of 1864 (§ 244), 1866 (§ 246), and 1870–71 (§ 254), undertaken by Prussia, or under the leadership of Prussia, for the unification of Germany.

Use of a policy of "blood and iron" in uniting Germany.

The old "Germany" was simply a name, but after 1871 the German nation was united, and in time it formed the most highly organized power in Europe. This has been due to a policy of "blood and iron"[2] in the creation of a German Empire and of a similar policy in organizing the German people into a consolidated body in which each member lived chiefly, if not solely, for a military state (§ 302). Internally, therefore, Germany has been dominated by Prussianism, that is, a semi-feudal power supported by militarism. This was the force by which Germany was united, and this same Prussianism was the means by which Germany sought to gain control of Europe (§§ 421–425) and to dominate the world (§§ 419–430).

---

[1] Of the twenty-two states, four, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg, were kingdoms. Six were grand duchies and five were duchies. The free towns or cities were Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck.

[2] Since the unification of Germany was accomplished by *a policy of blood and iron* (§ 243), Bismarck's prophecy in 1861 apparently was fulfilled — "Germany does not look for her salvation to Prussia's liberalism, but to Prussia's *power.*"

The government of Prussia.

In order to understand the German Empire before 1919 it is necessary therefore to understand Prussia; in order to study the government of the German Empire, it is necessary first to become acquainted with the government of the kingdom of Prussia. The Prussia of 1914 was ruled under a constitution *granted* by King Frederick William IV in 1850 (§ 225). This constitution did not provide for popular government, nor did it really permit what English-speaking peoples call constitutional government. The head of the state was the king, and the kingship was hereditary in the Hohenzollern line, which had governed Prussia since 1415. The king ruled through a ministry, which was responsible solely to the monarch and could not be forced out of office by the Prussian parliament. Next to the king himself, the most powerful civil official was the *minister of foreign affairs*, who was also known as the minister-president. In crises, civil authority yielded first place to the General Staff and the military leaders.

Comparison of the powers of imperial government and our national government.

289. The Constitution of the German Empire (1871–1918). — The German constitution before 1919 was practically that of the North German Confederation, adopted by the empire in 1871 (§ 247).[1] Germany is much smaller than the United States, and the imperial government controlled a great many matters which in this country are left entirely to the states.[1]

---

[1] When the North German Confederation was formed in 1867, it drew up a constitution (§ 247), which made special provision for admission of the states of South Germany. In 1870 these states made common war with the North German Confederation against France; consequently, in November of that year they agreed by treaty to join the Confederation, and in 1871 the constitution was completed and ratified. In the meantime at Versailles, January 18, 1871, in the Hall of Mirrors

Control of German military forces by Prussia.

The German Empire had a navy, but, wonderful as it may seem, *the empire had no army* and no minister of war. The Prussian minister of war really served as an imperial minister, because practically all of the states allowed their armies to be organized on the Prussian model and to be directed by *the Prussian General Staff* and other military authorities. It must not be thought from this summary that the separate states of the empire did not govern themselves.[2]

Dual position of the executive head of Germany.

290. Government under the Old German Empire. — Although the head of the German Empire bore the title of emperor, he was really the president of the Federation. The old constitution of Germany (1871–1918) provided that whoever was king of Prussia should by virtue of that fact be president of Germany, with the title of *emperor*. The kaiser directed the military affairs of Prussia and therefore of Germany; foreign affairs were likewise in his hands. In administering the immense powers entrusted to him, the kaiser was irresponsible; that is, he could not be removed and he could not be

---

of the French monarch, Louis XIV, William, king of Prussia and president of the North German Confederation, was proclaimed German emperor or kaiser (§ 254).

[1] The German government had charge of foreign affairs, but it also had real control of the railways of the empire. Regulation of labor, in America a subject left to the states, in Germany was under the imperial authorities. In the United States, laws in regard to civil rights and laws which define crime or provide for the punishment of criminals are state laws; in Germany, they were under imperial control.

[2] There is an "extensive domain reserved entirely to the states — the determination of their own forms of government, of laws of succession, of relations of Church and State, of questions pertaining to their internal administration; the framing of their own budgets, police regulations, highway laws, and laws relating to land tenure; [and] the control of public instruction." Ogg, *The Governments of Europe*, 205.

Position and work of the chancellor.

punished for his acts. The emperor of course did not exercise these powers in person. By far the most important of his ministers was the *chancellor*, who was appointed by the emperor in fact as well as in theory, and was responsible, not to the imperial parliament, but to the kaiser.

The imperial parliament before 1918.

Before 1918 the *German parliament* was made up of two houses, the Bundesrath and the Reichstag. The real governing, however, was done by the *Bundesrath*, a body of sixty-one members composed of representatives of the princes of the member states or from the senates of the free cities. The lower house, the *Reichstag*, was composed of 397 members elected by popular vote in separate districts. The districts were organized in 1871 and had not been rearranged after that time; in the twentieth century, therefore, the cities were much under-represented. The old Reichstag was little more than an imperial debating society.

Establishment of republics throughout Germany.

291. Transition from Empire to Republic (1918–19). — When the Allies were smashing the German armies on the west front (§ 450) and the revolutionaries were ready to strike at home, *Kaiser William II of Germany* abdicated, November 8, 1918, and Frederick Ebert, leader of the Socialists, was allowed to take control of the government. Ebert was later made provisional president, and a *national constituent assembly* was called to make a constitution for the new Germany. Throughout the country kings and other rulers abdicated voluntarily or were forced to resign; all Germany became republican, most of the states making for themselves new republican constitutions.

The Weimar constitutional assembly.

The members of the national assembly were elected by universal suffrage on January 19, 1919, and met at Wei′mar, February 6, 1920. Several months were spent debating a *new constitution*, which was adopted July 31, and put into effect August 13, 1919, without having been submitted to popular vote. Under this constitution Ebert was inaugurated as president of the German Republic a week later.

General division of legislative powers between nation and states.

292. The New German Constitution and Government. — Under the new constitution Germany is still a *federal state* composed of member states, each of which is a republic or a city with a republican government, and each of which, according to the constitution, must have a republican constitution and government. Under the new arrangement the sphere of the states is somewhat less extensive than it was under the old empire, because *the national government has exclusive right of legislation* over foreign and colonial relations, citizenship, and military affairs as well as other important matters. Civil and criminal law, and labor, are under the national government, as formerly. Such subjects as prevention of poverty, economic regulations, the socialization of national treasures, and economic organizations are brought under the national government. Although education and matters dealing with religion are still controlled by the states, the national government may determine the general principles under which the states regulate or administer those affairs. Unless a subject is under the exclusive control of the national government, however, the member states may act whenever the national government cannot do so, or fails to exercise its powers. Moreover, unless national officials are appointed to enforce the laws of all Germany, they are administered through state officials. For both the states and the nation there is *universal adult suffrage,* and the referendum may be used. Theoretically, therefore, the new Germany possesses popular government of a really modern type.

The German president.

The *president* of the republic is chosen by popular vote for a term of seven years. He has control of foreign affairs, appointment and removal of subordinates, and command of the military forces. He selects his ministers and rules through them. Germany has attempted to adopt responsible or ministerial government to replace the old autocratic government.

The imperial parliament.

The *imperial parliament* is still made up of two houses; but the important body is now the *Reichstag*, whose members are elected from large districts on the principle of proportional representation for a term of four years. The Reichstag is intended to occupy in German government the place which the House of Commons does in that of Great Britain (§§ 358, 359). There is, however, another house, the *National Council*, or Reichsrat. In this each state has at least one vote, and, if a large state, one vote and member for each million inhabitants. National judges obtain their position by appointment for life, but justice is administered through either the national courts or through the state courts, much as is the case in the United States.

Individual civil rights and duties.

The new German constitution seeks to make all persons equal without distinction of birth or sex. There is an interstate citizenship. Particular stress is put upon the importance of marriage and the family, and upon education. Among other *civil rights* is the right to gather in meetings peaceably, a right formerly denied to the Socialists and others. No state church is recognized, but religious freedom is granted. Many of the provisions in the last half of the constitution deal with theoretical principles of justice; they state rights that individuals ought to have rather than necessarily those which they do possess. The influence of German philosophy is shown in these provisions, as was the philosophy of the late eighteenth century in the early Bills of Rights of the American states and in the Declaration of Rights adopted during the French Revolution (§ 129).

Two old political parties.

292. Political Parties. — At the time the empire was established, there were two great parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals, each of which had broken up, however, into two smaller factions. Two of these parties are important to-day, the *Conservative* party proper, which represents the junkers of eastern Germany, the party to which Bismarck belonged, and the *National Liberals*, who desire a more constitutional government and favor the extension of German business.

Two important parties developed after 1875.

Two new important parties arose within the empire soon after its establishment, under what circumstances we shall note very soon. These are known as the *Center*, made up of the voters who favored states rights rather than Prussian centralization of the empire and of those who still believe that the government should not interfere with religious affairs or with the schools under Catholic control. The second large group is known as the *Social Democratic party.* In 1871 it elected only two members to the *Reichstag*, but in 1912 it chose 110 representatives, 20 more than any other party, and cast more than 4,000,000 votes, or about 35 per cent of the total number.

Large number of minor parties.

Since Germany does not have truly constitutional government, it is not necessary for the parties to act in two large groups, as in England or the United States or France. Consequently, there are a large number of *small parties*. Each usually represents some race, such as the Poles, and follows some local leader; possibly it is organized for only a few years, in order to carry out some local policy.

The German Empire in the Nineteenth Century

New uniform business laws for the whole Empire.

294. Necessary Imperial Legislation. — When the German Empire was organized in 1871, it had a constitution and a government, but there were few German or imperial laws. It was necessary therefore, for the parliament to make laws for the whole empire on such subjects as the constitution permitted or the empire needed. The most important of these problems were *economic*. A uniform tariff and a metric system of weights and measures were already in use throughout the *Zollverein*. In 1873 *a system of imperial coinage* was adopted, the mark (about 24 cents) being made the money unit, but gold alone was named as the basis for the money system. A little later *an imperial bank* was created to issue national currency and to take charge of imperial finances. At first the revenues of the empire were furnished chiefly by the member states, but in 1879 Bismarck induced parliament to establish *a protective tariff*, which gave him more revenue, made him less dependent on the states, and helped to build up German industries.

New uniform system of law.

Since the German constitution placed under the imperial authorities many subjects left in America to the states, it was necessary for the imperial parliament to make laws dealing with those subjects. In 1873 it was decided that *German codes* should be drawn up, which should provide brief and uniform laws on all these subjects, including crimes, for the whole empire.

Conflict between Bismarck and the Catholics.

295. Kulturkampf. — It was inevitable that there should be a conflict between Bismarck and his followers, who were determined to consolidate the empire as fully as possible, and large groups that wanted states rights, church schools, and freedom for churches from control by the imperial government. The struggle between these two groups has been dignified by the name Kul-tur′kampf, that is, contest for civilization; for both parties believed that the policies which they advocated represented the highest kultur or civilization. At the very beginning Bismarck announced in no uncertain terms that "to Canossa[1] we shall not go."

The May Laws.

For three successive years, in the month of May, laws were passed to carry out Bismarck's policy. These are popularly known as the "*May Laws.*" The Jesuits and members of similar orders were expelled from Germany. The church courts were forced to allow appeal to imperial courts. No Catholic priest might preach or teach unless he had taken three years' work in a state university and had passed a state examination. All religious legislation must conform to the civil laws. At this time the party known as the Center was organized; it voted against Bismarck's policy persistently, and in the end successfully, because the Centrists were able really to unite with themselves other factions and parties that were opposed to the dominating policy of the Iron Chancellor. Finally, Bismarck, worsted for almost the first time in his career, and fearing the new Socialist party, decided to adopt new policies, and made his peace with the Center. All anti-Catholic laws which he had passed were repealed with the exception of the law providing for civil marriages.

---

[1] See E. E. C., § 530.

Failure of Bismarck.

296. Bismarck and State Socialism. — The Social Democratic party was really organized in 1875, when two Socialist groups united.[1] In 1871 the Social Democratic vote was only a little more than one hundred thousand; six years later it was nearly one half million. This alarmed Bismarck, because he was a conservative of the conservatives, and the Socialist party was composed of the most radical people in German politics. After two attempts had been made to assassinate William I in 1878, Bismarck forced through the parliament several *anti-Socialist laws*, which forbade Socialist meetings, broke up their organization, and in general outlawed the Socialists. These laws were intended to be temporary, but they were kept in force until the Iron Chancellor retired from office

Laws to suppress socialism.

---

[1] One of these groups was made up of followers of Las-salle′ (§ 468); the other was the original Social Democratic party, founded in 1869 by Lieb′knecht and Be′bel.

in 1890. This policy of suppression was not successful, because the Socialists cast nearly three times as many votes in 1890 as they had thirteen years earlier.

Social insurance in Germany (1883–1889).

Bismarck did not depend solely upon repressive measures, for he inaugurated several new policies which would gain for the government the support of the workingman. In 1883 the workmen in certain groups were to be insured against *sickness*, partly by state aid. In 1884 insurance was extended to include *accidents* in dangerous industries. Later, insurance against accidents was extended to practically all workingmen (§ 486). In 1889 parliament was induced, although with great difficulty, to provide insurance against *old age* and incapacity (§ 488). These measures established a rather complete form of paternalism or *State Socialism.*

German emperors since 1871.

297. William II and Bismarck. — William I lived to the age of 90, his reign as kaiser having extended from the establishment of the empire, in 1871, to 1888. He did not attempt to rule, but left the work of governing and uniting Germany to Bismarck. William I was succeeded by his son, who took the title of Frederick III, a man of rare charm and winning personality. As Frederick had been ill for a long time, he reigned only about three months. In turn he was succeeded by his son, William II.

Political ideas and policies of the kaiser.

William II was twenty-eight years of age at the time of his accession. He was strong-minded and impulsive, and anxious to be his own chancellor. He was a true Hohenzollern, for he believed thoroughly in the divine right of kings, an idea which had passed away in England with the flight of James II (§ 37). It was believed that the young kaiser would quickly embroil Europe in war, because of his interest in military affairs and his determination to increase the prestige of Germany.

Germany now had two rulers, the young kaiser and the old chancellor, who were bound to come into conflict.

Dismissal of Bismarck and change from his policies.

In 1890 William demanded the resignation of Bismarck; thereafter he appointed as chancellors men who would do his own bidding. Not only did William II break with the Iron Chancellor, but in time he reversed many of the policies inaugurated by Bismarck. The laws against the Socialists were not renewed. Immediately following Bismarck's resignation, Germany modified her tariff policy. Whereas Bismarck had given almost his whole attention to the consolidation of Germany or to the development of German power and prestige *within Europe, William II was exceedingly interested in international affairs in other parts of the Old World.* He favored the acquisition of colonies, and he exerted his influence to expand Germany's trade. More than all else he favored a great navy, for *he sought first to make Germany a sea power, and then a great world power dominating the Old World and the New* (§ 300).

Courtesy of Punch

DROPPING THE PILOT

Beginnings of economic expansion.

298. Expansion before 1900. — The expansion of Germany started with the growth of foreign trade. The huge indemnity of a billion dollars received from France by the Treaty of Frankfort in 1871 (§ 254) was distributed among people to whom the government owed money. Consequently, it was used very largely for the development of Germany's new industries. Although Germany had not adopted the changes of the industrial revolution to any great extent before 1871, she became within a few years a modern industrial nation. Manufacturing was aided greatly by Bismarck's protectionist policy. During the eighties the Germans began to seek foreign markets. Since they noticed that Great Britain's foreign trade was to a considerable extent with her own colonies, they desired colonies of their own.

Colonies in Africa and exchange of Zanzibar for Helgoland.

Germany acquired *colonies* in South Africa, in East Africa, and also north of the Congo on the west coast, Togoland and Kam′e-run. In 1890 a dispute involving Zanzibar and territory on the East African coast led Germany to surrender her claim to Zanzibar and to a huge slice of territory in eastern Africa to Great Britain in exchange for the island of Hel′go-land, north of Hamburg in the North Sea. Helgoland has since been made into a second Gibraltar.

German possessions in the Far East.

In 1897 (§ 389) difficulties with China led to the seizure of the harbor of Kiaochau and the territory around that port as a German "sphere of influence." The next year a German fleet had a dispute with Admiral Dewey, because the Germans did not wish to see the United States acquire the Philippine Islands. Soon afterwards Germany purchased, from Spain, the Caroline group, the Ladrone group,[1] and some other islands, and by treaty with Great Britain and the United States she obtained the two largest islands in the Samoan group. All German colonies were conquered by the Allies soon after the beginning of the Great War (§ 443).

---

[1] Except Guam transferred to the United States in 1898.

299. The German Naval Program. — Before 1895 the relations of Germany with Great Britain had been comparatively cordial. In that year ill feeling was aroused when the kaiser sent to Oom Paul Krug′er, President of the Trans-vaal′ Republic, a message congratulating him on the capture of the Jameson raiders in South Africa (§ 375).

Growing unfriendliness with Great Britain.

The determination of the kaiser to make Germany a sea power, the desire to foster her growing commerce, and to protect her new colonies and other international interests seemed to her sufficient excuse for a large navy. There had been organized in Germany *a navy league* of influential princes and officials which demanded more battle ships. The league tried to get appropriations from the government. It also had in public places little banks in the shape of ships, in which voluntary contributions were deposited. In 1898 the imperial parliament finally consented to *a new and ambitious naval program.* It authorized nineteen battleships and more than twice as many cruisers. Two years later, at the suggestion of Admiral Von Tir′pitz, since infamous on account of his submarine policy, it doubled the number of battleships and subsequently provided for a larger number of torpedo boats, destroyers, and submarines.

Ambitious naval program.

We shall see later that England justly believes that the safety of the British Isles and the British Empire depends upon her control of the sea. Consequently, England watched with growing alarm the building of a navy by the most aggressive power of the Continent, which already had an immense army. The result was that soon after 1900, since Germany had also organized a *Triple Alliance*, including Austria and Italy (§ 418), England joined her old enemies, France and Russia, in the *Triple Entente* (§ 425) against Germany, whom she now considered her most dangerous and powerful antagonist.

Triple Entente organized against Germany.

TWENTIETH CENTURY GERMANY

Economic development.

300. Twentieth Century Expansion. — Germany's plans for expansion included not only colonies and a great navy, but also control of the world's commerce. In turn the development of Germany economically included the establishment of *a great banking system,* which extended credit to German manufacturers and merchants within the empire and in many foreign countries. It depended even more on *the development of huge shops and factories,* which were carefully fostered by the state. As a rule these were equipped with fine machinery and manned by skilled workers trained in municipal and state technical schools. It was fostered directly by *the rapid growth of German trade* throughout the Old World and New. This development of foreign business was not accidental and haphazard; it was a part of a huge scheme to gain control of the markets of the world. Cheap and inferior goods were

THE PORT OF HAMBURG

able to undersell better products of their rivals. Often goods "made in Germany" were sold cheaper than British or American goods of the same quality, because German banks and the German navy, and in fact the whole scheme of German politics, were used to give her merchants the advantage of her rivals. If German merchants could not compete on equal terms, the government gave them direct help, which enabled them to outbid and undersell their competitors. In these ways, *by "peaceful penetration," before* 1914 *Germany was securing a commercial grip on the world and was paving the way for world domination which was to be political as well as economic.*

Political expansion.

The *area* over which Germany first sought to establish her influence stretched across Europe and part of Asia from *the North Sea to the Persian Gulf*, because it was her plan to reach *India.* During the last years of the nineteenth century, and particularly during the first years of the twentieth, she tried to erect and control *a huge and important railroad system* from the coast of Asia Minor opposite Constantinople *across Asia Minor and Mes-o-po-ta′mi-a to Bagdad* (§ 413), near the site of ancient Babylon. Great Britain, however, first prevented her getting a seaport on the Persian Gulf, and secondly, in an agreement with Russia (by which the Triple Entente was completed in 1907), gained for England and Russia control of Persia. Germany wished to extend her dominion southeast to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf *in order to dominate a strip completely across Europe and Asia*, with the object of threatening British possessions in Egypt and India, but *she also wanted control of harbors opposite England*, from which she could strike that country, and by which also the commerce of western Germany would find a more direct outlet to the outside world. These were some of the aims and methods of Pan-Germanism (§ 419).

New policies after 1900 favorable to the farmers.

301. Germany in Recent Years. — Because of Germany's ambitions, plans, and schemes, her history in recent years is to a large extent the history of Europe rather than that of the German nation. In *internal politics,* however, two movements have been exceedingly important. One of these was *the agrarian controversy.* The farmers combined in order to secure more protection for agricultural products. They demanded higher rates on grains and cattle brought into the empire from abroad. They urged that it was folly for Germany to maintain an immense army and navy against her continental neighbors, unless she was able to raise her own supply of food, because, in case of war, she might be shut off altogether from importing goods. These arguments undoubtedly were effective, because a tariff to protect farm products was established. Thereafter agriculture, which had developed comparatively little for a number of years, immediately began to expand.

Rise of the very highly organized Socialist party.

Another recent movement has been *the rise of the Socialists,* perhaps the best organized unofficial group in the world. They have fought autocracy in Germany, they have opposed her benevolent socialism, and they have worked and voted against those policies which the German government and probably most of the German people have considered " national." In other words, to the high German official the Socialist program has been treasonable. In the Great War, however, the Socialists have been loyal.

Work of the Socialists in recent years.

Without success the Socialists strove for years for political reform, and others who were not Socialists worked with them. When Germany was defeated in the Great War (§ 450), and the old empire was overthrown (§ 291), in November, 1918, the Socialists were strong enough to organize the new government and to control the making of the new constitution. An attempt was made

(1918) by the extremists, the Spar′ti-cides, to introduce a communistic system similar to that of the Russian soviets (§ 326), but that movement was crushed.

Why the Germans left everything to the government

302. The German State and Citizen. — Modern Germany was created by a policy of blood and iron. Against possible foreign enemies the same policy was developed; against other countries it was used repeatedly. The Germany of 1914 was a different land from the old "Germany," for it gave up the old individualism and the old culture (§ 161). She united by surrendering the rights of the individual states and a large number of her older ideas, and she developed a new Prussian *kultur*. In order that Germany might be triumphant, the individual, who had never been accustomed to much liberty, permitted the state to take charge of all his affairs from the cradle to the grave.

Social solidarity of the German people gained through the supremacy of the government.

This subordination of the individual to the state is the most important characteristic of modern Germany. The state, that is the government, takes entire charge of the boy, for it insists that he shall go to school for a certain number of years, and it prescribes the kind of education which he shall have. A young man does not have the same freedom in selecting his life-work in Germany that he would have in America. After employment has been selected, the German is still guided and controlled by the powers that be.

Advantages and defects of the German system of social organization.

This system takes advantage of the German temperament, as well as of German thrift and industry. It turns out a citizen who has been accustomed from his babyhood to *obey*, for he is subjected to a military discipline in his home, in school, and in all the walks of life. *He lives in a system which is highly organized, very thorough, and, from a material standpoint, efficient.* He does not understand the advantages of a free and independent life such as is enjoyed by an Englishman or American. He is content with paternalism and government control because he has had no experience with anything else; and, since the whole nation is organized under government domination, he shares in whatever fortune comes to his nation.

Characteristics of military absolutism.

303. Some German Characteristics. — A very important characteristic of modern Germany is the *compactly organized military state* which dominates every interest and activity within the country. Although only a half century has been spent in this process of consolidation, the task was, after all, made comparatively simple by the fact that Germans have never had much freedom of action. Most of them offered little objection to being welded together into a compact mass and ruled absolutely by a military aristocracy. Because Germany has been a nation for only fifty years, whereas the most advanced European peoples have been nations for centuries, Germany is now passing through the same experiences as were encountered by England and France two or three centuries ago. That is one reason why the German government to-day is absolute, like that of Louis XIV (§ 54) and James II (§ 37). That may explain why the individual German has not yet attained personal freedom. Because Germany is a seventeenth century nation in a twentieth century world, she depends, as did ambitious absolute monarchs two or three centuries ago, upon her army to get what she wants. She believes that territory which she can seize and retain belongs to her by virtue of her military preparedness, her unexampled aggressiveness, and her disregard for the rights of small peoples, if their armies are smaller than hers.

Medievalism and modernism in Germany.

Because *Germany is that anachronism, a semi-feudal state in the twentieth century*, some of her ideas are several centuries behind those of other western countries. This retarded development seems the more strange because many of her industrial methods are exceedingly modern and efficient. We need note only two instances of this backward status of Germany. The first is *her attitude toward democracy.* Germany may believe in government for the people, but she does not believe in government of or by the people. If she becomes democratic, it will not be because her present rulers wish it; it will be due to the onward march of popular government (§§ 454–457). A second instance is found in *the feeling of a German towards woman.* To him a man, who can become a soldier, is a lord of creation, woman an inferior creature. Respect for women, regard for their rights, consideration for their welfare; these are not traits of the average Prussianized German.

Importance of force in German theory and practice.

To the German not *motive,* but *success,* is the real criterion of whether an action is right. This is practically the old idea that the end justifies the means. Just as most Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries thought that the king could do no wrong, so now the Germans feel that whatever the state does for its own advancement is right.[1] They therefore believe that might is right.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Component areas of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

304. Land and People. — Austria, before 1918, or more correctly Austria-Hungary, lay southeast of central Europe, chiefly in the upper valley of the Danube river. In area, the country was somewhat larger than either France or Germany. Its population was about 50,000,000 at the beginning of the Great War. As its name indicates, it consisted of two main and almost distinct parts, Austria, which comprised a crescent of provinces half surrounding an oval-shaped and rather compact Hungary. South of these two areas were the provinces, Bosnia and Her-ze-go-vi′na, which were attached to Austria in 1878 and incorporated in the monarchy in 1908.

---

[1] Treitschke represented the German idea when he said, "The highest moral duty of the state" "is to increase its power"; "among all political sins . . . of which a state may be guilty," "the sin of weakness is the most contemptible."

Numerous racial groups of the Dual Monarchy.

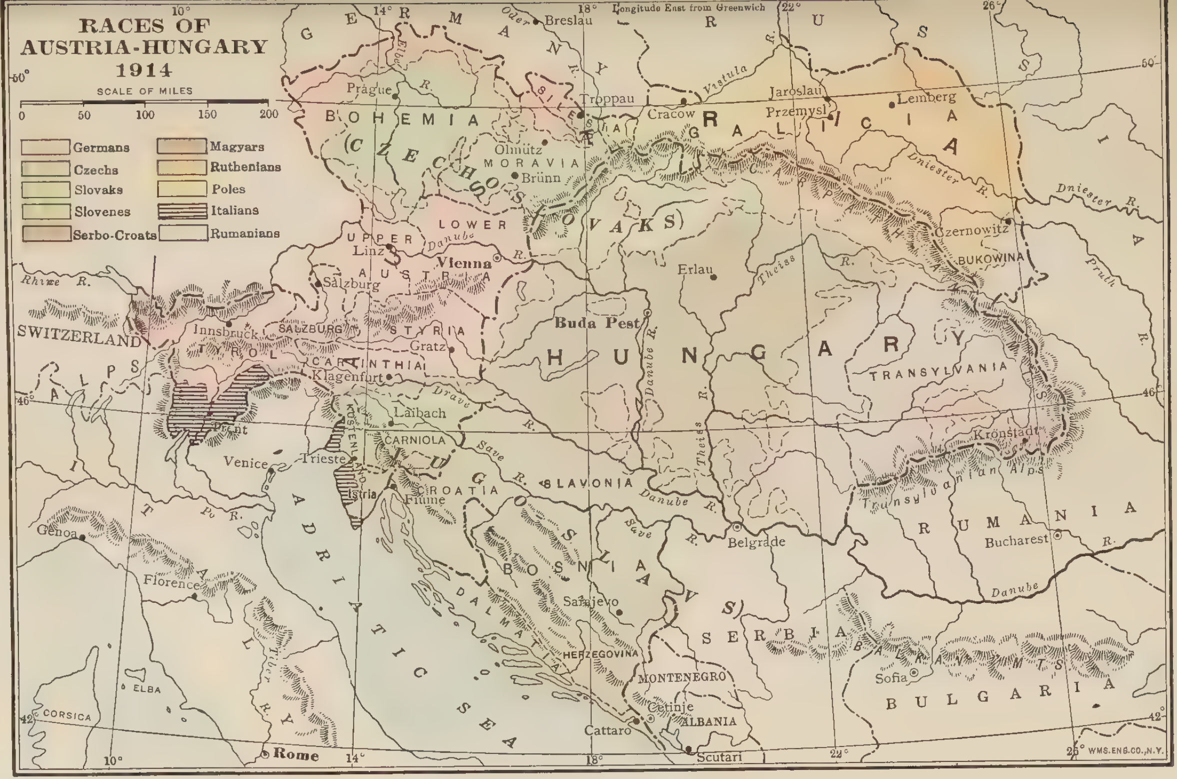
The Dual Monarchy was not a nation, that is, she was not made up of a single race or unified set of people; for she possessed no racial unity whatever. Of the races the *Germans* were the most numerous, although there were almost as many *Magyars* (Hungarians) or *Czecho-Slovaks* as there were Germans. However, these three races together comprised only three fifths of the entire population of Austria-Hungary. Each of the numerous races thought of itself as a nation and wished independence or practical independence. Even before the Great War, the Dual Monarchy's racial question was, therefore, more critical than that of any other country in Europe; it presented the greatest political and social problem of Austria-Hungary.

Relations of Austria and Hungary (1527–1849).

305. The Dual Monarchy. — Centuries ago Hungary was an independent kingdom. When threatened with destruction by the Turks (§ 1), she called in the ruler of her powerful neighbor, Austria, and crowned him king of Hungary with the iron crown of St. Stephen. After the Turks had been driven back, Hungary accepted with reluctance the continued rule of the Austrian Habsburgs. That she desired independence she showed on many occasions, particularly in 1849, when she treated Francis Joseph II as a usurper, since he had not been regularly crowned at Buda-Pest, the capital of Hungary. At that time she established the Hungarian republic (§ 224).

Policy of inaction and resistance (1849–1866).

Under the leadership of an able and wise Magyar statesman, Francis *Deák*, the Hungarians after 1849 opposed any coöperation with the Austrians until their rights were granted. After the war with Italy (1859) (§ 238), Austria provided for new diets in each of the provinces of the empire, and called an imperial legislature con-



RACES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY 1914

trolled by the Germans. After a long period of waiting, Hungary's hour struck when the new Prussian kingdom decisively defeated Austria at Sadowa, in the Seven Weeks' War (1886) (§ 246). Francis Joseph immediately called Deák to him and asked him what Hungary wanted.

The Dual Monarchy and the Ausgleich.

Deák proposed a scheme which was accepted by Francis Joseph and was in use until 1918. The empire of Austria entered into an agreement with the kingdom of Hungary for a period of ten years. This agreement, called the *Aus'gleich*,[1] provided that there should be a dual monarchy, known as Austria-Hungary. Each member was to be separate, independent, and self-governing as far as its own affairs were concerned; but there was to be an imperial government for the regulation of necessary common interests. This agreement was renewed several times but lapsed when Austria-Hungary fell to pieces (1918) (§ 308).

Central government of Austria-Hungary until 1918.

306. Government of the Old Dual Monarchy. — Before 1918 the ruler of Austria-Hungary was an *emperor-king*, and the position was hereditary in the Habsburg family. Whoever was emperor of Austria was, therefore, accepted as king of Hungary. In the administration of external affairs and common internal interests of the Dual Monarchy, the emperor-king was aided by three ministers, who had charge of foreign affairs, the army, and finance. There was no joint parliament, since the laws for each part of the monarchy were made by the parliament of that half. There was, however, a *joint semi-legislative body*, consisting of 120 delegates, 60 of whom were elected by the Austrian parliament, and 60 by the Hungarian parliament. They held annual sessions, one year in Vienna, capital of Austria, the next year in Buda-Pest. They did not meet together, but *each delegation sat separately*, discussed all measures brought to its consideration in the national language of the delegates, and communicated with the other delegation only in writing. In case they did not agree, they met in joint session simply to vote, for no debate was permitted.

---

[1] Whenever a new Ausgleich was necessary, there was a bitter, and in some cases prolonged, struggle between the two members to gain better terms for themselves. In these contests the advantage was usually with Hungary, which was more highly centralized and united territorially, and was more completely controlled by her dominating statesmen.

Government of the empire of Austria.

In each of the seventeen provinces of *Austria*, there was an assembly, at first elected by the property owners, later chosen by the people. In addition, there was a supreme parliament, the *Reichs'rat*, for the Austrian empire. This was made up of two houses, a House of Lords and a House of Representatives, the latter chosen by popular vote after 1907.

Illiberal government of Hungary.

In *Hungary* there was a central parliament made up of two houses, a Table of Magnates and a Chamber of Deputies. Before 1918 Hungary was ruled by the Magyars, who constituted a minority of the people in the whole kingdom, and it was ruled harshly and unfairly.

Unity and continuity of foreign policies.

It is interesting to notice that, in spite of radical differences of race, temperament, and interests, the two halves of the Dual Monarchy were able to act in foreign affairs as a unit. This was partly due to the fact that the dual government allowed Germany to suggest her policies in relation to affairs of central and western Europe. Her policy in southeastern Europe was to a large extent her own (§ 429), and was accepted in turn by Germany (§ 434).

Distribution of workers in agriculture, mining, and industry.

307. Economic Progress. — The economic revolution[1] did not reach Austria until the last part of the nineteenth century. Even now it has invaded only a few districts in the northern and western part of old Austria — most of which Austria has now lost — and it has not affected agriculture to any appreciable extent. Hungary has hardly felt the effect of the industrial revolution at all. The result is that three persons out of every five in old Austria are still engaged in, or are dependent upon, agriculture, and seven out of ten in Hungary are associated with agriculture. Whereas two fifths of the population of Germany is industrial, less than one fourth of that in old Austria is connected with industry and mining, and only one person out of seven in old Hungary is associated with those industries.

---

[1] This term refers not only to the introduction of machinery and the factory system, but also to improved means of agriculture.

Poor methods and poor results in the Dual Monarchy.

As Austria-Hungary did not introduce many of the labor-saving devices which are in use in Germany, it usually takes at least 50 per cent more workers to accomplish the same results in Austria than would be necessary in Germany. In Hungary, moreover, so little improvement has been made in agriculture that the average yield of wheat is only one half that obtained in Germany or Belgium, and the average yield of potatoes is only a little more than one third that which Belgium produced, and a little less than one half that secured in Germany. The retarded economic development of the former Dual Monarchy is largely responsible for the fact that, before 1919, she was really a subject state of Germany, rather than an independent country.

Causes and nature of the dissolution (1918).

308. The Dissolution of Austria. — As shown in section 304, the old Dual Monarchy was threatening to break up long before the Great War completed its disintegration. Between the defeats by the Allies and revolution within the country, and racial struggles, Austria-Hungary was very quickly torn into fragments during the year 1918. The most important of these fragments naturally correspond to the areas occupied by the important races of the former Dual Monarchy. By studying the map opposite page 384 we can get a fair idea of the tiny territory left to Austria, the territory in the shape of a leg of mutton, colored pink on the map. Most of this is a mountainous region without numerous resources to support even its rural population, without considering two millions in the national capital, Vienna.

Character of the new state of Czechoslovakia.

The valuable industrial region to the north and northeast of Austria proper was organized, even before the close of the Great War, into the new state of *Czech'o-slo-va'ki-a,* which may be the most successful of the new states of central-eastern Europe. One reason for this is the fact that *Bohemia,* which covers nearly half of this new state, was formerly an independent kingdom and has been in past ages the center of many progressive reform movements. When Hungary gained her independence in 1866 (§ 305), the people of Bohemia demanded autonomy. At that time they were not allowed to govern themselves; but later they secured concessions. As one result of their national movement, they were permitted to use their own language in official documents. Because they have been developing *an independent and national spirit* during the last half century, and because they have good resources and a fair degree of industrial development, Czechoslovakia may hope to work out her own national problems if she has a fair degree of leadership. Her greatest danger is the lack of real unity among the different, though related, races of her kingdom.

Distribution of other Austrian possessions.

The Austrian possessions in the *Tren-ti'no and at the head of the Adriatic sea* were transferred, by the treaty of peace, to Italy. Her southernmost provinces, together with the Hungarian provinces of Cro-a′ti-a-Sla-vo′ni-a and the imperial territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina, have become part of *the new Jugo-Slavic state. Gal'i-ci-a* was divided between Poland and one of the new Russian states.

309. Hungary since 1917. — Although Austria lost three quarters of her territory and almost as large a per

Loss of Hungarian territory.

cent of her former population, Hungary has been more fortunate, because she was allowed to keep a compact area in the Danube valley, which is inhabited chiefly by Magyars. However, as just stated, she lost her southwestern provinces; she also was compelled to surrender Transylvania to Rumania.

Finest Street in Vienna. Austrian parliament building at left.

Discontent, revolution, and distress.

As early as 1907 Austria had granted universal manhood suffrage within the Austrian empire. This concession had been followed by Socialist gains and had made her people somewhat more content. Hungary had been less wise. Although in 1868 she had passed a law, proposed by Deák, which guaranteed the "equal rights of nationalities" within Hungary, the law had remained a dead letter. Consequently, when the collapse came in the fall of 1918, Hungary was torn by race as well as class dissensions. For a time the Communists under Bela Kun, sympathizers with the Russian Bolshevists (§ 326), were in the ascendant; but they could not keep their power. The Rumanians, not content with Transylvania, marched across Hungary and took possession of Buda-Pest, until forced out by the people and the Allies. As Hungary is not economically well developed (§ 307), the situation since the fall of 1918 has been a serious one, complicated by lack of capital, discontent of workers, industrial depression, and famine.

The old government of Germany.

310. Summary. — Until 1918 Germany was a federal state, made up of 26 states or cities. It was controlled by the Prussians because Prussia comprised more than half the area, had more than half the people, furnished the kaiser, who was also king of Prussia, a chancellor responsible to the kaiser, most of the ministers, and a controlling delegation in the upper house, the Bundesrath. Provision was made for election, by universal manhood suffrage, of a lower house of the imperial parliament, the Reichstag; however, it had very little share in the government. There have been a large number of parties, because there was no "responsible" government. The two largest parties at the present time are the Social Democratic party and the moderate Center or Catholic party.

The German empire after 1871.

In order to organize an empire it was necessary to make laws for all Germany, to draw up a number of imperial codes, and to establish imperial courts. The attempt to centralize and nationalize Germany brought Bismarck almost immediately into conflict with the Catholics. The result of the "Kulturkampf" was a compromise, because Bismarck wanted the support of the Center against the growing Socialist party. To suppress the Socialists and to keep them from gaining more supporters Bismarck proposed state insurance against sickness, accidents, and old age. William II was particularly interested in the development of Germany's foreign commerce and colonial empire. As a support for those policies he advocated a powerful navy, which did much to arouse the enmity of England.

Twentieth century Germany.

The wonderful unification of the German people is the more remarkable because geographically there are three Germanies, industrial West Germany, South Germany, and agricultural northeastern Germany. Unification has been accomplished through the arbitrary and autocratic system of government by the junker class. It has also been made possible by the fact that the German has never enjoyed much individual liberty, and therefore is by temperament and training fitted to be a soldier and content to be a cog in the huge industrial and social machine. In very many of her political and social ideas, Germany has been centuries behind the rest of the civilized world.

Austria-Hungary.

Austria was by far the most important country in the basin of the Danube. Her peoples did not form a nation, because there were too many races. The government of Austria was highly autocratic before 1860, but in 1867 Austria-Hungary was reorganized as a Dual Monarchy, in which the Austrian possessions formed one part and the Hungarian the other. Foreign and general affairs of the country were managed by a joint semi-legislative body (the delegations), but each half had its own legislature, or parliament. The great problem of Austria-Hungary was the racial question. Each important race wished to have a separate government such as the Austrians and Magyars had. The two most important of these unorganized groups were the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs (§ 412), each of which has now organized a separate state. The disintegration of Austria has been complete and has followed racial lines to a great extent.

General References

Hazen, *Modern European History*, 363–383, 416–427.

Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, 165–207.

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 397–435.

Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 485–553.

Cambridge Modern History, XII, 134–212.

Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, II, 278–296, 368–390, 415–435.

Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, 451–578.

Tower, *Germany of To-day.*

Dawson, *Evolution of Modern Germany.*

Barker, *Modern Germany, Her Political and Economic Problems.*

Howe, *Socialized Germany.*

Rohrback, *German World Policies.*

Fife, *The German Empire between Two Wars.*

Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 193–287, 442–516.

Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy.*

Alden (ed.), *Hungary of To-day.*

Kelner, Arnold, and Delisle, *Austria of the Austrians and Hungary of the Hungarians.*

Palmer, *Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country.*

Topics

German Political Parties: Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 236–240; Lowell, *Governments and Parties of Continental Europe*, II, 8–52; Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, 175–188, 202–216; Fife, *The German Empire between Two Wars*, 114–138.

The German Naval Program before 1914: Tower, *Germany of To-day*, 77–82; Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, 20–36, 42–45, 120–123; Barker, *Modern Germany, Her Political and Economic Problems*, 317–362; Schmitt, *England and Germany* (1740–1914), 173–218.

Industrial Expansion: Tower, *Germany of To-day*, 160–179; Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, 248–270; Howe, *Socialized Germany*, 52–79; Barker, *Modern Germany, Her Political and Economic Problems*, 626–644, 717–741; Seymour, *Diplomatic Background of the War*, 66–88; Howard, *Recent Industrial Progress of Germany*, 28–50.

The Governments of the Dual Monarchy: Wilson, *The State*, §§ 738–761; Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, II, 285–296; Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 456–459, 509–514; Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, 17–39.

Studies

1. The three Germanies. Dawson, *Evolution of Modern Germany*, 17–36.

2. The Prussian parliament. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 257–265.

3. Prussia and the German federal system. Tower, *Germany of To-Day*, 31–46.

4. Personal government and parliamentary rule in Germany. Fife, *The German Empire between Two Wars*, 101–113.

5. The Junkers *vs.* the Social Democrats. Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, 202–247.

6. Organization and earliest problems of the German Empire. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 404–409.

7. Germany's agrarian problem from the Junker standpoint. Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, 252–270.

8. Chemical industries. Barker, *Modern Germany, Her Political and Economic Problems*, 626–644.

9. Economic geography of Central Europe. Partsch, *Central Europe*, 161–202.

10. Economic foundations of class rule. Howe, *Socialized Germany*, 36–51.

11. The German "System." Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*, 111–128.

12. German castes and classes. Tower, *Germany of To-Day*, 207–229.

13. The Social Democratic party. Barker, *Modern Germany, Her Political and Economic Problems*, 384–411.

14. Deák and Hungarian autonomy. Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, II, 289–296.

15. Suffrage and racial representation in Austria. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 466–472, 481–483.

16. Suffrage and racial representation in Hungary. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 493–497.

17. Hungarian industries. Alden (ed.) *Hungary of To-day*, 48–64.

18. Undeveloped economic condition of Austria-Hungary. Naumann, *Central Europe*, 125–133, 301–304.

Questions

1. How many states were there in the German Empire? Which were kingdoms? Which were free cities? How did Prussia compare in size with the next largest? with all other states taken together?

2. Compare Germany and the United States in respect to federal system and division of authority between states and nation. Compare Germany's system of government through the chancellor with England's rule through her ministry (§ 359).

3. Describe the organization of the old German imperial parliament. Show why the Bundesrath was so important. Account for the former insignificance of the Reichstag. Why were the cities and the Socialists under-represented in the old Reichstag. Name the important political parties of Germany.

4. To what extent was Germany united in 1867; in 1871? What imperial legislation was necessary after 1871? Explain why in each case.

5. What was meant by "Kulturkampf"? What did each party want? What did Bismarck force upon the Catholics temporarily? Why did he pass antisocialist laws and measures of state socialism? Why did Bismarck resign after William II became kaiser?

6. What policies of Bismarck's were retained after 1890? What new policies were inaugurated or developed? Show the importance of Germany's economic expansion, of her colonial empire, and of her new naval program.

7. Name the countries in the Triple Alliance. Why was a Triple Entente formed against Germany (§ 425)? What countries were in the Triple Entente?

8. What was the agrarian controversy of the early twentieth century, and how was it settled? Why were there so many socialists in Germany? What reforms did they demand? How many did they get?

9. Describe each of the three Germanies and show its connection with the development of the whole empire. What was the attitude of the Junkers and of the imperial government in re-

gard to industry; to German development; to the rights of the individual citizen? What were the advantages and disadvantages of the German scheme of social organization? From the American point of view or from the standpoint of world democracy, what were the serious defects of the German system?

10. Describe the races and industries of Austria-Hungary. How did the revolutions of 1848 lead to political reforms from 1860–1867?

11. Why did we speak of Austria-Hungary as a dual monarchy? √What was the nature of the *Ausgleich;* of the joint semi-legislative body, and of the joint ministry which represented the whole country?

12. During the last half century what internal changes and problems of Austria-Hungary have been most prominent, and how has each been decided? How does the economic development of the country compare with that of France a half century ago or with that of England in the early half of the nineteenth century? Give now, or later, a summary of the part played by Austria-Hungary in the Great War.

CHAPTER XV

THE RUSSIAS

RUSSIA BEFORE 1890

Area of the Russian Empire.

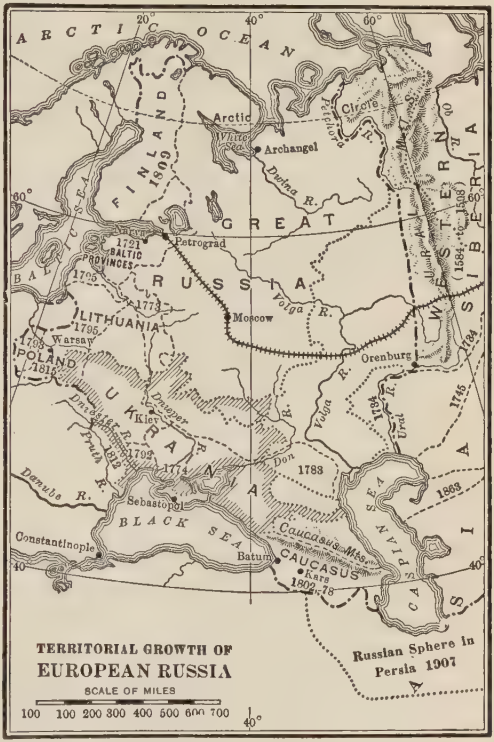
311. Russia in 1815. — The Russia of 1815 included, as did Russia at the beginning of the Great War, European Russia and Asiatic Russia. The Russian Empire extended from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, and from the Baltic to the Pacific. Some territories have been added since 1815 in central or southwestern Asia, but in area the Russia of one hundred years ago was not radically different from Russia in 1914. In fact in that day Russia owned Alaska and was extending down the Pacific coast in North America until warned off by President Monroe's message in which he announced the original Monroe Doctrine.

Kingdoms within the Russian Empire in 1815.

In the early part of the nineteenth century Russia had added two areas, both of which were recognized after 1815 as separate kingdoms with their own constitutions. One of these was *Finland*, acquired from Sweden in 1809 and inhabited chiefly by an Asiatic people, the Finns, together with some Swedes. They had a rather ancient civilization, of which they were exceedingly proud, and local institutions to which they were strongly attached. In 1815 the Congress of Vienna (§ 171) transferred to Russia most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which was organized as the kingdom of *Poland* with the tsar as its head.

Districts of northern and western Russia.

Besides these distinct areas which were united to Russia only through the person of the tsar, Russia was divided into a number of districts, each of which had its own characteristics. The largest and most populous of these was and is *Great Russia*, which with Moscow as its center formed the Russian Empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. West of Great Russia, between the gulf of Finland and Poland, are *the Baltic Provinces*, inhabited by Protestant Teutons rather than by Slavic peoples. *West Russia* corresponds in a general way with Lithuania of the medieval period. It contained then most of the Jews of the country, but it is inhabited now chiefly by Slavic peoples belonging to the Greek Catholic church.



TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF EUROPEAN RUSSIA

Districts in southern Russia and in Asia.

Southern Russia is chiefly noted for its exceedingly rich, black soil. One of the most important areas of this part of the empire is *Little Russia*, the heart of U-krai′ni-a, which still has its own dialect and considers itself far more advanced than central Russia. Still farther south lies *South Russia,* one of the great agricultural regions of Europe. Most of the inhabitants of European Russia are Slavs, but the *Caucasus region,* acquired during the nineteenth century, is inhabited by other peoples, Cir-cas′sians, Armenians, and others, who have a different religion and belong to different races. *Siberia* in Asia comprised more than two thirds of the area of the empire.

Population.

The population of Russia, which in 1815 was less than 50,000,000, a century later was nearly 150,000,000 for European Russia, with about 17,000,000 more in the Asiatic provinces.

Revolts of 1830 and loss of the Polish constitution.

312. The Polish Question before 1863. — Alexander I, who was tsar in 1815, granted the Polish kingdom a constitution. At that period he was interested in liberal and reform movements. In order to carry out his plans he proposed the Holy Alliance (§ 173), which Metternich merged with an alliance for the repression of liberalism and democracy. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Nicholas I, a soldier who was far more conservative and reactionary than Alexander had ever been. The Poles had been ready to rebel, even under Alexander. Soon after the accession of Nicholas, when revolutions occurred in France and in Belgium, 1830 (§§ 216, 283), the people rose against what they considered Russian oppression. The *Polish revolt* continued nearly a year, but the ability of Russia to suppress it was never in doubt. As a result Poland lost her constitution and thenceforth was ruled by Russian officials, who were far more unfair and severe than their predecessors before 1830.

The Poles did not accept defeat but continued to work for independence. Since most peoples of central Europe, during the period from 1845 to 1875, were trying to gain

Failure of the insurrection in Poland (1863).

national governments for each separate racial group, the Poles made one more determined effort to establish their independence. The *second great Polish insurrection* occurred in 1863. Not only was an attempt made to gain independence for the Russian kingdom of Poland, but the Poles sought also to regain the "lost provinces" of Lithuania, in order to create a Polish kingdom equal in area to Poland at the height of her power (§ 65). In this struggle not even the Poles themselves were united, as in fact they never had been in all history. They had little support from the people of the "lost provinces," most of which were inhabited by Slavs who belonged to the Greek Catholic church. Foreign intervention in their behalf amounted to so little that it was a hindrance rather than a help, since it gave an excuse for Bismarck to offer aid to the tsar, an act of friendliness that helped to bring together Russia and Prussia in later years (§ 416). As the Poles were disunited and unsupported, their insurrection was suppressed easily.

Political and religious "Russification."

313. Poland since 1863. — The failure of this insurrection led to a far more complete "Russification" of Poland. The Polish language could no longer be used officially in the courts, in the schools of the country, or even in ordinary conversation. Polish literature was suppressed in the schools, churches, and newspapers. Russian laws were extended to Poland. An attempt was even made to convert the Roman Catholic Poles to the Greek Catholic faith.

Economic gains of Russification.

These political and social losses were compensated in part by economic gains. The Polish peasants were allowed to become full owners of the lands which they had formerly held as tenants. The Poles were permitted to make use of the forest land and the pastures of the nobles' estates, and in other ways the power of the nobles over the peasants was broken. Since Poland was now protected by a Russian tariff, industry developed, and the Polish cities grew as rapidly as have some American cities in the last half century. Poland was probably richer and more prosperous before 1914 than she could have been under the rule of her own nobles and king. At the beginning of the Great War, Poland became a battle ground (§ 440). After peace was made, she gained new territories (§ 452) and became a republic.

Attempts to give the serfs freedom and the people self-government.

314. Reforms of Alexander II. — During the Crimean War, between Russia on the one side and Turkey, Great Britain, France, and Sardinia on the other (§ 409), Nicholas I died and was succeeded by his son, Alexander II. Alexander was much more liberal than his father, and almost immediately began to introduce a series of reforms. By far the most important of these was the *emancipation of the serfs* (§ 316), which gave Alexander the title the "Tsar-Liberator." Of very great importance were the *local and provincial assemblies*, called zems'tvos. At the beginning these were made up of nobles and of representatives from all other classes. They had control of public improvements, such as roads and public buildings, of education, of poor relief, and of public health. To a large extent the raising of revenues by taxation was left to them. In later years, however, the powers of the zemstvos were restricted more and more, because the provincial governors appointed by the government at Petrograd interfered with them constantly.

ALEXANDER II

Legal and educational reforms.

Under Nicholas I a very good code of Russian laws had been drawn up. These laws did not apply to all Russia at first; but gradually they were extended to other parts of the empire — a part of the policy of "Russification" (§ 319). Under Alexander II the law codes were reorganized so that courts of the nobles did not have as much power as formerly. Occasionally juries were used, and the rights of the people were protected as they never had been before, but it must not be supposed that the judicial system was as complete or as perfect as that of countries in western Europe. Other reform measures sought to *reorganize education*, but only boys of the upper classes and a few selected scholars of other groups were allowed to attend the higher institutions of learning. Among scholars and thinkers there developed at this time a doctrine called nihilism.

Nihilism, the terrorists, and assassination.

315. Reaction under Alexander II and Alexander III. — In time *nihilism* was taken up by those who wished to overthrow the government, and, still later, it added to its numbers those who wished to destroy Russian autocracy by a system of terrorism. As the *terrorists* used dynamite and other extreme means, in that day the saying was common, "Russia is a despotism tempered by assassination." The Russian government tried to suppress this movement, but without success, and in 1881 the tsar, Alexander II, was assassinated on the very day on which he had agreed to grant additional reforms.

Suppression methods and exile.

Alexander II was succeeded by his son Alexander III. The new tsar was a man of unusual physical strength. When he made a call, he was accustomed to take a coin which bore his likeness and twist it between his thumb and forefinger; he then left it as his personal calling card. He was like his grandfather, Nicholas I, in being extremely conservative. By a policy of suppression the terrorists were wiped out. The police followed the methods that had been introduced under Nicholas I, spying upon persons in their homes or places of business. *This police organization was known as the "third section";* it possesses a name infamous in modern history. Large numbers of political offenders were tried secretly and sent to Siberia. During the last years of the reign of Alexander II, and during the whole of Alexander III's reign the annual number of exiles was double that under Nicholas I. This policy of reaction was successful for the time, but when reforms came in the early part of the twentieth century, they were all the more radical because of the severity of the Romanoff rule from 1875 to 1890.

Economic Reform and Development

Different classes of serfs and their emancipation.

316. The Emancipation of the Serfs. — Until 1858 the soil of Russia was cultivated by serfs who were bound to the land as were the medieval serfs (§ 8) in western and central Europe. About half of all Russian serfs lived on lands belonging to the crown or members of the royal family; most of the other half were on estates owned by nobles. Some of them were engaged in domestic service in the homes of nobles or in industrial work in the towns. By a series of measures, which we need not study in detail, *Alexander II emancipated the different classes of serfs* between the years 1858 and 1866.

Granting of lands to serfs.

It was well understood that to give the serf freedom without giving him control of land of his own would leave him in worse condition than before, because Russia is preëminently an agricultural country, in which almost all people, even now, get their living from the soil. Since the ancestors of most of these serfs had cultivated the plot of ground on which the serfs were living, they felt that they had a certain right to that plot. The government recognized this claim as just and gave the serfs some land, but it left the rest to the nobles. The serfs, however, were compelled to pay for the land which they secured. Since they had no money of their own, the government advanced to them the necessary sums, and allowed them to pay it back in forty-nine annual installments.[1]

PEASANT'S HUT, RUSSIA

Household industry and the new factories.

317. The Industrial Revolution in Russia. — The emancipation of the serfs and the rapid growth of Russia's population made it difficult for all adults to earn a living from the soil; consequently a large number sought employment in the cities. Since the Russian peasant, like the English farmer of the early eighteenth century (§ 180), had been accustomed to eke out a living by household industries, he was in many cases an artisan as well as a farmer. This made the transition from agriculture to industry a comparatively easy matter. The development of industry, however, required the introduction of *machinery*, which was not manufactured in Russia. It demanded capital, which Russia did not possess, and it therefore called for a great deal of government help and supervision.

---

[1] This land, about half of European Russia suitable for agriculture, was not given to the serfs *individually*, except in some of the southern, western, and northern provinces. Nine tenths of it was transferred, not to the individual peasant, but to the villages of peasants, the *mirs*. So numerous were the obligations of the peasant under the new plan, and so much was he limited in the things he was allowed to do, that it was popularly said he had ceased to be a serf of a noble and had become a "serf of the state."

Industrial development after 1885.

The Russian *protective tariff*, which helped to develop Poland, aided also the growth of manufacturing in other sections, particularly the towns in the South and the larger cities of the empire. The government gave special help by organizing *scientific and industrial schools* and by favoring the importation of machinery. The Dual Alliance (§ 422), by which the Russian army was in a sense offered to France in exchange for French money, gave Russia the *capital* which she needed, and after 1885 *industry expanded rapidly*. Especially was this the case under the ministry of Count Sergius Witte, who was minister of finance and commerce after 1893. The number of workers in all industries more than doubled between 1885 and 1900, and the value of Russian manufactures increased severalfold.[1]

Extension of railways under government ownership.

318. Economic Progress. — One other way in which the Russian government aided business was the encouragement of railway building and the actual construction of *government-owned railway systems*.[2] The most ambitious project was the Trans-Siberian government railroad from the large cities of European Russia to the Pacific Ocean.

---

[1] The cotton industry was particularly flourishing. Iron smelting and other iron industries grew rapidly because the immense fields of Russian iron could be worked more easily, especially as the coal supplies could be brought to the iron district. Before 1900 Russia was producing more iron than any other country except the United States, Germany, and Great Britain.

[2] It has been the Russian policy to buy up as many privately owned railways as possible; in consequence nearly three quarters of the railway mileage in Russia was owned and managed by the government before 1914.

Development of Russian export trade.

For centuries before the German Empire was organized, Russia's commerce with England had been very important. During the half century before 1914, however, Russia's trade with Germany developed rapidly and far outstripped that carried on with Great Britain. As one would expect, the principal exports are agricultural products, especially wheat, exported to all parts of the world, and barley, sent chiefly to Germany.[1] Since Russia possesses the finest oil fields in the world, she is beginning to refine, use, and export considerable quantities of petroleum; in the future, these fields may become the world's chief supply for crude and refined oils.[2]

WITTE

---

[1] On account of the development of manufacturing, the importation of manufactured goods has decreased continually, compared with all imports and compared also with exports, so that the exports of Russia are nearly a quarter larger than the imports.

[2] Economic progress in Russia has been built up so much through government favor and help that it has not always been an economic advantage for the consumer. As Ogg says, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, page 338: "It is a striking commentary upon the system that, reckoning prices in the quantity of grain which must be produced as the equivalent in value, the Russian peasant pays two and one half times as much as the German peasant for his cotton and sugar, four and one half times as much for iron implements, and six times as much for coal."

RECENT CHANGES IN RUSSIA

The problem of making a nation of Russia.

319. The "Russification" of European Russia. — As we noted above (§ 311), Russia, even European Russia, is not a unit; that is, Russia is not a nation but a group of separate peoples, some Russian and some of non-Slavic races. During the last third of a century there has been a strong movement to consolidate all of the different territories of the country and to nationalize all the different classes and peoples of Russia. In other words, Russia has been trying to do in recent years what France was completing in the eighteenth century and the nations of central Europe sought to accomplish in the nationalist period about the middle of the nineteenth.

UNIVERSITY AT HELSINGFORS, FINLAND

General problem of "Russification."

The work of "Russification" included the abolition of special privileges and sought to reduce the differences between the Poles, the Finns, the Jews, or the people of southern Russia on the one hand and the people of the rest of European Russia on the other.

"Russification" in the South and in the North.

The people of Poland and *southern Russia* were persecuted for religious reasons, and the government attempted to make them conform to the "orthodox" faith. In Little Russia an attempt was made to prevent the further use in schools and in literature of the Little Russian dialect. The Jews, most of whom resided in western and southern Russia, were forced, under the new régime, to live in a small area called the "*Jewish Pale*," which was located in southwestern Russia.[1] In 1899 the constitution of *Finland* was annulled, and there was an attempt to make Finland, which had enjoyed a practically separate existence, an integral part of the Russian Empire. Later, Finland was brought under the very arbitrary rule of the Russian police administrator, Von Pleh′ve, to whom the severe enforcement of the policy of "Russification" was chiefly due.

Discontent due to food shortage and lack of land.

320. Growing Unrest in Russia. — *The policy of "Russification"* caused growing unrest among the peoples of the borderlands of Russia who were not distinctly Russian at heart and in some cases not Slavs at all. Another cause of discontent was the *agricultural situation.* Agricultural Russia had not been remarkably prosperous in the years since Alexander II freed the serfs.[2] There had been an actual decrease in the amount of *grain* produced, yet at the same time the people were spending more for food.

---

[1] The Jews were persecuted in a number of ways, with the result that many thousands emigrated to America. Anti-Jewish riots occurred in many cities. The massacre at Ki-shi-nev′ (1903) was the most infamous of these attacks and called forth a protest from President Roosevelt. In the *Baltic provinces*, the Russian language was substituted as the official language in place of the German language in courts and in schools.

[2] The average area of farms which each person had for cultivation had decreased from more than six acres per person to less than four acres. This change was of course due to the fact that the population had increased rather rapidly, whereas the peasants had no more land in 1900 than they had in 1861.

Social changes brought about by new industrial conditions.

A further cause of discontent, and possibly the most important of all, was the new *industrial revolution*, which had not only introduced new capital, established large factories, and created a workman class in the larger cities, but had also introduced new ways of producing and marketing goods, had upset many old methods of working and of living, and had therefore caused a great deal of hardship.

Influence of the defeats of the Russo-Japanese War.

321. The Demands for Radical Reform (1904). — The immediate cause of the revolutionary movement of 1905 was not internal but external. The repeated defeats of the Russians in the Russo-Japanese war (§ 396) aroused the people of all Russia against the bureaucratic and inefficient government which had made such failures possible.

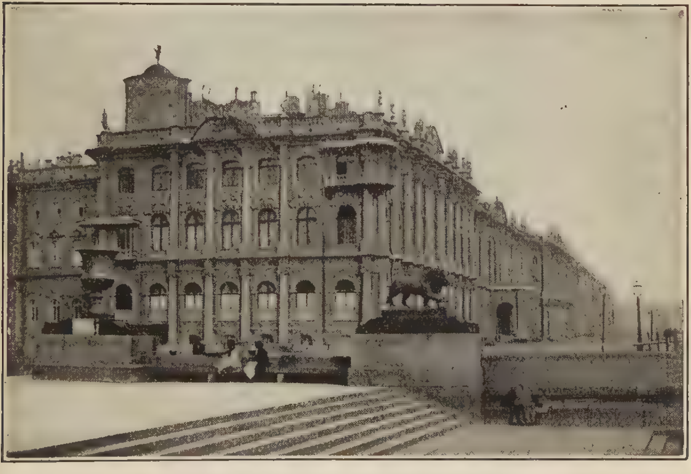
Beginnings of political and industrial organizations which demanded reforms.

The first overt act of the revolution was the assassination of Plehve, who was blown to pieces by a bomb in one of Petrograd's streets. In November, 1904, a *conference* was held in Petrograd, at which the leading members of the zemstvos (§ 314) were present. These men demanded eleven specific reforms and asked for an elected national assembly. Most of them insisted that this assembly should have the power to make laws; others were willing that it should be simply an advisory council. In the meantime, all different classes of workmen and professional men were organizing *unions* in order that they might secure reforms desired by them. The government took no action at this time, but promised a number of reforms.

Demand of workers for reform and for relief.

Strikes now began to break out in all the larger cities. In many cases the strikers asked for specific forms of relief. On Sunday, January 22, 1905, several thousand workmen, headed by Father Gapon, attempted to march through the streets of Petrograd to the Winter Palace. They desired to petition the tsar, the "Little Father," asking him to give them relief. They carried no arms, but they desired to rescue him from the group of reactionaries by whom he was being influenced. The police stopped all of these processions and in several cases fired upon the workmen. This day is known as "Red Sunday."

A number of congresses which desired radical reforms were called the same year (1905). One of these was a union of unions brought together under the leadership of Prof. Paul Mil'you-kov, who had recently been lecturing in America. Milyoukov was the most active organizer of opposition to the reactionary Russian government and the most prominent leader of a group afterward called Constitutional Democrats, or Kadets for short, who wanted to secure a constitution for Russia.



WINTER PALACE, PETROGRAD

Beginnings.

322. The Revolution of 1905. — The demands of the congresses and of the zemstvos became more insistent. Workmen, teachers, lawyers, and students asked for reforms; the workmen also continued strikes. Throughout many of the provinces the peasants rose against their local nobles, seizing records and burning manor houses as they did in the days of Wat Tyler, the Jacquerie,[1] and the French Revolution (§ 125).

Promises of constitutional liberties and government.

August 19, 1905, the government promised an imperial duma or parliament. Since, however, few men were to take any part in electing representatives to the duma, more disorder and strikes occurred, with the result that the tsar dismissed his unpopular and reactionary ministers, and summoned Count Witte to form a cabinet. *On October 30, an edict was issued* which promised freedom of speech, conscience, and meeting, and agreed that no law should be made without the consent of the new duma. Somewhat later, suffrage was extended until almost all men in the empire had a share in the election of delegates to the duma.[2] Deprived of any real power, this *first duma* accomplished little and was dissolved by the tsar; a new election was called at the same time.

Deadlock in the second duma.

323. Later Dumas. — The members of the *second duma* insisted upon more power; on the other hand, the new premier, a very able and fearless man, Sto′ly-pin, would yield nothing, and the second duma, like the first, accomplished nothing. After holding sessions for about three months, it in turn was dissolved.

Limited suffrage for election of members and desirable legislation.

In order that the government might have a duma which could coöperate with it rather than oppose its policy, a new edict was issued which changed greatly the law defining the right to vote. Since the members of the *third duma* under this law were elected by landowners and other propertied classes, the third duma and Stolypin were able to agree upon a number of measures. In the five years that it was in session, this body passed several important laws, one of which made it possible for the peasants to acquire land.[1]

---

[1] E. E. C., §§ 625, 626.

[2] In most cases, however, the people did not vote directly for members of the duma. Usually they selected delegates, who in turn chose electors, who again in turn selected the duma members from their own number. The elections gave the Constitutional Democrats, or *Kadets*, the largest number in the new body, but the government was not willing to grant such a constitution as the majority demanded.

The fourth duma.

The *fourth duma* was in session at the time the Great War broke out. It continued to hold meetings until the spring of 1917, when it was dissolved by the tsar, but it reassembled and forced the tsar to abdicate. In turn it was dissolved by the Council of Soldiers and Workmen's Delegates (§ 326).

Expansion eastward and disputes with Japan.

324. International Relations of Russia Before 1914. — Aside from the wars with Turkey (§§ 409, 410), due to Russia's desire to gain Constantinople and to have under her protection the Balkan states, the Russians have been engaged in only one important war since the days of Napoleon. We have already noticed (§ 63) the Russian expansion through Siberia to the Pacific Ocean and later (§ 383) we shall study the advance made by Russia in central and southwestern Asia, which alarmed the English before 1907. The expansion to the Pacific did not conflict with any Asiatic Power until 1904 (§ 396). In that year occurred *the war between Russia and Japan*, which resulted in an almost unbroken series of defeats for the Russian forces. The effect of this war on the Russian people and on the Russian revolution we have already noted.

The humiliating defeats in the war with Japan forced the

---

[1] As a result the peasants were not obliged, either individually or through the mirs, to pay any more money for the land which they had obtained. A large amount of new land was also opened to them. If a peasant family was occupying in 1909 the land which it had gained in 1861, it was allowed to become full owner of that land. In the mirs which were accustomed to reallot the land, as described above (§ 316), the peasants gained either the land which they were occupying or an equivalent.

Trouble with Austria and Germany.

Russian government to reorganize its army. This was a task of great magnitude, which was only partly accomplished when, in 1908, Austria *annexed* the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina (§ 428). Russia resented this action, but was powerless to do much more than protest when the Germans "shook their swords in their scabbards." In 1914, when Austria threatened Serbia, Russia refused to be intimidated again (§ 434). The result all the world knows, because the Great War broke out within a week after this action. This subject is of such importance that it deserves careful and separate study.[1]

Attitude of the people toward the government in 1915 and in 1917.

325. War and Revolution. — To a remarkable degree the first year of the war showed the Russian peoples and classes to be rather closely united. For a time at least, the people of Finland, Ukrainia, and even of Poland, forgot their grievances against the Russian government and supported the war. Even the parties which had been agitating reform, including most of the numerous socialist groups, ceased to interfere with the government during the crisis; but, later on, when *the imperial authorities proved incapable* of managing the war, and even of keeping the people provided with food, the limited patience of the Russians gave way. In 1916 protests were made against the pro-German attitude of the tsarina, who was a German princess before she married the tsar, and of the foreign minister, who desired a separate peace with Germany. He was removed from office, but dissatisfaction with the government continued to grow.

From Romanoff autocracy to Bolsheviki anarchy.

So great was the unrest that on March 10, 1917, the tsar dissolved the duma. But when food riots occurred in and around Petrograd, and an insurrection of the workmen was only a question of time, the duma met again, without the tsar's consent. On March 15 *Nicholas II abdicated* for himself and his son. A provisional government was formed, but as early as May the *Council of Soldiers and Workmen's Delegates* really took control of the government. Almost as soon as the arbitrary rule of the Romanoffs was ended, Russia separated into her component parts, and there were movements toward independence in Finland, the Baltic provinces, Poland, Ukrainia, and the Caucasus region. The promptness with which the dissolution took place showed that by no mere figure of speech had the emperor held the title "Tsar of all the Russias." On September 15 the head of the new government, Ker-en′sky, proclaimed a republic. Elections were held for members of a constituent assembly. When it tried to meet, it was immediately dissolved by *the Bol-she-vi′ki*, a radical socialist group, supported and controlled by the Germans, which had overthrown Kerensky.

---

[1] Chapter XXII.

Peace treaties forced on Russians by Germany.

326. Collapse and Bolshevism. — The Bolsheviki advocated peace at any price; nevertheless, they slaughtered their opponents by thousands in Petrograd and elsewhere. The army was intentionally broken up by preaching "defeatism" and through propaganda spread by the Germans. At the fortress of *Brest-Li-tovsk′*, within the German lines, a peace treaty was made (1918), by which Russia surrendered her control over one third of her territory and one third of her inhabitants. A separate treaty of peace was made by the Germans with the new republic of Ukrainia. The republic of Finland was also recognized by them; and Poland and the Baltic provinces were practically annexed by Germany. These German advantages were shortlived, because, a few months later, her armies were saved from destruction on the west front by the Armistice of November 11, 1918 (§ 450). She continued, however, to exercise considerable influence in the countries east of her boundaries.

The Bolshevists were guided by two able and astute leaders, Len′in and Trot′sky. The autocracy of a hundred

Bolshevik leaders and government.

and fifty thousand landowners was supplanted by another autocracy *of two hundred thousand workmen.* The government has really been *a dictatorship of these leaders* and their associates. Consequently there has been *no democracy in Russia,* although every local district has selected a council called a *soviet,* which in turn has selected delegates to a soviet for a larger area, and this in turn has selected delegates to a still more general soviet. There have been several All-Russian Congresses of Soviets, usually meeting in Moscow and usually having no influence whatever in the government. In voting, suffrage is restricted to men and women who work with their hands. Any persons who employ even a single assistant each, and all who enjoyed privileges under the tsars, are debarred from voting. In choosing delegates to the higher soviets, city representation is five times as great as rural representation for the same number of people.

Russia's Red Terror (1918).

At the beginning of the Russian revolution, the *Soviet of Workmen and Soldiers in Petrograd* played much the same part that the Paris Commune did in the French Revolution (§ 134) and in the days following the Franco-German war (§ 257). At first the revolutionary tribunal was moderate in its methods, and the Bolshevik government, although resorting to force and oppression, did not make a policy of killing its opponents. After the Russian people, however, awoke from the enthusiasm evoked by the revolution and by prospects of peace, there began a *red terror* (§ 137) beside which that of the French Revolution pales into insignificance.

Theory and practice of Bolshevism.

Originally the Bolsheviki were the majority faction of the Social Democratic party. Ever since the outbreak of the revolution, however, they have been not Socialists but *Communists;* but they allowed the peasants to keep their lands and the confiscated property of nobles, in order that the workmen's government should not be overthrown by a new revolution of the peasants. The Bolsheviki have made an especially severe war upon *capitalists*. All capital was declared the property of the state and no production was carried on except under state auspices, that is, much of it was not carried on at all.

The Bolshevists and foreigr enemies.

When Russia was friendly with Germany, she was attacked by the Allies from the north, but they were not successful. The Russians who were opposed to the Bolshevists raised several armies and marched against the government forces on several fronts. In the summer of 1919 they advanced to within a short distance of Petrograd and Moscow, but later the Bolshevists were victorious everywhere.

Russia before 1890.

327. Summary. — The Russia of 1815, like that of a century later, was an empire arbitrarily ruled by the Romanoffs and made up of Great Russia, Little Russia, and South Russia, which are the chief districts of Ukrainia, West Russia, Poland, the Baltic provinces, and Finland, besides the Caucasus region west of the Caspian sea, and Siberia in Asia. Poland was united with Russia after 1815 through the person of the tsar. The revolt of the Poles in 1830 led to the loss of their constitution; that of 1863 caused Russia to abolish Polish literature and laws and in other ways to carry out in Poland a policy of "Russification." The problem of Poland was once more made acute by the Great War. Alexander II introduced many reforms in Russia proper, including the emancipation of the serfs and the creation of popular assemblies.

Economic reform and development.

When the serfs were freed, they received land, but until the land was paid for, the peasant was practically a "serf of the state." During the last part of the nineteenth century, important industrial changes occurred in Russia. Capital was obtained, largely from France through the Dual Alliance, industry expanded, especially in all of the large cities, and the natural resources of Russia were developed. Foreign trade naturally grew apace, and internal transportation facilities were improved, chiefly through government-owned railroads.

Recent changes in Russia.

The attempted "Russification" of the congeries of peoples who made up Russia added to the economic unrest which was caused by the industrial revolution and by the lack of sufficient land and food. When Russia was defeated in the war with Japan, the people began to organize and to demand reforms. In a series of promises culminating in that of October 30, 1905, constitutional government was assured, but the dumas, or national parliaments, were not allowed to make reforms as promised and were arbitrarily dissolved. After the treaty of Berlin in 1878 (§ 410), and the formation of an Alliance between Germany and Austria, Russia naturally feared trouble with those two western neighbors. That a conflict was avoided was due to the refusal of Russia to accept any challenge until 1914; then her failure to back down on the Serbian problem was the first act in that terrible drama which we know as the Great War. In the war Russia gave a fairly good account of herself until 1917, when internal troubles led to the abdication of Nicholas II and temporary governments were formed. One of these, controlled by the Bolsheviki, a pro-German socialist faction, was in power when Finland, Ukrainia, and other parts of the empire separated. Each part in turn submitted apparently to a peace, favorable to them, but disastrous to Russia because "made in Germany."

General References

Hazen, *Modern European History*, 558–571, 585–589.

Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, 338–381.

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 452–489.

Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 315–340.

Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 578–615.
Cambridge Modern History, XI, 613–634, XII, 294–380.
Skrine, *Expansion of Russia.*
Milyoukov, *Russia and its Crisis.*
Rambaud, *History of Russia*, III.
Alexinsky, *Modern Russia.*
Wallace, *Russia.*
Palmer, *Russian Life in Town and Country.*
Williams, *Russia of the Russians.*
Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia*, II.

Topics

RUSSIFICATION OF POLAND: Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 597–603; 611–612; Skrine, *Expansion of Russia*, 201–213; Phillips, *Poland*, 149–176.

EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS: Skrine, *Expansion of Russia*, 178–191; Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 591–596; Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 318–327; Wallace, *Russia*, 485–509.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1905: Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, II, 287–297; *Cambridge Modern History*, XII, 348–363; Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia*, II, 437–503.

Studies

1. Local self-government in Russia after 1864. Vinagradoff, *Self-Government in Russia*, 50–70.
2. The terrorists in Russia. *Cambridge Modern History*, XII, 305–314.
3. The Russian peasant. Gerrare, *Greater Russia*, 40–46.
4. The mir (commune) and the peasants. Williams, *Russia of the Russians*, 345–350, 356–368.
5. Some peasant characteristics. Palmer, *Russian Life in Town and Country*, 95–112.
6. The landed proprietor's home. Palmer, *Russian Life in Town and Country*, 8–19.
7. The agrarian question. Alexinsky, *Modern Russia*, 138–154.
8. Agrarian situation since 1906. Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia*, II, 347–361.

9. Siberian exile system. Latimer, *Russia and Turkey in the Nineteenth Century*, 303–312.

10. Russian labor movement since emancipation. Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia*, II, 413–429.

11. The Russian peasants' standard of living. Milyoukov, *Russia and its Crisis*, 439–452.

12. Recent industrial changes in Russia. Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 329–334.

13. Trade and industry. Williams, *Russia of the Russians*, 373–388.

14. Foreign trade of Russia. Whelpley, *Trade of the World*, 313–318, 328–339.

15. Economic problems of the Russians. Milyoukov, *Russia and its Crisis*, 452–466.

16. Russia after the Revolution of 1905. Alexinsky, *Modern Russia*, 272–294.

17. The first duma. *Cambridge Modern History*, XII, 364–369.

18. The socialist factions in Russia in the early twentieth century. *Current History* VII (1917), 265–267.

19. What the world owes to Russia. Sarolea, *Europe's Debt to Russia*, 53–95.

Questions

1. Why was the title "tsar of all the Russias" a good one for the ruler of the Russian empire before 1917? Name some of the different Russias, giving location and characteristics of each.

2. Give in outline the history of Poland before 1815. What was the status of Poland from 1815 to 1830? What effect did the revolutions of 1830 and 1863 have upon her relations with Russia? Explain the process of "Russification" for Poland. What has happened to Poland since the Great War broke out? What is the present problem of Poland? In your opinion what should be done with Poland after the great conflict?

3. If possible, name one reform of Nicholas I. Why was Alexander II called the "tsar liberator"? What other reforms were inaugurated by Alexander II? Who were the "terrorists"? What was the "third section"? What do you mean by "political exiles"?

4. Compare the emancipation of the serfs in Russia with the abolition of serfdom in western continental Europe (Chapter X).

Why are many peasants still "serfs of the state"? What would be the effect on the peasants of the Bolsheviki plan of distributing among the poorer peasants the royal lands and those of the nobles?

5. Where did Russia get her capital for her industrial revolutions? What has been the effect of the economic changes of the last third of a century upon the growth of factories, upon the development of an artisan class, and upon the creation of a labor problem?

6. Was Russia a nation in the early twentieth century? If she was not, name some changes which would have helped to make her a nation. Name several causes for the growing unrest in Russia before 1905. How did the unions of students, workers, and political leaders pave the way for revolution?

7. Trace in detail the steps by which the revolution of 1905 developed. What promises were made by the tsar, October 30, 1905? Which of them did he keep? Which duma was elected indirectly by popular vote? Which alone was able to make any reforms?

8. Why did Russia's enmity for England give way to that with Germany? Why did the Balkan situation make Russia and Austria natural enemies (§ 429)? What was the attitude of the Russian peoples and dissatisfied factions toward the government in the Great War?

9. What failures of the government or the army, and what intrigues, started the revolution of 1917? Name in order the effect of each of the following: the March meeting of the duma, abdication of the tsar, activities of the Council for Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates in July, Kerensky, the Bolsheviki.

10. What parts of Russia separated in 1917? Which tried to establish republics? Which made treaties with Germany and were recognized by Germany? What advantages did the Russias gain from the treaties of peace made with Germany?

11. Give, in outline form, events in Russia since the spring of 1918.

CHAPTER XVI

GREAT BRITAIN BEFORE 1865

England Before 1820

Attempt of George III to restore personal government.

328. Parliamentary versus Personal Government (1760–1784). — We have already noted (§ 42) the beginnings of *cabinet government* under the early rulers of the house of Hanover. Since George I and George II, who ruled Great Britain from 1715 to 1760, were Germans and were not well acquainted with the affairs of England, they naturally left the conduct of state business to their ministers. When George III came to the throne, he was anxious to restore the *personal rule of the king*, similar to that exercised by William III after the Revolution of 1688 (§ 38). This attempt to establish the personal government of the king rather than to allow Parliament to rule through ministers responsible to it lasted for nearly

George III

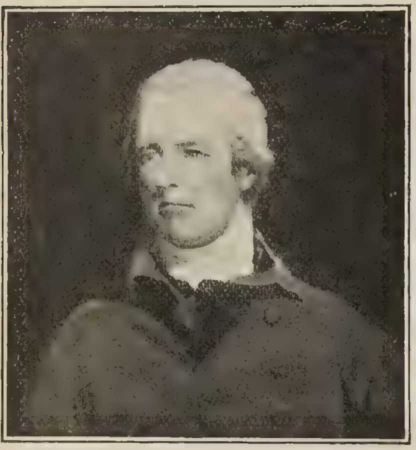
a quarter of a century. George III built up a party of his own, called "The King's Friends," who tried to manage the government for their monarch. In the period of the American Revolution (1763–1783) the policy of George III in England and in the colonies was opposed not only by the Americans but by the "opposition" in England. The king, however, under the amiable and compliant prime minister, Lord North, was able to carry through his scheme until the battle of Yorktown (1781).

Further development of cabinet government.

With American independence inevitable, Lord North resigned and new ministries were formed which represented the Parliament rather than the king, especially under William Pitt the Younger, who was at the head of the English cabinet most of the time from 1784 to his death in 1806. In other words, the success of our Revolutionary War made it impossible for George III to reestablish the personal rule of the monarch in Great Britain and forced him to appoint his ministers from the party which had a majority in the House of Commons. Although the cabinet system of government in Great Britain was not developed as fully or as perfectly as it is to-day (§ 359), nevertheless the British Isles and Empire were ruled under ministerial or "responsible" government.

Antagonism toward the French Revolution and wars with France.

329. The Napoleonic Wars. — The English people had always looked upon themselves as the freest and most advanced politically of the European nations. It is interesting to notice therefore with what disapproval they watched the development of the French Revolution after 1789. They showed little actual sympathy with the French ideas of "liberty, equality, fraternity," undoubtedly on account of the excesses of the French revolutionists. In spite of the fact that the English people had put to death one of their own monarchs, Charles I (§ 31), when the French nation executed its king, Louis XVI, in 1793 (§ 135), England immediately began war on France. This war, as already related in some detail, lasted without interruption until the peace of Amiens (1802) (§ 145), and after an interval of one year was renewed again. As already explained in connection with the continental system (§§ 151–153), the war for a number of years was chiefly between Napoleon and the English merchants, and it proved conclusively that Napoleon could not fight successfully against expanding English trade. With the final overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815 (§ 158), the twenty years' conflict between England and France came to a close.



William Pitt the Younger

Naval policies, taxation, and effect on land ownership.

In these wars, England followed her traditional policy[1] of concentrating her attention upon her *navy* and sought with ever increasing success *to maintain supremacy on the sea*, realizing that her insular position made control of the sea necessary to her own safety, to the prosperity of her colonial empire, and to her continued success as a great world power. The maintenance of an immense navy and the granting of subsidies to her continental allies meant the levying of heavy taxes, especially under the administrations of the great war minister, *Pitt.* Two things enabled England, especially during the Napoleonic period, to carry this heavy financial burden, first the Industrial Revolution,[1] and secondly the increased use and productivity of the soil. The land was made to pay a very high tax. This taxation made it easy for the great landowners, who could afford to pay heavy taxes, to buy up the lands of the smaller farmers. Professor Vi-no-gra′doff says land monopoly, that is, control of lands by the aristocracy, was one price which Great Britain had to pay for her empire.

---

[1] In the days of the Armada, and the War of the Spanish Succession, and the Seven Years' War, England allied herself with European countries against the great Power of the age. To these continental allies she granted ever-increasing sums of money, but in no case, until the Great War which broke out in 1914, did she furnish many soldiers for the European conflict.

Unfavorable changes in conditions after 1815.

330. The Return of Peace. — Return of peace ordinarily means greater prosperity. This was not the case with the United Kingdom after 1815. Because of her control of the sea, English commerce had been extensive in the preceding years, agriculture had been exceedingly prosperous, prices had been high, and work had been fairly plentiful. After 1815, however, conditions changed. There was no longer need of cultivating the poor fields, and large areas were allowed to lie waste. Because many soldiers and sailors were seeking work, there was a great deal of unemployment in every line of industry.

The price of bread, although much lower than during the later Napoleonic wars, was high enough to cause great *distress* among the common people, but not high enough

---

[1] The Industrial Revolution (Chapter IX) made it possible for England to produce textiles, iron, and machines much more cheaply than could any of her rivals. Consequently her trade expanded greatly. In 1815 her exports were 150 per cent larger than they had been twenty years earlier. Even Napoleon by the continental system could not keep the other European peoples from buying cheap English goods. A second source of revenue was the *land* of England. On account of the agrarian revolution (§ 186) this had become exceedingly productive. During the Napoleonic wars so great had been the demand for food that practically all arable land in England was under cultivation. Rents were exceedingly high, and, partly because of the enclosure system and other causes explained above (§ 185), land was used to better advantage than before.

The high price of bread and the unjust corn law.

to afford any real relief to the farmers. In order to make the cultivation of fields profitable, the landed aristocracy secured from Parliament a law which *prohibited the importation of wheat* until it sold for at least ten shillings a bushel, which was equivalent to $5.00 per bushel in America to-day. If the price went higher, wheat might be imported by paying a heavy duty. The duty was levied according to a graduated scale, the rate or duty being lowered as the price rose. This tariff, or "corn law," added still further to the distress of the wage-earning classes.

Riots and destruction of machinery.

331. Discontent, Disorder, and the Six Acts. — Throughout England and Scotland riots occurred. At one point fifteen hundred men gathered with a banner marked "bread or blood." They did not kill any one, but five of the ringleaders were hanged for rioting. In and around London the mob vented its displeasure upon the Duke of Wellington and the foreign minister, the most prominent men in the English government. In the industrial districts weavers and others who were unemployed made attacks upon the factories and destroyed the machinery, since they believed that the machinery had thrown them out of work. Scotland witnessed even greater disorder.

The Peterloo massacre.

In 1818, a huge mass meeting was held near Manchester to protest against the distress of the times and against the failure of the government to give relief. The local magistrates were ordered to disperse the crowd. When they failed, the hussars were called in. They rode among the people, striking them with their swords; a panic occurred, and a number of lives were lost. This is popularly known in English history as the Peterloo massacre.

The Six Acts.

Instead of bringing relief from the aristocratic government, this "massacre" had the opposite effect, for Parliament immediately passed the objectionable "Six Acts," which were intended to prevent seditious publications, large assemblies, and the arming of citizens. Naturally the government was less popular than before because it had seemed to deny the right of assemblage and of free speech.

POLITICAL REFORM (1820–1865)

Rotten boroughs and political corruption in the eighteenth century.

332. Parliamentary Reform before 1830. — Since the days of the first Edwards[1] Parliament had been composed of two houses, the House of Commons, made up of county members and of representatives of the towns or boroughs, and the House of Lords, spiritual and temporal. More than five sixths of the members of the House of Commons were from boroughs. *The majority of the members of the House of Commons were chosen not by the people at all, but by a few nobles* whose nomination was

CANVASSING FOR VOTES BEFORE 1832 (After Hogarth) practically equivalent to an election. The Duke of Norfolk alone was able to send eleven representatives to the lower house. In Scotland and in Ireland members of Parliament were chosen in much the same way. Under these circumstances, it is not strange that Walpole (§ 42) and George III were able to buy control of the House of Commons.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 591.

Special need of parliamentary reform after 1800.

After the Industrial Revolution, when population shifted rapidly into the northern and western counties (§ 193), the reform of Parliament was much more necessary than before. There was no good reason why Cornwall should have forty-four members, while Middlesex (including the great city of London) had only eight. There was even less reason why old Sarum without any inhabitants and Dunwich buried under the sea should send members to Parliament, whereas Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, each with about one hundred thousand people, had none.[1]

Reforms and changes after 1820.

Real reform of the House of Commons began with the period after 1820 when Sir John Russell each year introduced a bill on the subject. The actual reorganization, however, did not take place until 1832. In the meantime George III had died (1820) and his son, who had really been ruler as regent since 1810, occupied the throne as George IV until 1830. The change of monarch had little influence, but the times were favorable to many reformers other than political; some of these were religious (§ 338) or humanitarian (§§ 339–341). In 1830 George IV died and was succeeded by his brother,

---

[1] Oliver Cromwell had reorganized the House of Commons, doing away with the most glaring inequalities in his day, but most of his reforms were discarded after the Restoration (1660). In the time of the Revolutionary War those reformers who opposed George III naturally wished to reform the House of Commons, but Parliament refused to consider their proposals, or later those of so influential a man as William Pitt the Younger.

William IV, the close of whose short reign, in 1837, brought to the throne his niece, Victoria.

New relief ministry proposes reform.

333. First Action for Reform of Parliament (1830–1831). — In 1830 the Whig party was returned to power. The Whig leader, Lord Grey, warned Parliament that on account of the spirit of the times (§ 216) the members must choose between *reform* and *revolution.* The retiring prime minister, the Duke of Wellington, argued on the contrary that the "state of the representation could not be improved." The new Whig ministry embodied its ideas in the first reform bill, which granted the right to vote to copyholders, leaseholders, and householders, provided for the partial or complete disfranchisement of most of the "rotten boroughs," and the granting of members to the large towns. Some of the more radical Whig ministers wished to have a secret ballot, but England was not prepared for so decided a change.

The rejection of the first reform bill and a new election.

In the spring of 1831, *the first reform bill* was brought before the House of Commons. The Tory members received it at first with amusement and derision and nicknamed it "Russell's Purge," but they quickly found reason for taking it seriously. In the largest vote taken in years they defeated the measure by a majority of only eight. The Whig ministry then decided to resign and call a new election, because they believed the people wanted reform. The whole country rang with the cry, "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill."[1] The new election was a decided victory for the reformers.

On June 24, 1831, Sir John Russell introduced *the second reform bill,* which was similar to the first. In September,

---

[1] The press was strongly in favor of it, the mass of people urged it, and even the lowest classes, who derived no immediate benefit from it, held great meetings for the purpose of carrying it through. Practically all members elected in the counties favored the proposed reform, but of course those who were returned from the pocket boroughs were almost unitedly opposed to it.

Rejection of the second bill and agitation.

it passed the House of Commons by a majority of more than one hundred, but a month later it was rejected by the House of Lords. The effect upon the nation was instantaneous. In London sixty thousand people marched on the palace of the king with a petition for the bill. In Birmingham more than one hundred thousand gathered. Sober-minded people of the middle classes talked of refusing to pay taxes till the Lords yielded. Even the abolition of the House of Lords was mentioned. In London and in other cities, several of the peers, that is, members of the House of Lords, were attacked by the mobs on the streets.

The king gives permission to add new peers to the House of Lords.

334. The Reform Act of 1832. — Instead of resigning and calling a new election, the Whig ministry decided to modify the bill slightly. *The third reform bill* was passed by a large majority in the House of Commons, but the House of Lords did not yield. The cabinet therefore asked the king to create a few new peers, whose votes would carry the measure through the House of Lords, but the king was not yet willing to take so radical a step; instead, he accepted the resignation of Grey and his colleagues. When, however, he found that neither Peel, Wellington, nor any other Tory could form a new ministry, he recalled Grey and handed to one of the members of the new cabinet a slip of paper containing these words:

> The king grants permission to Lord Grey and his chancellor Lord Brougham to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to insure the passage of a Reform Bill, first calling peers' eldest sons.
>
> William R.
>
> Windsor, May 17, 1832.

Enactment of the third reform bill.

There was, however, no need to use this power. Revolutionary as the bill itself was, it would be less revolutionary than such a forced change in the composition in the House of Lords. The third reform bill was therefore passed by the House of Lords and signed by the king.

Provisions of the Reform Act.

In its final form the bill deprived 86 of the smaller boroughs of 142 members, increased the number of members sent by the counties from 92 to 159, gave to eighteen other towns and four districts in London two members each, and to twenty other towns one member each. The right to vote was extended. County members were to be elected thereafter by the owners, the copyholders, or the leaseholders of lands worth £10 per year.[1] For borough voters a new uniform requirement was now made, namely, that all who owned or rented a building worth £10 a year should have the right to vote. Elections which had often occupied more than two weeks were now limited to two days.

Importance of the Reform Act of 1832.

These changes in the *franchise* were not so radical as one would have expected, since the bill dealt less with suffrage than with the distribution of seats. The reform in *representation*, however, was not the greatest change brought about by the bill. The enactment of the Reform Act of 1832 is important in English history chiefly because, after that time, the House of Lords was no longer able to *control* easily the House of Commons, since peers no longer dominated the election of commoners; and *the House of Commons, which now represented the real wishes of the people much more fully than before, became the chief national body connected with the government*, and controlled the actions of ministries as well as of lords and monarch.

Reforms and party reorganization.

335. Further Reform (1832–1835). — As would naturally be expected, the reforming spirit of the times did not stop with the Act of 1832, especially as the parliaments after the Reform Act were more interested in social and political improvements than their predecessors had been. Reforms that had been discussed for years were now carried through, chiefly by the support of a reformed Whig party, which was later reorganized as the *Liberal party*, and in spite of the opposition of the old Tory party, which found it wise after a few years to take the name *Conservative*.

---

[1] Tenants at will were allowed to vote if their rents were worth £50 a year. A copyholder was apparently a tenant at will, but he really had a premature tenure because his tenant rights were protected by custom and recorded (copied) in the records of the manor or parish.

Specific reforms.

Among the reforms that were enacted within a short time after 1832 were the emancipation of slaves, the protection of workers in factories (§ 341), a remodeled poor law (§ 490), and a number of political reforms, the most important of which was the new Municipal Corporation Act (1835).

Municipal reform act (1835).

Before this time, there had been no uniformity among the towns not only regarding the right to vote, but in the organization of the municipal government or the administration of municipal affairs. Thereafter the cities and towns were ruled under a uniform law. All tax payers had the right to elect a board of councilors, who held office for three years. These councilors in turn elected the aldermen, whose term was six years, and the aldermen and councilors together chose a mayor for a term of one year. Other reforms in municipal administration naturally followed these changes in the form of government.

The "six points" of Chartism.

336. The Chartists. — Very little had been done by these laws for the working people, whose demands were now embodied in a "People's Charter." The advocates of these changes, known as the "*six points*," were called "Chartists." Their demands were as follows: No property qualification for members of Parliament, payment of members, annual Parliaments, equal electoral districts for the election of members to Parliament, manhood suffrage, and vote by ballot. In 1839 a monster petition was brought before the House of Commons asking that these "six points" be granted. There was disorder in many places. The trouble, however, did not culminate in anything serious and the crisis passed.

Revival of Chartism.

Several times in later years Chartism was revived, notably in 1842, and at the time of the Revolutions of 1848. In the latter year a new petition, far larger than the first, was prepared. The Chartists claimed five million signatures, but an examination of the names showed that the number was undoubtedly less than two millions. The Chartists held a large assembly and planned an immense procession to carry this petition before Parliament, but when they found that the government objected, the petition was sent in a cab to the House of Commons. So ended the Chartist movement.

Reforms in the forties.

During those years there was also continued agitation for the repeal of the corn laws (§ 342) and for other reforms. It will thus be seen that the period from 1828–1848 is important in the history of Great Britain because the government was modernized and many things were done for the relief of the poorer and more oppressed classes.

The queen, her character, marriage, and interests.

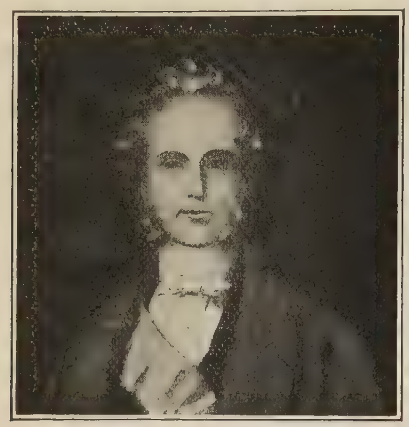
337. Victoria and Palmerston. — With these political and social reforms, and even with the foreign relations of Great Britain, the popular young queen, Victoria, had very little to do. Coming to the throne in 1837 as a girl without experience in public affairs, she quickly won the love and confidence of her people by those sterling qualities of character which she always displayed. Her marriage to her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, was really a love match, and Victoria's interest in her own children and attachment to her home did more by example for the English people than anything that she might have attempted to do in connection with politics.[1]

---

[1] Although the English monarch reigns but does not govern, Queen Victoria always insisted that nothing important should be done without her knowledge. Her son, Edward VII (1901–1910), conferred with his ministers very frequently and often influenced their actions.

Offices and great work of Palmerston.

In connection with foreign affairs the influence of *Palmerston*[1] was probably greater than that of any other foreign minister that England ever had. During half of his active political career, which covered more than a half century, he was in actual charge of the foreign relations of Great Britain. Although, during the later years of his life, he was opposed to further reform *within* England, he used his immense influence to promote the cause of the liberals on the Continent. The Belgian people (§ 283) in 1830 owed their independence largely to his help, and it is not too much to say that the liberals in the Revolutions of 1848 would have had greater difficulties but for Palmerston. It is unquestionable that the cause of united Italy found in him as great a friend as it found in Louis Napoleon.



Lord Palmerston

Social Reforms before 1865

Creation of new gulfs between rich and poor.

338. Limitations on Religious Liberty (1800). — At the beginning of the nineteenth century parliamentary reform was much less necessary in Great Britain than were a very large number of social and economic reforms. Although there were comparatively few survivals of old privileges and abuses from the Middle Ages, nevertheless the common people had few rights. The changes of the Industrial Revolution had caused inequalities between the rich and powerful, on the one hand, and the poor worker, on the other, greater than had existed in preceding centuries.

---

[1] Among the distinguished ministers of this period were the Liberal leaders, Grey, Russell, and Palmerston. Peel, who afterward joined Palmerston and was at heart a great reformer, might be called the leading Conservative of the time.

Removal of religious disabilities and disestablishment.

As a result of the intolerance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the only citizens who had full rights were members of the established Anglican Church. Neither land nor offices could legally be held by Catholics; no public offices were open to Presbyterians, Quakers, or Methodists. Most of these religious disabilities were removed by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (§ 35) (1828) and by *Catholic Emancipation* (1829), by which Catholics were allowed to become members of Parliament. Established Anglican churches, however, were maintained at public expense in Ireland until 1869, in spite of the fact that most of the Irish were Catholics or Presbyterians, in Wales until 1914, and in England to the present time.[1]

Freedom of speech and assembly. Newspaper restrictions.

339. Freedom of the Press and Treatment of Criminals. — Not only was religious toleration not extended to all classes in 1800, but freedom of speech and of the press, and the right to assemble peaceably was denied frequently in fact, if not by law. We have already noted the six acts (§ 331) which were extreme measures denying some of these rights. We should also realize that, although the law permitted freedom of the press, actually editors were not allowed to express themselves so freely as they did in later years, and after 1819 the heavy tax of eight cents a copy on newspapers was extended to comparatively small leaflets and pamphlets. This "tax on knowledge" was reduced to two cents in 1836, but was not finally abolished until a quarter century later. In 1861, the tax on print paper was removed at the suggestion of Gladstone, after a struggle between the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Thereafter newspapers and books were sold much cheaper and in much larger numbers.

---

[1] An established church is supported by taxation at public expense, but in modern times compulsory attendance at its service is not required.

Limitation of the numbers of crimes punishable by death.

As we noted above (§ 95), the criminal law of England was becoming constantly more severe during the reign of the first Georges. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the number of crimes punishable by death was more than two hundred. Some of these were of an exceedingly trivial nature, such as picking pockets and petty thefts from stores. That the law was not applied strictly is shown by the fact that although, in 1810, 5146 cases were tried and 476 offenders were sentenced to death, only 67 were executed. In 1820 the most unjust laws making petty offenses punishable by death were repealed in Parliament. During the next three years, largely through the influence of Sir Robert Peel, several laws were passed by which capital offenses were reduced to less than one half the former number. In later years

Sir Robert Peel

still further reductions were made, until soon after the middle of the century the number of crimes punishable by death was very small.

340. Legislation for Chimney Sweeps and Other Apprentices. — During this period England passed the earliest modern laws for the protection of labor, but the first public relief was granted not to the workers in the factories, but to the children who were employed in all large cities as *chimney sweeps*. Since the chimneys were quite small, some of them considerably less than ten inches across, only very small boys could climb them and remove the soot. In consequence the masters used children, who were sometimes as young as five years, in this filthy, dangerous, and unpleasant business. Usually children became deformed if they were employed for any length of time climbing chimneys. Their lungs were injured by the constant breathing of soot, and their joints became sore and inflamed from pressure against the projecting bricks.

Need of relief for child chimney sweeps.

In 1788 the first law was passed for the protection of these child workers. This law prohibited the employment of boys under the age of eight, did not allow any master to have more than six apprentices, and compelled him to provide each boy "with Sunday clothes" as well as with a working suit. Complaints of the boys might be brought before the courts and the law exhorted the master to "treat the said apprentices with as much humanity and care as the nature of the employment of the chimney sweep should admit of."

Provisions of the law of 1788.

The earliest demand for laws to protect *factory workers* did not come from the public nor from the workers themselves; they were suggested by a large-hearted manufacturer. The first act applied not to workers in general nor even to all children, but simply to child apprentices, most of whom came from workhouses. *This*

The "first" law for the protection of labor.

law of 1802 was simply one of a long series of apprenticeship laws; but it is usually considered the first important protective legislation in any country for the benefit of the modern worker. This law did not allow factory owners to employ as apprentices children under the age of ten years for more than twelve hours a day. There was to be no night work, and instruction in the three R's was to be given each apprentice every day.

Long hours and hardships of factory work.

341. Reform for Factory Workers. — The evils of factory life did not attract general attention at first, but before many years Parliament became interested and appointed a number of committees, from whose reports we can get a good, if not absolutely unbiased, idea of necessary reforms. According to the report made in 1816, " It was a common practice when the woolen trade was going on to work sixteen hours a day . . . Many mills were worked from three to four o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock at night." Employees testified of girl workers that " as late as 1832, in the brisk time for about six weeks, they have gone about three o'clock in the morning and ended at ten or nearly halfpast at night," and that the common hours of labor were from six in the morning until eight-thirty at night. They asserted further that, although time was left out for meals, children were frequently obliged to spend those moments in cleaning or fixing machinery.

The law of 1819 for protection of children.

The law of 1802 had not provided any relief for children who lived with their parents. Consequently in 1816 Robert Owen, a successful manufacturer who had made reforms for the children of his own factory, asked Parliament to protect these child workers also, since their parents were not able to do so. The reports by parliamentary committees on the extraordinarily long hours and terrible conditions of the workers had their effect; a bill was passed in *1819* which forbade the employment in cotton mills of *any children under nine* and prohibited work more than twelve hours a day for children under sixteen. No provision, however, was made for adequate inspection of the factories or for proper enforcement of the law.

New factory legislation for children and women.

At the time of the reform movement of the thirties, the humanitarian leaders demanded many reforms, including a *ten-hour day for all women and children.* The law of 1833 did not grant this, but it did prohibit the labor of children under nine years of age, except in silk mills, it limited the hours of older children,[1] and it prohibited night work for all children; but nothing was done for women. About ten years later (1844–1847) new laws were passed which prohibited night labor for young people and women, and allowed them to work only ten hours a day.[2]

Legislation for women and children in mines.

Although *legislation for mine workers* was enacted in France as early as 1813 (§ 213), in England there was none as late as 1842. When a government commission reported in that year that women and girls were employed in mining at hard tasks,[3] a protective law was passed.

---

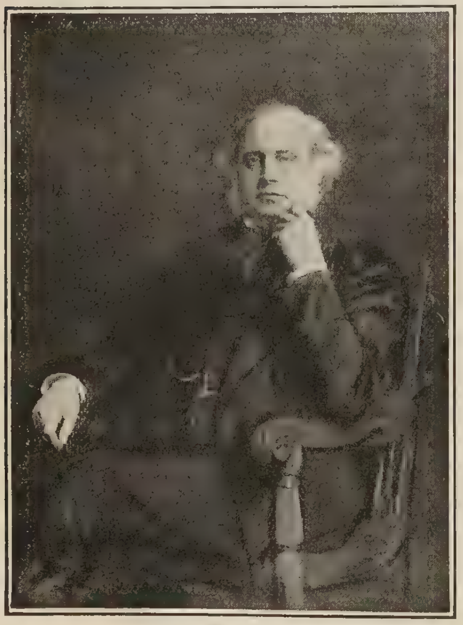
[1] This law limited hours of children under thirteen to nine a day or forty-eight a week, and insisted upon two hours a day schooling. Boys and girls from thirteen to eighteen were allowed to work twelve hours a day but not more than sixty-nine a week.

[2] By the law of 1844 children from eight to thirteen could not be employed more than six and a half hours daily. Inspectors were provided and dangerous machinery was to be safeguarded. The second act limited the hours of women and young persons to ten a day and eight on Saturdays. It applied to about two thirds of all persons employed in the factories and mills. When a later law defined a work day as the period from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M., it was possible to enforce this legislation and really to protect these workers.

[3] The commission stated that although only a few districts in England permitted women and girls to work in mines, a very large proportion of the persons employed in these mines were under thirteen years of age. From the age of six upward children were engaged in pushing or dragging carts of coal. Men, women, and children were employed together in precisely the same kind of labor and for the same number of hours; consequently the committee reported that the physical and moral conditions existing in the mines were indescribably bad.

Unjust laws for the importation of wheat.

342. Agitation for the Repeal of the Corn Laws — In order to help English farmers, there had existed for centuries laws which prohibited or limited the importation of grains, particularly wheat. Since the aristocracy which controlled Parliament had been able to get control of most of the land during the period of the Industrial Revolution and of imperial expansion (§§ 185, 198), new corn laws were enacted after 1815. The law of 1815 (§ 330) was too drastic even for the reactionary parliaments following Waterloo, and the importation of wheat was permitted when the price was comparatively low. Duties on imported wheat were levied, but the rate went down as the price of wheat went up. This kept the prices of wheat, flour, and bread high — a benefit to the farmers and landowners, but an injury to other workers, since Great Britain could not produce nearly as much wheat as the people required.



JOHN BRIGHT

Anti-corn law agitation.

The great *manufacturers* of England protested against so much legislation which interfered with their profits. Not only were they being forced to employ workers for shorter hours, as we have just noted, but the high duties on wheat made bread dear and compelled them to pay higher wages in order to keep their factory workers from starving. Consequently they began agitation for a repeal of the corn laws. In 1838, under the leadership of manufacturers, an *Anti-Corn Law League* was organized, which had the support of the "Manchester School" of economists and factory owners. The leaders of this movement were Sir Richard Cobden and John Bright. They advocated free trade, at least in grains, between England and other countries. They desired free trade for other articles also in order to extend the market for the products of English factories.

Repeal of the corn laws (1846)

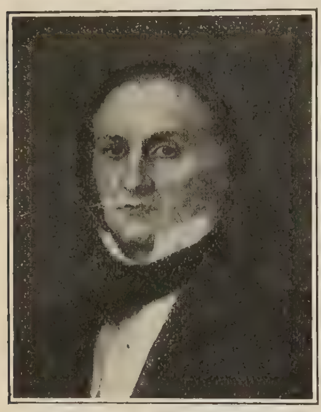
343. Free Trade. — The free traders were able to gain the help of the prime minister, Sir Robert *Peel*, himself a manufacturer and the son of a manufacturer. Peel at first proposed that the duties on imported grains should be reduced greatly; but, after the failure of the Irish potato crop in 1845, followed by the Irish famine (§ 364), he introduced, against the wishes of most of his party, a bill which repealed the corn laws entirely. This was carried through Parliament in 1846; and thereafter the larger part of the wheat supply of England was imported from abroad.[1]

Extension of the free trade principle under Peel and Gladstone.

The *repeal of the corn laws* was only the first of a long series of acts abolishing duties on goods imported into Great Britain. Since the population and trade of the British Isles are large compared with the area of the country, their manufactures were more extensive than those of any other people, particularly after the repeal of the corn laws. England found it wise to lower or abolish many taxes on imports, especially on all raw materials intended for manufacture. To replace the revenues lost by the abolition of these corn duties, the taxes upon incomes and inheritances were increased. This legislation was advocated by a pupil of Peel, William Ewart Gladstone, destined to become the greatest English statesman of the later nineteenth century. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gladstone was able to make himself popular with the common people by reducing for them the cost of their tea, their sugar, their newspapers (§ 339), and a hundred other articles.

---

[1] Although the Irish misfortunes led to the repeal of the corn laws, the abolition of duties upon wheat had a disastrous effect upon Irish agriculture. Before this time the Irish tenants had raised fairly large quantities of wheat, oats, and barley, either for the payment of the rents which they owed to English landlords or for sale in the English market. Since they could not compete with the wheat grown on the American prairies, the acreage sown to grain in Ireland was greatly reduced after this time.



WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE

Great Britain (1760–1820).

344. Summary. — Cabinet government had been established under Walpole (§ 42) partly because George I and George II, being Germans, were obliged to leave control of governmental affairs to their ministers. George III, from 1760 to the close of our Revolutionary War, tried to restore the personal rule of the king, by building up a party of the King's Friends. Liberal forces in England and the success of America in the war caused him to fail. Parliament, unreformed since the days of Elizabeth, was not changed at once owing to the prolonged and expensive struggle with Napoleon. When peace came, prosperity did not follow, partly because the ultra-aristocratic majority of Parliament passed laws to give themselves more profit and suppressed the agitation started by discontented and unemployed workers.

Political reform (1820–1865).

After 1820 reforms were inevitable. Among political reforms were those admitting Catholics and Dissenters to Parliament (Catholic Emancipation). The first great need was the reform of Parliament. In 1830 a Whig ministry presented the first reform bill. It failed to pass the House of Commons. After a new election, the Commons passed a new bill, but it was defeated in the House of Lords. A third bill had the same fate. Then Grey asked the King, William IV, to create new peers to "swamp" the House of Lords. When he consented, reluctantly, the Lords yielded and passed the bill. Many "rotten boroughs" were abolished, their seats being given to counties or new manufacturing towns, and the right to vote was extended. The revolutionary character of the Reform Act of 1832 consisted not in its provisions but in the serious limitation of the Lords' power.

Social reforms before 1865.

In 1800 the people of England had legally more rights than those of any other European nation; actually, they had little real freedom. After 1800 more religious liberty was granted to persons unassociated with the established churches, the press was relieved of burdensome taxes, and capital punishment was abolished gradually for all except a few serious crimes. In 1788 a law was passed to protect child chimney sweeps. In 1802 the first factory act (for child apprentices) was enacted. In 1819 similar protection was extended to other children also. After 1832 reforms came rapidly. The hours for children were shortened, the age of child workers was raised, night work was forbidden, and women workers were allowed to work not more than ten hours and in the daytime. Girls and women could no longer work in mines. These changes raised the wage-cost to factory owners, who began agitation against the corn laws. In 1846 these were repealed, and within the next two decades, under the influence of Peel and Gladstone, England abolished all protective duties and adopted a free trade policy.

General References

Coman and Kendall, *History of England*, 390–405, 423–440.

Cheyney, *Short History of England*, 576–656.

Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 10–67.

Macy, *English Constitutional History*, 370–438.

Taswell-Langmead, *Constitutional History of England*, 540–601.

Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, 1–181.

Simeral, *Reform Movements in behalf of Children in England in the Early Nineteenth Century.*

Cambridge Modern History, IX, 672–755, X, 573–684, XI, 1–21, 309–365.

Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, 738–982.

Innes, *History of England and British Empire*, III, 273–505, IV, 1–313.

Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, V, Sec. II, VI, Sec. I.

Topics

Early Development of Cabinet Government: Montague, *Elements of Constitutional History*, 163–173; Macy, *English Constitution*, 352–369; Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History*, 519–539.

The Reform Act of 1832: Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, 86–95; Beard, *Introduction to the English Historians*, 549–565; Smith, *The United Kingdom*, II, 341–357; Hunt and Poole (eds.), *Political History of England*, XI, 287–309; McCarthy, *England in the Nineteenth Century*, I, 173–238.

Factory Reform: Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, 54–56, 119–128; Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History, Select Documents*, 502–516, 571–614; Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, VI, 298–314; Simeral, *Reform Movements in Behalf of Children in England in the Early Nineteenth Century*, 35–72.

Free Trade: Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, 135–148; Hunt and Poole (eds.), *Political History of England*, XII, 48–71; McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, I, Chapters XIV, XV.

Studies

1. Personal rule of George III. Beard, *Introduction to the English Historians*, 492–504.

2. William Pitt the Younger. Rosebery, *Pitt*, 261–287.

3. The Peterloo massacre. Walpole, *England from 1815*, I, 420–426.

4. Parliament before reform. Beard, *Introduction to the English Historians*, 538–548.

5. Reforms that followed the Reform Act of 1832. Innes, *England and the British Empire*, IV, 144–159.

6. Palmerston. Geffcken, *The British Empire*, 185–233.

7. The Lake poets.

8. Tennyson and Browning. Globe edition.

9. Relief for chimney sweeps. Simeral, *Reform Movements in Behalf of Children in England in the Early Nineteenth Century*, 17–34.

10. The first factory act. Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History, Select Documents*, 571–573.

11. Condition of child workers in factories before 1833. Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History, Select Documents*, 502–505, 510–516.

12. Workers in mines. Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History, Select Documents*, 516–519.

13. Legislation for factory workers (1844–1850). Simeral, *Reform Movements in Behalf of Children in England in the Early Nineteenth Century*, 61–70.

Questions

1. Explain the beginnings of cabinet government in England (§ 42). Describe George III's attempt to restore the personal government of the monarch, and state the part taken by the United States in his failure. Show the importance of the Napoleonic wars in the history of England.

2. Explain as clearly as possible causes of discontent among the English people after 1815. To what extent did the government give relief for this discontent?

3. How was Parliament organized at the time of the American Revolution? To what extent was it a representative body? What reform measures were carried through Parliament during the eighties? What was the nature of the Reform Bill proposed by the Whig leaders? How was the bill received by the

House of Commons; by the House of Lords; by the English populace?

4. Describe the events connected with the enactment of the Reform Act of 1832. Show the significance of the concession made by William IV to create more peers. State the provisions of the Reform Act and discuss its importance.

5. Name the political reforms which were made during the years following the great Reform Act. What further political reforms were demanded by the Chartists? What did Chartism accomplish? What was the significance in English history of the reign of Queen Victoria? What was the importance in European history of the ministries of Lord Palmerston?

6. To what extent was there religious liberty in England in the seventeenth century? Describe the changes by which toleration was gradually extended after 1689. Has England religious liberty in the strictest legal sense at the present time? What were the steps by which freedom of the press was gradually developed during the same period? Compare treatment of criminals in 1800 with methods used thirty years later, those prevailing in England to-day (§ 459), and in America at the present time.

7. Describe without too much detail the conditions of workers a century and a half ago: in sweeping chimneys, in factories, in mines. Describe the successive laws made for the protection of child workers and woman employees in those occupations. Compare with laws on the same subject in this state to-day.

8. Why was bread so expensive in England before the overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo? after 1815? Why did the manufacturers of England make especially earnest protests against the corn laws passed by Parliament after 1815? What was the effect of the repeal of the corn laws in 1846? Why did England soon after 1846 adopt a policy of low protective tariff or free trade?

CHAPTER XVII

GREAT BRITAIN AFTER 1865

POLITICAL CHANGES (1865–1905)

Parliamentary reform and the act of 1867.

345. Gladstone and Reform. — In spite of its name the Liberal party was quite well satisfied with the Reform Act of 1832, since through it the middle classes which the Liberals represented had gained control of the government. They did not heed the demands of the lower middle classes and the workingmen for a share in the government, because they did not wish to reduce their own power. This gave opportunity to the opposition, which continually proposed reform of Parliament.[1] In two respects *the second Reform Act, passed in 1867,* continued the work of the Reform Act of 1832. First, it abolished the smaller boroughs, and, secondly, it gave the right to vote to many more people. As a matter of fact, it was very much more liberal to the workers in the towns than to those in the country.[2]

Reforms under the first Gladstone ministry.

The Liberals were soon restored to power, however, because the Reform Act was a Liberal rather than a Conservative measure. Under the leadership of the new prime minister, *Gladstone*, the new Parliament made a number of reforms, much as the first Parliament after the Reform Act of 1832 had done. *The Irish church was disestablished* in 1869; the Anglicans were allowed to keep their church buildings, but lost their endowments and lands. Part of this property was turned over to the Catholic church, and part of it was used for education and charity. Another reform consisted of *the Irish Land Act* of 1870 (§ 365), followed by that of 1881, which aimed to help the farmers of Ireland in their difficulties with their landlords (§ 363). A law was passed for the establishment of better *public schools* (§ 496). Somewhat later, the government gave relief to the *labor unions* (§ 481). In 1872 a *secret written ballot* was introduced from Australia; before this time each voter had been required to give his vote orally and openly.

---

[1] The new leader of the *Conservatives* was Benjamin Dis-rael'i, afterward Lord Beaconsfield. Disraeli was of Jewish extraction and was considered one of the most brilliant men of his time. He was an imperialist.

[2] In the country those could now vote who "owned" property worth £5 (formerly £10) or were tenants at will for property worth £12 a year (formerly £50). In the boroughs the right to vote was conferred upon all householders, and also upon all lodgers who paid a rental of £10 a year.

Queen Victoria

Provisions of Reform Act.

In 1884, Gladstone, again in power, secured the enactment of the *Reform Act of 1884*, which extended the franchise to country workers on the same conditions as the act of 1867 had to town workers; that is, it included lodgers as well as owners, if the lodgings were worth £10 a year. This added some two million voters to the list and gave England practically manhood suffrage, except for the poorer laboring classes in town and country,[1] who were enfranchised later (§ 351), as were women.

New alignment of parties on the Irish Home Rule Bill (1886).

346. Reorganization of the Political Parties. — After the Reform Act of 1832 (§ 334), the old Whig and Tory parties had practically been continued under the new names, *Liberal* and *Conservative*.[2] In the middle of the eighties, the *Irish Home Rule question* became acute, and there occurred a complete reorganization of British political parties. When Gladstone came into power for the third time, in 1886, the number of Liberal members in the House of Commons almost exactly equaled the number of Conservatives, and the new Irish Home Rule, or Irish Nationalist, party (§ 367) held the balance of power. Gladstone found it wise therefore to gain the support of the *Irish Nationalists*. With this in view, he proposed his *first Home Rule bill*, which provided for a separate Irish parliament and for the withdrawal of all Irish members from the British imperial Parliament. A great many Liberals opposed a plan which separated Ireland from the United Kingdom. Led by an able statesman, Joseph Chamberlain, they organized a new party, known as the *Liberal Unionists*, because they were Liberals and wanted to maintain the union of Great Britain and Ireland. Without the support of the Liberal Unionists, it was impossible for Gladstone to secure approval for his Irish Home Rule measure, even in the House of Commons.

---

[1] It must be noticed that the English suffrage system has been different from the American plan. In America a man or woman has a vote as a person; in Great Britain the vote belonged formerly, not to the person, but to the land or holding or lodging. If an Englishman owned lands or lodgings in more than one place, he had the right to vote at each.

[2] The repeal of the corn laws, as stated above (§ 343), split the Conservative party. The Peel faction of the Conservatives, known as Peelites, merged with the Liberals; together they kept control of the government from 1847 to 1874. Most of the time from 1874 until 1905, on the contrary, the government was controlled by the Conservative party.

The bill was defeated, therefore, and the *Conservatives, supported by the Liberal Unionists,* formed a new ministry under Lord Salisbury.

Five political factions developed during the late nineteenth century.

In the years following 1886 there were five distinct political groups or factions: (1) the *old Liberals,* still led by that "Grand Old Man" of English affairs, William E. Gladstone; (2) the *old Conservatives* under the leadership, first of Salisbury and then of his nephew, Arthur James Balfour, and (3) the *Liberal Unionists* under Joseph Chamberlain. During the last generation there has been (4) an *Irish National party,* first organized by Charles Stewart Parnell (§ 366). Lastly, in the election of 1892 four labor members were chosen to Parliament. The strength of this labor group continued to increase until, during the ten years before the Great War, (5) the *Labor party* usually mustered about forty votes in the House of Commons.

Twentieth century parties.

During the last thirty years these five parties have formed *just two groups.* Because the *Liberals* committed themselves under Gladstone rather unequivocally to Irish Home Rule, they have had the help of the Irish Nationalists, and, because they favored social legislation, they have been supported by the Laborites. On the other hand the Liberal Unionists and the Conservatives worked together more and more, until, in the beginning of the twentieth century, they formed a single group known as *Unionists.*

Retirement of Gladstone on defeat of the second Home Rule bill.

347. The Rule of the Conservatives (1895–1905). — In 1892 Mr. Gladstone was returned to power for the fourth and last time. He immediately began work upon his *second Home Rule bill,* which differed from the first measure because it provided that Ireland should send eighty members to the imperial Parliament. These Irish commoners could not vote on questions affecting England, Scotland, or Wales exclusively. The second

Home Rule bill was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of forty-three, but it was defeated in the House of Lords by an overwhelming vote. There was talk of abolishing or reorganizing the House of Lords, but instead Gladstone, now more than eighty years of age, resigned, and the Conservatives under Salisbury again came into power and remained in control of the government until 1905.

Conquest of the Sudan and South Africa.

The Conservative-Unionists formed a distinctly imperialist party; that is, they favored the development and extension of the British Empire; whereas the Liberals had devoted their attention almost exclusively to home or domestic questions and had neglected imperial affairs. During this period occurred the war with the Boers[1] in South Africa. The *Boer War* (§ 375) showed that the English people needed military training for a conflict with even so small a nation as the Boers, because the conflict lasted more than two years. The period was distinguished also for the reconquest of the *Egyptian Sudan* under Kitch′e-ner of Khar-toum′ (§ 377).

The formation of the "Entente Cordiale" and the Triple Entente.

With the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, after an extraordinary reign of sixty-four years, Edward VII, who understood the French people, coöperating with the French foreign minister Delcassé (§ 423), brought the two countries together into an "alliance" known as the "Entente Cordiale." This understanding with France was followed in 1907, under a Liberal ministry, by a similar understanding with Russia (§ 425). Thus was organized the famous "Triple Entente" which opposed the growing German dominance in Europe and secured for the three countries in the Entente the lion's share of the colonial positions which had not been occupied in Africa and in southwestern Asia.

---

[1] (Burrs.)

Recent Reforms and Conditions

Proposal of protection by Chamberlain.

348. Return of the Liberals to Power. — After the Boer War, Joseph Chamberlain proposed that England should abandon the policy of free trade which she had adopted under the leadership of Peel and young Gladstone (§ 343). He maintained that Great Britain should have higher *protective duties,* which could be lowered for the special benefit of the colonies, in order to encourage trade between the mother country and the British provinces. The suggestion of Chamberlain did not meet with the approval of a majority in either the United Kingdom or the colonies. The Balfour ministry did not call a new election, however, but resigned in December, 1905.

Joseph Chamberlain

Overwhelming victory for the Liberals.

In the election the following month, Home Rule was not discussed very much, but a great deal was said on both sides regarding *free trade* and *protection.* The result was what in America we call a political "landslide" for the Liberals, who elected 397 members against 157 for the Unionists and Conservatives together.

Social reforms of the Liberals.

The Liberals organized a ministry in which they included two or three exceedingly radical members. They started out on a *program of reform.* One of the measures which they adopted, a measure which Joseph Chamberlain had been advocating for years, provided an old-age pension not to exceed five shillings a week for dependent and worthy citizens more than seventy years of age. *Other social reforms* included workingmen's compensation (§ 486), insurance against sickness and other misfortunes (§ 487), and a minimum wage in "sweated" industries and mining.

Need of money for a navy and expensive social reforms.

349. New Liberal Financial Measures. — In 1909 it was necessary to gain additional revenues for two reasons: first, to pay for the expensive social reforms of the Liberal government, and secondly, to make increases in the navy, because the nightmare of England in those days was the fear that the German navy (§ 299) would become nearly as large as that of Great Britain, a true menace because of numerous British colonies that needed protection.

New "socialistic" taxes proposed by Lloyd George.

The budget for raising these new moneys was proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd George. This provided *a supertax on large incomes;* that is, the rates of the income tax were raised *progressively* with the increase of the income; they were therefore much higher on great incomes than on small incomes. Rates were raised on the *inheritance tax* and also on all rented property, most of which was owned by the opponents of the Liberals, the landed aristocracy. There was levied also a new *unearned increment tax*, equal to one fifth of the unearned increase in the value of land.

The two houses on the budget.

Naturally the wealthier people opposed the *Lloyd George budget* as class legislation. They tried to show that it was unfair and unconstitutional. The finance bill was passed without difficulty in the House of Commons, but it was rejected in the House of Lords. This was contrary to precedent, for, from early times, it had been customary to allow the House of Commons almost complete control of the raising of revenue, and, for two centuries and a half, the Lords had not failed to approve any general finance bill.[1]

Popular victory of the Liberals.

350. Reform of the House of Lords. — The Liberals therefore were able to treat this action of the Lords in 1909 as extra-constitutional. They immediately called a new election to decide whether the people supported the Lords or the Commons on this important question. The result was a victory for the Liberals, although they had a smaller working majority than they had secured in the remarkable election of 1906. The House of Lords did not seem satisfied, however, and still opposed the Liberal government's budget. The ministry, therefore, proposed a far more radical measure.

KING GEORGE V

Provisions of the Parliament Act of 1911.

Again an election was held, and again the position of the ministry was upheld. The House of Commons proceeded to pass not only the finance bill but a parliament act, which limited the powers of the House of Lords. The Lords agreed to both laws. Any finance bill that passed the House of Commons was to become law within thirty days whether the House of Lords approved or not. Any other bill whatsoever, passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions, was to become a law within a minimum of two years from the time it was first passed, even if it did not secure the consent of the House of Lords. This *Parliament Act of 1911* also provided that members of the House of Commons were thereafter to be elected for five years instead of seven.

---

[1] To be sure, in 1861 it had been necessary to present all financial measures in a single bill in order to keep the House of Peers from rejecting provisions which they did not like.

Later Liberal legislation.

351. Parliament and the Ministers. — Under the new organization of Parliament it was possible for the Liberals to make radical changes in the finances of the imperial government and to carry out extensive reforms.[1] On account of the war some of these laws, such as the Irish Home Rule bill, were suspended until peace is made, but in 1917 several new reform measures were proposed. Among these was *the new Parliament Act of 1918*, which provided for an increase in the number of members to the House of Commons to 707, a rearrangement of parliamentary districts in England, and radical changes in the elective franchise. Under the act 44 boroughs lost representatives and 31 new towns gained representation. Plural voting was practically abandoned except for men with business property in two districts and for men holding degrees from certain universities. The most distinctive provision of the law arranged for *the enfranchisement of five million women*, including owners, occupiers, and wives of occupiers, at least thirty years of age. In recent centuries no constitutional change except the Reform Act of 1832 ranks with the "Representation of the People Act" of 1918, a law passed without popular pressure, but due to the Great War.

With the outbreak of the war with Germany in 1914 (§ 435), there came an end to the agitation on the part of the Irish for Home Rule, on the part of the Ulstermen of northeastern Ireland against Home Rule (§ 366), and

---

[1] Several important measures, favored by the Liberals and absolutely opposed by the Unionists and the House of Lords, were proposed in 1912 with the intention that they should become laws under the three-year provision. Among these were an Irish Home Rule bill (§ 366) and a bill providing for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales.

By special permission. Copyright reserved

BRITISH COALITION CABINET (1915)
(Showing Cabinet Offices, 10 Downing Street)

Political and governmental changes incident to the war.

on the part of the suffragettes for equal rights, including equal suffrage. All classes in the British Isles united for the support of the country against the common enemy. In 1915 a number of Unionists, including Mr. Balfour and a son of Joseph Chamberlain, were added to the cabinet. In other words *a coalition cabinet* and ministry were organized, and the government became more distinctly non-partisan. In December, 1916, this ministry was still further reorganized and *a War Cabinet* was created, consisting of the new Prime Minister, Lloyd George, and four associates. On this board were conferred almost dictatorial powers, in order that the war might be prosecuted more successfully.

Reasons for England's entrance into the war.

352. Great Britain and the Great War. — When the German armies invaded Belgium, Great Britain immediately entered the war. We must not suppose that she would have remained out of the conflict if the Germans had not violated Belgium's neutrality. As Lord Northcliffe says, "Whether Prussia had invaded Belgium or not, *Britain would have been obliged to fight in self-defense.*"

Creation of an army.

At the beginning, the English people did not realize the nature or magnitude of the conflict; only gradually were they aroused. For the first two years, Great Britain depended entirely upon *voluntary enlistment.* Through posters and through the press, in public speeches and in private conversation, the youths of Britain were urged to do their full duty. In January, 1916, a law was passed providing for *conscription* of all single men in Great Britain between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, except those physically disabled, or engaged in absolutely necessary industries. Since this did not furnish the number needed, a general conscription bill was passed, including all men between the ages of eighteen and forty-one.[1]

---

[1] The men who have joined the British military and naval forces from England, Wales, and Scotland numbered in 1918 not less than five

War supplies and finance.

During the early years of the contest, the war problem of the British people was not simply to create an army, but *to manufacture munitions in vast quantities*. As has been the case in almost all European wars in which England has been engaged, she has borne a heavier financial burden than any of her allies or her colleagues.[1] Rates of taxes have been increased several times, many *new taxes* have been created, and *immense war loans* have been floated.

Extension of governmental authority.

The British people, noted for their love of freedom and their objection to governmental interference, have submitted rather gracefully to constant regulations of their private affairs. Prices are fixed for almost all kinds of food and other necessaries of life,[2] and the list of articles which are forbidden, or the use of which is restricted, has been growing longer year by year. The war has brought about a greater social solidarity of all the people of Great Britain than ever existed before.[3]

Importance of England's insular position.

353. Resources of Great Britain. — In war as in peace the most important fact in English and British history is the insular position of the country. This insular position[4] was an important influence in the

---

millions. Beside these recruits, there were approximately 175,000 from Ireland, in the neighborhood of 400,000 from Canada, and a great many from South Africa, India, and Australia.

[1] By January 1, 1918, the total cost of the war to Great Britain had been more than twenty-five billion dollars, a sum about six times as great as it cost England to fight Napoleon and, in fact, a sum considerably greater than the total wealth of Great Britain a hundred years ago.

[2] As early as January 1, 1917, the Food Administration forbade the further use of fine white flour. In 1916 the government guaranteed to the growers of wheat a minimum price per bushel, not only for that year, but for the years to follow.

[3] The labor unions of Great Britain had for years before the war caused the government considerable uneasiness. Labor was among the most serious difficulties which the government was forced to face. Since the war started, *British labor* has supported the government quite loyally.

[4] E. E. C., § 465.

Middle Ages and in early modern times, and it still dominates England's foreign policy and her relations with her colonies, as well as her commerce, agriculture, industries, and other political or business interests. Before the outbreak of the Great War it was largely responsible for England's immense navy and very small army.

Agricultural development.

England is small, and much of her country is hilly; she cannot raise most of her supply of food.[1] The agricultural products of the British Isles are, however, quite important. She raises only about a quarter of the wheat her people have needed, but she produces some barley, and a quantity of oats. Of course, most of her food supplies are imported; for example, flour and meat from America or Australia, dairy products from Denmark and the Netherlands.

Mineral resources.

England and southern Scotland are more fortunate than any other part of Europe in their deposits of two most valuable minerals, coal (§ 476) and iron (§ 477).[2] The *coal supplies* are located in south-central Scotland, around Newcastle in north-central England, and in southern Wales. They are therefore close to the sea or they are in the heart of the great manufacturing districts. Until almost the last year of the nineteenth century England produced more coal than any other country in the world. England is fortunate also in having large supplies of *iron*. During the early decades of the nineteenth century England alone produced about half of the world's supply of iron and steel. Since 1870 her annual output of iron, however, has remained practically stationary.

---

[1] Although England is not noted to-day as she was in the medieval period for her great flocks of sheep, nevertheless, her hills furnish fine pasturage. She has more sheep in proportion to population than we have in the United States. The "roast beef of old England" is now to a great extent replaced by British mutton, but cattle raised in Ireland add to the meat supplies of the United Kingdom. In 1916, however, the British Isles imported from the outside world four hundred fifty million dollars' worth of meats.

[2] Consult map opposite page 234.

Iron and steel manufactures.

354. British Industries and Activities. — Because England had iron for machines, and coal for power, and because her inventors created or improved engines and machinery (§§ 187–189) long before they were used by any other peoples, England naturally took the lead in the manufacturing of many commodities. Before the Great War her *iron and steel manufactures*, including ship-building, were her most important single industry.

Even in the days when English wool was sent to Flanders[1] the eastern counties of England were famous for their wool trade. To-day, wool districts and the centers for the manufacture of *worsted or of woollen goods* are in north-central England. On the contrary, *cotton manufacturing*, which has depended to a great extent upon imports of raw cotton from America, has always been concentrated in and around Manchester.

Docks at Yarmouth, with Herring Fleet

Among other occupations of England may be named

---

[1] E. E. C., § 563.

Other industries.

fishing, *mining*, which employs more than a million men, *railroading*, and *shipping*. Before the Great War, Great Britain owned nearly as many ships as all other nations. In all harbors of the world the English flag was found. The magnitude of the shipping industry and the fact that Great Britain's foreign commerce in those days was larger than that of any other country made London the commercial center of the world, that is, *London was the clearing house for commercial transactions of practically all other countries*. For example, if New York imported coffee from Brazil, and we had very little to sell to that country, we would not pay the Brazilian merchants directly, but we traded wheat and meat to England, and allowed her to pay what we owed Brazil.

Characteristics of all British races.

355. British Characteristics and Interests. — It would be impossible to speak of the people of the British Isles as forming a single nation. Although they are quite well united — except for nine tenths of the Irish — for purposes of government, they really form rather distinct groups of races. Yet there are, in a true sense, numerous characteristics common to all the people of the island of Great Britain. For example, *interest in personal freedom* is characteristic alike of Englishman, Welshman, Scotsman, and Irishman. In *capacity for government*, especially of inferior races, British statesmen excel all others. *British determination*, that is, unwillingness to start a thing which they do not finish, is certainly not less characteristic of the Scotch than of the English.

Development and importance of sea power.

In the last two centuries, Great Britain's most important interest has been *sea power*. The success of her navy, the development of her foreign trade, and the growth of her colonial empire — all these have combined with her insular position to make her the first naval and maritime power in the world. For nearly two centuries before the war broke out, the term "Britannia rules the wave" was no mere figure of speech; it was literally true. Great Britain has used her control of the seas fairly and justly.[1] With the coming of the Great War, however, a new phase of world history, and particularly of British naval history, has begun. The English channel still exists, but the insular position of England is not so important as it was. The whole future of the British Isles depends not simply upon the outcome of the war, but upon many changes which may arise out of that conflict.

Government of Great Britain

Unwritten and written constitutions.

356. The British Constitution. — The constitution of the United Kingdom is really the constitution of England, which was developed over many centuries and extended to the whole kingdom. It is customary to speak of this English constitution as unwritten, in order to distinguish it from a constitution like that of the United States, which is based upon a single document known as a written constitution. In England there is nothing corresponding to our national Constitution which was adopted in 1787.

Fundamental laws of the British Constitution.

It must not be thought, however, that England does not have a constitution. In fact the principles of the British constitution and the organization of the British government are practically as definite as those of the United States. Most of these principles are based upon historical changes. It is still customary for historians to speak of Magna Carta, 1215,[2] and the Petition of Right, 1628 (§ 28), and the Bill of Rights, 1689 (§ 37), as though these three great state papers were not only the basis of the British constitution but embodied all of its essential principles. We must not forget, however, that the development of English constitution during the last one hundred years has been remarkable. To be certain of this one need only notice the changes brought about by the growth of the cabinet system of government, and by the reorganization of Parliament through the Reform Act of 1832 (§ 334) and the Parliament Act of 1918 (§ 351).

---

[1] Occasionally, as in the controversy before the War of 1812, she was accustomed to dominate smaller nations whose ideas in regard to rights on the seas and the rights of neutrals were different from her own.

[2] E. E. C., § 590.

Present organization of Parliament.

357. Parliament — The House of Lords. — The governing body of the United Kingdom is an *imperial Parliament* made up of three branches; first, the *crown*, including the ministry; secondly, the *House of Lords;* and thirdly, the *House of Commons.*

Composition and powers of the House of Lords.

The *House of Lords* is at present made up of nearly 600 peers.[1] Of these, only twenty-six are spiritual, archbishops or bishops. The House of Lords, once the most powerful body in the government, in the days of the later Angevin and Lancastrian rulers,[2] has now been shorn even of its equal position with the House of Commons. It still possesses great dignity but very little power. It is, however, the highest *court* of appeal for certain cases.

Distribution of members in the House of Commons.

358. Parliament — The House of Commons. — The House of Commons consists of more than 700 members, chosen, at intervals not exceeding five years, by the voters of Great Britain. The redistribution of seats in 1832, 1867, 1885, and 1918 removed the most glaring discrepancies between the less populated and the larger districts.

The people of the British Isles believe that the Commons and it alone represents the nation. *Its rule, however, is*

---

[1] Sixteen peers are Scotch, elected by all the peers of Scotland, and twenty-eight are Irish, elected for life by Irish peers. The rest are English, and we should notice that *all* English peers are, by virtue of their position, members of the House of Lords. It is interesting to note that the majority of the English peers do not belong to old families, since the title of the majority of English peers to-day has been created within the last half century.

[2] E. E. C., § 592.

How the Commons rules the nation.

indirect rather than direct, because the real governing body is not the House of Commons at all but a ministry made up from members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Strangely enough, the ministry is legally a committee of advisers of the king; therefore, the king and his ministers really form a third house of Parliament.

Formation of a cabinet.

359. Ministerial Government. — Since England is really ruled by the ministers,[1] and since the ministers must represent the House of Commons, it is necessary to organize a new ministry whenever there is a change in party control in the lower house of Parliament. In that case the monarch requests the leader of the new party in power to form a ministry. The leader occupies the position of prime minister or premier. He gathers about himself ministers whose views agree with his and organizes a new cabinet and government.

How the British cabinet and Commons work together and represent the people.

After a time, if he does not enjoy the confidence of the majority of members in the House of Commons, he can do one of two things. (1) He may immediately resign. In that case, the monarch calls the leader of the opposing party to form a ministry, or, if the retiring premier was forced to resign for personal reasons, the monarch asks the next greatest leader of the same party to form a ministry. (2) If a prime minister does not wish to resign, however, he calls a new election. If the election gives his party a majority in the new House of Commons, it shows that the people uphold the policy of his ministry, and he remains in office. If his opponents win, the cabinet and ministry resign at once or as soon as Parliament meets and the Commons shows that it wants some one else as prime minister. In this way, the English government responds rather quickly to the sentiment of the nation. For the proper working of the scheme, it is necessary that there should either be only *two parties*, or that the parties work in *two groups*. Otherwise, ministers may be driven from power when it is impossible to organize a new ministry and government.

---

[1] It is necessary for us to distinguish four persons or bodies connected with the English *executive*. (1) When a *king* dies, he is succeeded by his oldest son. (2) The *Privy Council* is a name used for centuries to represent a group of advisers gathered together by the monarch to help him administer the affairs of the government. (3) The *ministry* is a group of 50 or 60 prominent administrative officials associated with the prime minister. (4) The *Cabinet* is a body not known to, or organized by, the law, which is made up of eleven or more ministers, the number varying with the preference of the prime minister and the need of the times.

General and administrative counties.

360. Local Government. — In most of the past centuries, the local government of England has been distinguished in two ways from those of other countries. First, it has been more decentralized, that is, less under the central government, than local government in most countries of the Continent. Secondly, there has been a greater development of self-government in England than has been found elsewhere in Europe.[1] The local government of England to-day is fairly well organized. The country is divided into sixty-two *administrative counties*, most of which correspond closely to the historical counties. As a rule, these counties do not include the larger cities.[2] They are governed by *county councils* made up of councilmen chosen for three-year terms by the voters and aldermen chosen for six years by the councilors. Although large bodies, usually numbering about seventy-five members, these county councils have somewhat the same powers as do the county boards of the American county.[1]

---

[1] In Anglo-Saxon times (E. E. C., § 470) there were *shires*, *hundreds*, and *townships*, each of which had local self-government and usually an assembly of the people or their representatives. As the Norman kings began to organize a new national government in England, the local districts lost their self-governing assemblies and were brought more directly under the king. The *county* succeeded the shire. Over it were a sheriff and justices of the peace, appointed from the lesser nobles. The *parish* still had, however, an occasional meeting of the rate-payers, who elected officials and decided what taxes should be levied. The English *borough* was governed in many different ways, frequently under separate royal charters, until in 1835 the first general municipal act was passed (§ 335). The local government outside of the borough was, however, much of a hodgepodge until the close of the nineteenth century.

[2] On the government of English cities consult sections 335 and 462.

Government of local subdivisions.

The administrative counties are subdivided into districts of different sizes for different purposes. The smallest and therefore most numerous of these districts is still known as the *parish*. It is governed by a meeting of all voters (including women and lodgers). It decides the amount of local taxes, looks after the administration of the poor law, and takes care of some other matters of purely local interest.

The Irish Question

Triple nature of the Irish question.

361. Ireland and the Irish Question. — The *Irish question* grows largely either out of the *location* of the island, or out of the fact that Ireland is a *conquered country* dominated by the English people, or out of the *diverse elements of population*. (1) Separated as she is, not only from the continent of Europe but also from the island of Great Britain, she has not shared fully in the progress which in modern times has come to the rest of Europe.[2] (2) Inhabited almost entirely by a people different in race from those of England, she has constantly opposed the rule of the English, and in turn the English rule has been severe and unkind. (3) Besides the *Irish race* there are in the island two other groups of people, the *Scotch-Irish* (or English-Irish) of the northeastern provinces, in Ulster, who are the descendants of settlers sent to Ireland two or three hundred years ago, and the *English*, who own most of the land and are therefore primarily a landlord class.

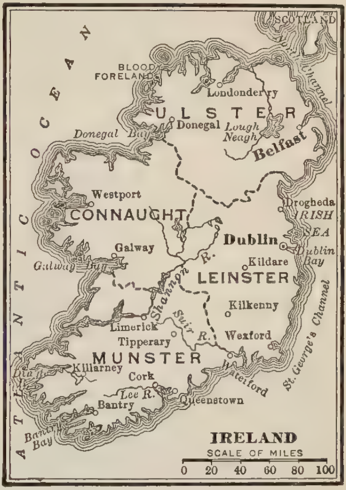
---

[1] See Ashley, *The New Civics*, §§ 186, 189.

[2] Ireland contains some rolling hills and a large amount of low, swampy country, but most of the land of the island is quite fertile and well adapted to agriculture. It is especially valuable, however, for grazing. As Ireland is in the direct path of the Gulf Stream, she has an unusually heavy rainfall.

Conquests under the Tudors and early Stuarts.

362. Real Conquest of Ireland (1485–1660). — Before the time of Henry VII,[1] Ireland was really ruled by the Irish chiefs, as the English had control of only a small area around Dublin which was known as the Pale.[2] *Henry VII* brought the island under English rule to a greater extent than it had ever been before. In the reign of *Elizabeth*, insurrections among the people gave the English government a chance to take lands, especially in Ulster, on which Scotch and English settlers, usually Presbyterians, were established by Elizabeth and her successor, James I. Under Charles I, *Wentworth*, Earl of Strafford, ruled Ireland very severely. As soon as he returned to England, a terrible insurrection broke out, and women and children were slaughtered by thousands. The island was in great disorder; it was difficult to grow crops, and consequently famines were numerous.



Conquest by Cromwell.

After the death of Charles I, Oliver *Cromwell* invaded the island and put down the insurrection (§ 32). In one town his troops killed more than a thousand soldiers, peasants, and others who had taken refuge in a church. Cromwell took the lands of the Irish chiefs, except in the western provinces, and the Irish lords were compelled to migrate to the province of Connaught, beyond the River *Shannon*, and no Irishman was allowed to own any land outside of this province.[3]

---

[1] E. E. C., § 649.

[2] E. E. C., § 594.

[3] The lands from which the Irish lords were dispossessed were dis-

Unjust treatment of Irish Catholics.

363. English Legislation and the Irish (1660–1750). — The unjust and oppressive nature of the English rule can be understood most clearly by a study of the century following the Restoration (1660 A.D.). The Irish had not become Protestants at the time of the Reformation, as was the case with most other races of Northern Europe, but *they were compelled to support an established church*, which was similar to the Anglican church (§ 21). The peasants were forced to pay tithes to the support of this foreign church.

Interference with Irish occupations.

The Irish were subjected not only to religious oppression but to *economic oppression* as well. Soon after the Restoration, the Irish were forbidden to trade with the American colonies. About the same time, the right to export cattle to England was taken from them. These two prohibitions interfered with cattle-raising, possibly the most profitable single industry of the island, and with many Irish manufactures. Later, when the Irish turned from cattle-raising to sheep-raising, the English government forbade their sending out of the country either raw wool or cloth, or other articles manu-

Irish Cottages

---

tributed among English noblemen, merchants, adventurers, and soldiers. The only Irish left in the three other provinces were day laborers or cotters, who cultivated the ground or watched the herds and flocks of the new landlords. It is needless to say that after Cromwell's time there was more peace for Ireland, although there was less prosperity for the Irish.

factured from wool. These laws forced the Irish to depend more and more exclusively upon agriculture, and *the Irish were compelled to get land or starve.* Consequently, there was severe competition among tenants, and they frequently offered to pay very exorbitant rent. In only one way were they able to secure sufficient money to pay these high rents and get sufficient food to live; *they grew potatoes.*[1]

Violence and intimidation practiced by the Irish.

The Irish people, always accustomed to disorder, did not accept English oppression gracefully. About the middle of the eighteenth century a large number of turbulent Irishmen dressed in white garments and paid nightly visits to hated landlords or their bailiffs. These "white boys" and their successors, the "peep o' day boys," abused many unfortunate Englishmen and destroyed a great deal of property. Naturally Ireland, oppressed and in disorder, did not prosper.

Union and attempted repeal.

364. Union and O'Connell. Famine. — In 1800 *Ireland*[2] *was united* with Great Britain under the title of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Thenceforth Ireland was to be ruled absolutely by Parliament, to which of course she sent members.[3] An eloquent orator, Daniel *O'Connell,* who had already aroused the Irish people against the injustice of English rule, in 1825 was elected to Parliament by the county Clare. Of course a Catholic could not then be accepted as a member, but O'Connell's eloquence and the constantly increasing demand among the Irish for the repeal of the Act of Union led the English government in 1829 to pass a law providing for *Catholic Emancipation* (§ 338). Thereafter, Irish Catholics were allowed to hold seats in Parliament.

---

[1] Those Scotch-Irish and other peoples that were not willing to live on an exclusive potato diet were forced to leave, usually for America, since they could not get land.

[2] The Irish parliament was composed chiefly of English landlords, and it had misruled the island.

[3] At the time of the Union the Irish were allowed to select thirty-two Protestant members of the House of Lords and one hundred Protestant members of the House of Commons.

The terrible famines of 1845–1848.

In 1845 there were about eight and a half million people in Ireland. In a single week a hot wind practically destroyed their only crop, that of potatoes. During the next five years the Irish had only one really satisfactory potato crop. Not only were the people without food, but, since they could not pay their rents, they were frequently thrust out into the highways and byways by the landlords' bailiffs. From one end of Ireland to the other there was famine, disease, and death. The English people took up subscriptions for the Irish, but the English landlords during this same period accepted for rent an amount of grain which would have kept from starvation most of the unfortunate peasants.

Emigration to America.

Since conditions in Ireland were so bad, hundreds of thousands, especially young people, left Ireland every year for America. In six years (1844–1850) the population of Ireland was reduced by more than a million through migration and by nearly a million more through death from starvation and disease.

The Fenian movement and the agrarian problem.

365. The Irish Land Problem and Laws. — *The agrarian question has been the great problem of Ireland,* largely because the people have had no industries and no natural resources other than land from which they take a living.[1]

Demands of the Irish farmers.

Among the Irish there was a demand for the three F's: (1) *Free tenure, i.e.* the right of a tenant to hold his land for a definite period of time; (2) *Free land, i.e.* a rent which was just and could be paid easily out of the earnings of the farm; (3) *Free sale, i.e.* the privilege of selling to a new tenant for a bonus the rights in a farm or a tenancy, together with improvements.

---

[1] In ancient times the Irish land was owned by the clans or tribes. In later centuries, in spite of English rule, the Irish always felt that they had a part ownership in the land. Consequently, they protested with great vigor against the high rents charged by the landlords for the use of lands of which the tenant was, in his opinion, part owner. They objected also because the landlords did not give leases in most cases, but dismissed a tenant at will at any time of the year.

Land laws of 1870 and of 1881.

The *first land law* of 1870 provided for fair rents, and forced the landlord to pay for improvements made by the tenant, but it did not give the tenants sufficient relief. In 1881 Gladstone proposed his *second Irish Land Act*. In this the three F's were granted and a land court was created which upon request decided what should be a fair rent for a period of fifteen years. These acts gave the Irish tenants a little better treatment, but they did not satisfy either party. The Irish believed that the land question could not be settled until they owned their land and ruled Ireland.

Land purchase acts.

In 1891 and again in 1903 the Conservative party passed acts that helped the peasants buy their land.[1] Nearly *one half of the tenants in Ireland have arranged to buy farms* of their own under these laws. Whether they will ever complete the purchase and really own their lands remains to be seen.

Home Rule before 1910.

366. Irish Home Rule. — After Gladstone's land law of 1870, the Irish became convinced that the only practical settlement of their troubles was through the reëstablishment of the Irish parliament and other measures for Home Rule. By 1886, under the leadership of a Protestant Englishman, who was an Irish landlord, Charles Stewart *Parnell*, there was formed an *Irish National Party*, which united most of the Irish members in Parliament on a program of Home Rule for Ireland (§§ 346, 351). The Conservatives, who were in power for ten years (1895–1905), tried to kill Home Rule by kindness, for acts were passed which gave the Irish some local self-government, and Irish agriculture was aided by the establishment of a council of agriculture and by the land purchase acts mentioned above.

---

[1] The law of 1891 provided that if the tenant wanted to purchase his land, the government would buy the land from the landlord and resell it to the tenant on installments of forty-nine small annual payments. Later acts made it still easier for the Irish to purchase their own land. By the law of 1903 a hundred million pounds, nearly $500,000,000, was set aside for the purchase by the government of lands to be resold to the Irish farmers.

The third Home Rule bill.

One of the first measures introduced after the House of Lords had been deprived of its right to veto laws (§ 350) was *the third Home Rule bill.* It was proposed in 1912. Since the *Ulstermen* of the northeastern counties were opposed to an Irish Home Rule bill by which they would be governed by the rest of the island, they began to organize a militia and to drill. In 1914 the Home Rule bill was amended so that for six years these Ulstermen should be under British rule rather than under the new Irish government. *The Irish Nationalists* objected to this arrangement, and in turn began to organize an army. In the summer of 1914 trouble occurred between the British troops and the Irish Nationalist forces. Then came the Great War, and all parties agreed to forget their differences. In September, 1914, the Irish Home Rule act was passed, but its operation was suspended during the period of the war.

PARNELL

During the year 1917 the British premier called a conference or *constitutional convention* of about 100 members to represent all Irish areas and classes, including even the rebellious Sinn Feiners.[1] This convention discussed several plans for Irish government and favored a "federal" scheme of organization by which the separate counties would have considerable self-government under the Irish national government, just as our states are allowed to control very many powers of government.

Constitutional convention of Irishmen.

367. Summary. — In 1867 a parliamentary reform bill extended the franchise greatly, especially to householders and lodgers in boroughs, and in 1884 similar privileges were extended to country workers. During the same period the Irish church was disestablished and Irish land acts were passed. Gladstone's third ministry was supported by the Irish National Party; this union of the Liberals and the Irish Nationalists still continues. In 1901 Queen Victoria died, before the close of the Boer War. She was succeeded by her son, Edward VII, who established friendlier relations with France. The proposal of the Conservatives to abandon free trade for protection brought the Liberals into power again.

Political changes, 1865–1905.

The reform government of the Liberals and their allies proceeded to introduce a large number of laws, such as old-age pensions and unemployment insurance. Since it needed larger revenues, it proposed new and heavier taxes upon large incomes, and other taxes upon land. When the Lords opposed these measures, a Parliament Act was passed in 1911, which practically limited or took away from the House of Lords the right to veto laws desired by the Commons. Just before the Great War, England was having serious troubles with the suffragettes, with rioters in Ireland, and with some labor groups at home. After the war broke out, her people united, agitation for special

Present reforms and conditions.

---

[1] In 1916 an insurrection occurred in Ireland somewhat similar to the Fenian movement a half century earlier which caused Gladstone to secure relief for the Irish. This was managed by the *Sinn Feiners*, an organization which believed in "Ireland for the Irish." After some bloodshed this was suppressed.

reforms ceased, and a large army, the largest in the world at that time, outside of Germany and Russia, was organized to aid her fine navy. Great Britain owes much to her natural resources, especially coal and iron, to the other wonderful expansion of her industries, to her navy and colonial empire, and to the wonderful spirit of her people.

Government of Great Britain.

The constitution of Great Britain is called unwritten. It provides for the organization, but does not limit the power, of the Parliament. The Parliament is made up of the three branches, the crown including the ministry, the House of Lords or peers, and the House of Commons, elected by popular vote, that is, by practically all men over twenty-one and by most of the women over thirty. The country rules itself through the House of Commons, because the ministry, really a committee of Parliament, must do as the House of Commons wants. This system is known as cabinet, or ministerial, or " responsible " government.

The Irish question.

Ireland is separated from the main island of Great Britain and is inhabited chiefly by a different race. She has no valuable mineral resources and is therefore preeminently an agricultural country. Her conquest was begun centuries ago, and continued under Tudor monarchs, Cromwell, and later kings. Severe laws were enacted against the Irish, who organized and stirred up trouble. After 1845, there were famines which caused great loss of life and led to emigration to America. Under Gladstone, a number of laws were passed to relieve the Irish tenants from oppression by the absentee landlords. Gladstone also favored Irish Home rule, but not until the House of Lords was deprived of its veto power was a Home Rule measure finally passed, just as the Great War broke out.

General References

Cheyney, *Short History of England*, 656–731.

Hazen, *Modern European History*, 453–486.

Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, II, 190–200, 217–232.

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 277–330.

Cambridge Modern History, XII, 23–90.

Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, 983–1089.

Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, IV, 297–562.

Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, 182–297.

Traill and Mann (eds.), *Social England*, VI.

Ogg, *The Governments of Europe*, 1–191.

Moran, *Theory and Practice of the English Government.*

Holland, *May's Constitutional History of England*, III.

Alden, *Democratic England.*

Ashley (ed.), *British Industries.*

Hayes (ed.), *British Social Politics.*

Dubois, *Contemporary Ireland.*

Mackinder, *Britain and the British Seas.*

Topics

Reform of the House of Lords: Cross, *History of England*, 1077–1080; Ogg, *The Governments of Europe*, 106–116; Holland, *May's Constitutional History of England*, III, 343–384.

Poverty and Unemployment in England: Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 227–238; *Contemporary Review*, 93 (1908), 147–157, 94 (1908), 563–569; *Annals of the American Academy*, 33 (1908), 420–439; *Review of Reviews*, 39 (1909), 71–76; Alden, *Democratic England*, 87–121.

Social Legislation in Recent Years: Cheyney, *Short History of England*, 682–689; Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 307–319; Hayes (ed.), *British Social Politics*, 1–19; Alden, *Democratic England*, 1–27, 87–191.

Economic Geography of Great Britain: Smith, *Commerce and Industry*, 355–362; Mackinder, *Britain and the British Seas*, 315–329; Lyde, *The Continent of Europe*, 221–249.

Ireland and Her Land Problems: Slater, *Making of Modern England*, 228–238; Holland, *May's Constitutional History* *of England*, III, 154–160, 176–179, 191–194; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XIV, 780–787; Dubois, *Contemporary Ireland*, 218–295.

HOME RULE FOR IRELAND: Dubois, *Contemporary Ireland*, 79–86, 514–522; *Cambridge Modern History*, XII, 73–76, 84–88; Holland, *May's Constitutional History of England*, III, 149–154, 162–176, 183–190.

Studies

1. Gladstone's reforms (1869–1871). Innes, *England and the British Empire*, IV, 348–361.
2. British political parties. Hayes, *Political and Social History of England*, II, 297–307; Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 162–166.
3. The government and labor. Tickner, *Social and Industrial History of England*, 595–608.
4. State insurance against sickness. Alden, *Democratic England*, 122–143.
5. The history of the Lloyd George budget. Hayes, *British Social Politics*, 347–361.
6. The British cotton industry. Ashley (ed.), *British Industries*, 79–87.
7. The British cabinet. Courtenay, *The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom*, 84–92.
8. Rural local government in England to-day. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 183–186.

Questions

1. Give the main provisions of the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884, comparing with those of 1832 and 1918. What other reforms were made about 1870?
2. Name the five party groups that have been prominent in English politics during the last third of a century. Why are they organized into two large groups (§ 361)? Give names of each group and of its different factions.
3. Which party was imperialistic? What was Joseph Chamberlain's plan of protection? Why were the Liberals returned to power in 1905? Name and explain some of their measures of social reform. Explain their financial reform laws.
4. Give the history of the struggle over the House of Lords and explain the Parliament Act of 1911. Show its importance

in English history. What reform measures were passed after the Lords had been deprived of their right to interfere with lawmaking? Give provisions of the "Representation of the People" Act of 1918.

5. How was the English government reorganized after the war started? What experience did the English people have with voluntary enlistment? Why was it necessary to have a selective draft or conscription? Compare food regulations of Great Britain with those in the United States.

6. Explain the location and importance of the mineral deposits of Great Britain. Show the reasons for development of certain industries in certain parts of the country. How have those industries affected English foreign commerce? To what extent have they been responsible for creating her social and labor problems?

7. Name at least three characteristics which we consider distinctively British. Explain the importance of each in British and world history. Show the significance of sea power to the British Isles. Explain its rise, and show how changes are being brought about by the Great War.

8. Compare the British constitution with our own. Explain the organization of the House of Lords. Describe the present organization and powers of the House of Commons and explain why and how it controls the British minister. Explain what you mean by cabinet, or "responsible," government. Describe English government at the present time.

9. Give three good reasons why Great Britain has had, and still has, an Irish question. Why have the Irish depended much upon a diet of potatoes? Show what the agrarian or land problem was. Give the provisions of the Irish land laws, and show how they helped to solve the problem.

10. Why did the Irish want Home Rule? What was the nature of the Home Rule bills proposed by Gladstone, and why were they defeated? Trace the history of Irish Home Rule in recent years. Give some idea of the present Irish Home Rule problem.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

General Europe	France	Germany and Austria	Great Britain England
		1850 Olmütz	
	1852 Second Empire		
1854 Crimean War			
1856 Congress of Paris		1856 Decline of Austria	
1859 Austro-Sardinian War			Last years of Palmerston's rule
	1863 French army in Mexico	1863 Schleswig-Holstein question	
		1864 Danish War	
1866 Austro-Prussian War		1866 Sadowa (Battle)	
		1867 Austria-Hungary reorganized	1867 Parliamentary reform
			1869 Irish disestablishment
		1867 North German Confederation	
1870 Franco-German War			1870 Reform acts
	1871 Treaty of Frankfort	1871 German Empire	
		1874 Kulturkampf	
	1875 Constitution		
	1875 Threats of war between France and Germany		
1878 Treaty of Berlin			
1879 Alliance between Germany and Austria	1879 Republic really established	1879 Anti-Socialist laws State socialism	
			1881 Irish land laws
1882 Triple Alliance			1886 Gladstone's first Home Rule bill
1888 Franco-Russian friendship		1888 Accession of William II	
	1889 Boulanger failure		
		1890 Retirement of Bismarck	
1891 Dual Alliance			
			1894 Conservatives in power until 1905
	1895 Dreyfus trial		
		1898 New Naval program	
	1901 Law of associations		1901 Death of Victoria Edward VII
1904 Entente Cordiale			
1904 Russo-Japanese War			
	1905 Repeal of Concordat (Separation of Church and State)	Agrarian controversy	1905 Defeat of protection
1906 Algeciras conference			
			1906 Beginning of social reforms
1907 Triple Entente			
		1908 Bosnian affair	
			1909 Lloyd George budget George V
1911 Agadir affair	1911 Preparation for possible war	1911 Increases in army	1910 Parliamentary Act
1912–13 Balkan wars			
1914 Outbreak of Great War		1914 Ultimatum to Serbia	
			1915 Coalition cabinet
1918 Armistices with all enemy belligerents			
			1916 Conscription
[See table, pages 606–7]			1918 Parliamentary reform

SOUTHERN EUROPE	EASTERN EUROPE	REST OF WORLD
	1855 Sebastopol (siege)	
1859 War between Sardinia and Austria		
1860 Annexation of states to Italy		
	1861 Emancipation of Russian serfs	1861 Beginning of Civil War in United States
	1863 Polish insurrection	
		1865 End of American Civil War
1866 Annexation of Venetia to Italy		
		1868 End of feudalism (Japan)
1869 Revolution in Spain		1869 Opening of Suez Canal
		1870 Opening up of Africa
1871 Completion of Italian unity		
	1876 Bulgarian massacres Revolution in Turkey	
	1877 Russo-Turkish War	1877 End of reconstruction period (U.S.)
	1878 Treaties	Stanley in Africa
1882 Italy in Triple Alliance		
Crispi in Italy	1886 Bulgarian troubles	
		1894 Chino-Japanese War
	1895 Armenian massacres	
	1897 Greek War	
		1898 Spheres of influence in China
Treaty between Italy and France		1898 Spanish-American War
		1900 Boxer revolt
		1902 Boer War ends
		1904 Moroccan-Egyptian understanding
	1905 Norway independent	1904–5 Russo-Japanese War
	1905 Revolution in Russia	1905 Bagdad railway prominent
	1906 First Duma	
		1907 Partition of Persia
	1908 Young Turk revolt Jugo-Slav nationalist movement	
1910 Republic of Portugal		
1911 Italian-Turkish War		1911 Republic of China
	1912 Balkan alliance	
	1913 Balkan treaties	
		1915 Japanese demands on China
	1917 Revolution in Russia	

© *Underwood*

David Lloyd George

Sir Douglas Haig

Marshal Foch

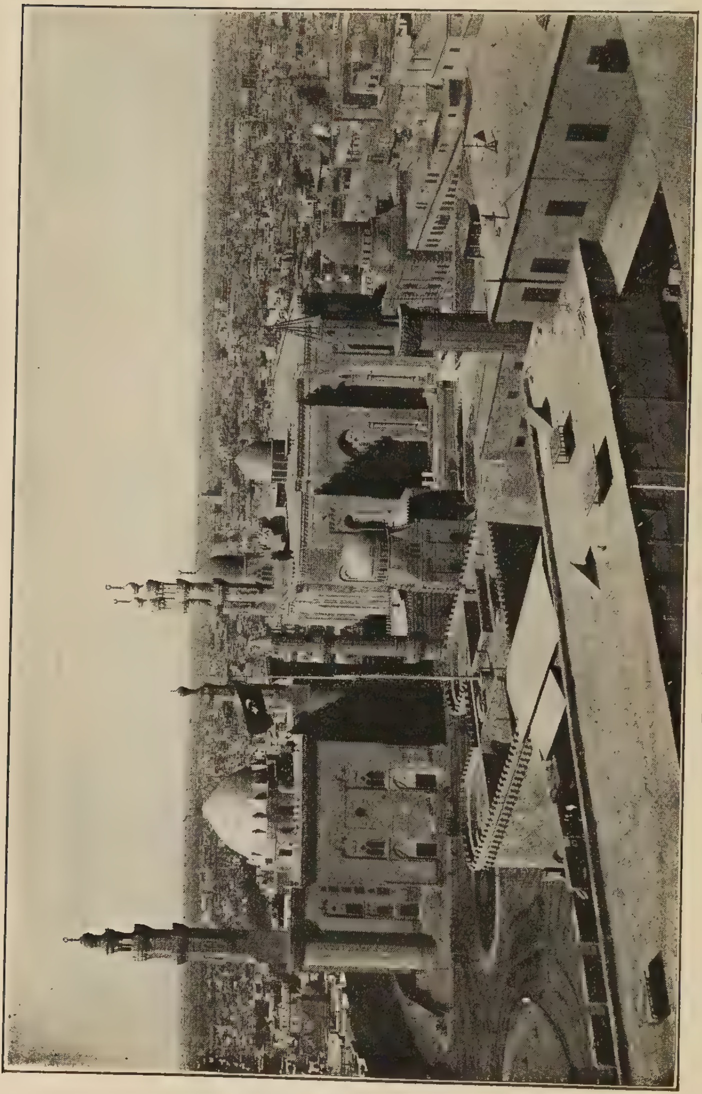
Georges Clemenceau

Marshal Joffre

Some British and French War Leaders

PART IV

EXPANSION AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT



Bird's-eye View of Cairo, Egypt

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

GENERAL — AMERICAN POSSESSIONS

Size and importance of British Empire.

368. The British as Empire Builders. — "Doubtless the most significant and momentous fact of modern history is the wide diffusion of the English race, the sweep of its commerce, the dominance of its institutions, its imperial control of the destinies of half the globe."[1] Although the English entered the field of colonial expansion later than most other countries of western Europe, even before the nineteenth century they had outstripped all rivals. In the beginning of the twentieth century, practically one fourth of the land area of the globe was comprised within the British Empire, and approximately one fourth of all people lived under its sway.

Location of important colonies or ports.

Its importance depends less upon its size than upon the location of its parts. The British Isles, although small, occupy a commanding position northwest of the continent of Europe, dominating the Atlantic and controlling the approaches to the continent from Brest eastward. In the New World it has Canada, larger than the United States, besides possessions in the West Indian region. It controls all South Africa, the continent of Australia, as well as numerous near-by islands, the peninsula and adjacent mainland of India, and almost innumerable strategically located islands such as Malta, Cyprus, Mau-ri′tius, and Trinidad, such valuable fortresses as Gibraltar, and important ports, as Sing-a-pore′ and Hong Kong.

---

[1] Wilson, *The State*, p. 428.

General character of dominion government.

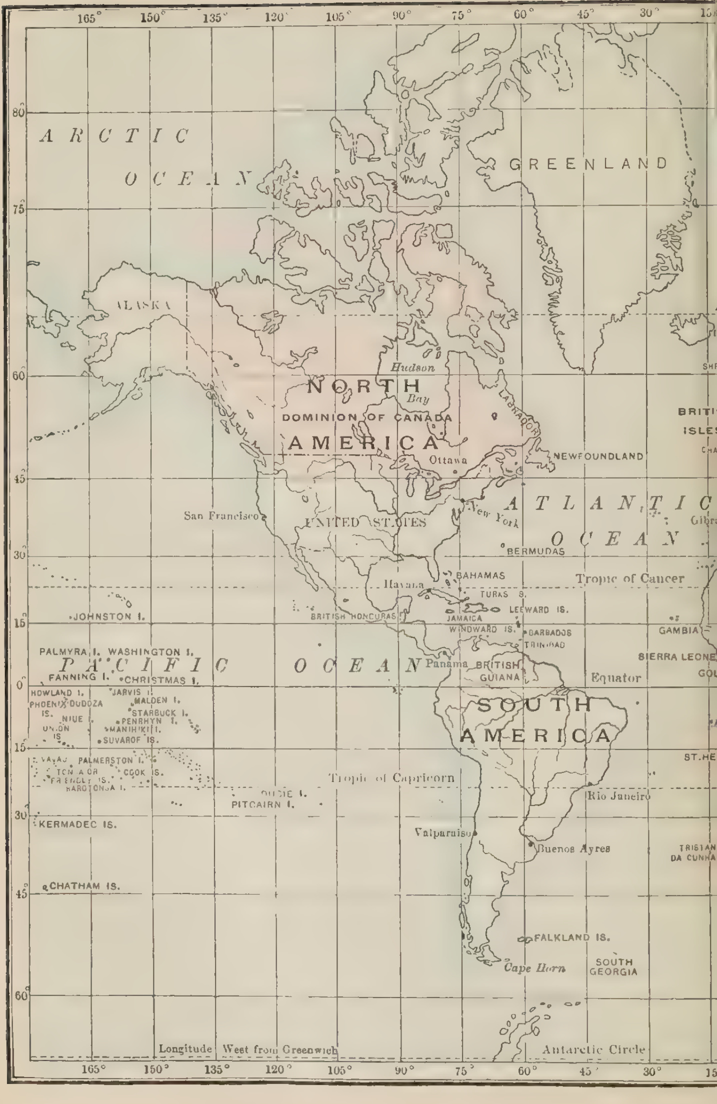
369. Empire and Colonies. — By far the most important of the self-governing colonies[1] are the groups known as dominions. *There are four of these, the Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.* Each of these dominions has its own *constitution.* The mother country appoints the governor-general of each dominion, and sometimes the governor (lieutenant-governor) of the separate states which make up the dominions. The upper houses of the dominion legislatures are appointed nominally by these governors-general. Actually, the appointment is in the hands of dominion ministries; and these ministries are selected from the party which has a majority in the lower or popularly elected half of the dominion legislatures. It is possible to say that the governor-general compares in position and powers to the English king, and that, as in Great Britain, the ruling is done by a ministry which represents the majority of the people of the country. In other words, each dominion enjoys "responsible government." These four dominions and Newfoundland make their own laws subject in practice only to the veto of their governors. In addition, they have the right to create tariffs.

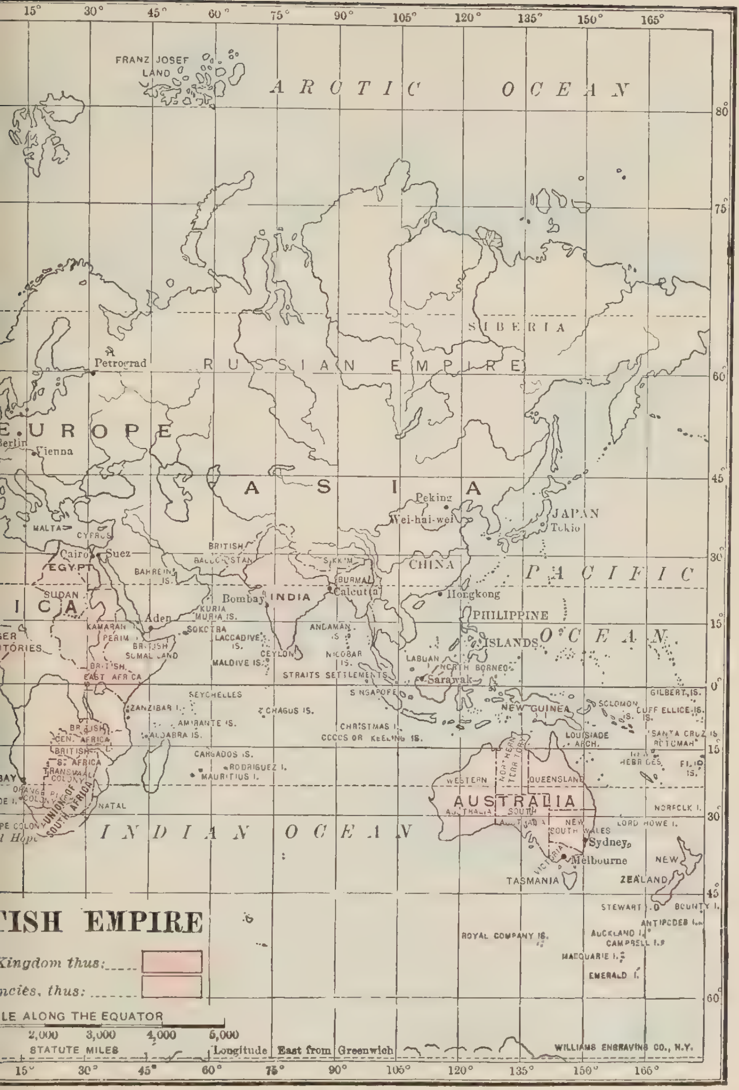
Benevolent despotism in British colonies.

It would be impossible, of course, to permit *tropical colonies* to be self-governing, especially those of vast size which are inhabited by great numbers of densely ignorant natives. On the whole, the English rule in those

---

[1] England's dependencies may be divided into four groups: (1) those colonies in the temperate zones which are inhabited by people of British ancestry. These are, to a large extent, *self-governing colonies.* (2) A second group consists of the *Crown colonies.* These vary in size from the little fortress settlement at Gibraltar to huge possessions in southern Africa. Most of them are located in the tropics and are inhabited by races alien to the English. Their people have little share in the government of the colony. (3) In the third place we have the empire of *India,* which is a separate British dependency. (4) Britain has at the present time certain *protectorates,* which nominally are governed by native rulers but actually are controlled by the British "resident."


165°
150°
135°
120°
105°
90°
75°
60°
45°
30°
80°
75°
60°
45°
30°
15°
0°
15°
30°
45°
60°
ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
ALASKA
Hudson Bay
NORTH AMERICA
DOMINION OF CANADA
LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
Ottawa
San Francisco
UNITED STATES
New York
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BERMUDAS
BAHAMAS
Tropic of Cancer
Havana
TURKS IS.
LEEWARD IS.
JAMAICA
BRITISH HONDURAS
WINDWARD IS.
BARBADOS
TRINIDAD
GAMBIA
SIERRA LEONE
BRITISH ISLES
JOHNSTON I.
PALMYRA I.
WASHINGTON I.
PACIFIC OCEAN
Panama
BRITISH GUIANA
Equator
FANNING I.
CHRISTMAS I.
HOWLAND I.
JARVIS I.
PHOENIX IS.
MALDEN I.
STARBUCK I.
NIUE I.
PENRHYN I.
UNION IS.
MANIHIKI I.
SUVAROF IS.
SOUTH AMERICA
PALMERSTON I.
COOK IS.
FRIENDLY IS.
RAROTONGA I.
Tropic of Capricorn
PITCAIRN I.
Rio Janeiro
KERMADEC IS.
Valparaiso
Buenos Ayres
TRISTAN DA CUNHA
CHATHAM IS.
FALKLAND IS.
Cape Horn
SOUTH GEORGIA
Longitude West from Greenwich
Antarctic Circle


15° 30° 45° 60° 75° 90° 105° 120° 135° 150° 165°
FRANZ JOSEF LAND
ARCTIC OCEAN
80° 75° 60° 45° 30° 15° 0° 15 30 45 60
SIBERIA
Petrograd
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
EUROPE
Berlin
Vienna
ASIA
Peking
Wei-hai-wei
JAPAN
Tokio
MALTA
CYPRUS
Cairo
Suez
EGYPT
BRITISH BALUCHISTAN
BAHREIN IS.
SIKKIM
CHINA
PACIFIC
BURMA
Calcutta
Bombay
INDIA
Hongkong
SUDAN
ICA
Aden
KURIA MURIA IS.
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
KAMARAN
PERIM
SOKOTRA
LACCADIVE IS.
ANDAMAN IS.
OCEAN
GER TORIES
BRITISH SOMALILAND
CEYLON
NICOBAR IS.
LABUAN
NORTH BORNEO
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
MALDIVE IS.
STRAITS SETTLEMENTS
Sarawak
SINGAPORE
GILBERT IS.
SEYCHELLES
ZANZIBAR I.
CHAGOS IS.
NEW GUINEA
SOLOMON IS.
ELLICE IS.
AMIRANTE IS.
ALDABRA IS.
BRITISH CEN. AFRICA
CHRISTMAS I.
COCOS OR KEELING IS.
LOUISIADE ARCH.
SANTA CRUZ IS.
ROTUMAH
BRITISH S. AFRICA
CARGADOS IS.
RODRIGUEZ I.
MAURITIUS I.
NEW HEBRIDES
FIJI IS.
TRANSVAAL COLONY
NORTHERN TERRITORY
QUEENSLAND
BAY
ORANGE RIVER COLONY
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
AUSTRALIA
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
NATAL
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
NORFOLK I.
PE COLONY
Hope
INDIAN OCEAN
NEW SOUTH WALES
LORD HOWE I.
Sydney
VICTORIA
Melbourne
NEW ZEALAND
TASMANIA
STEWART I.
BOUNTY I.
ANTIPODES I.
TISH EMPIRE
ROYAL COMPANY IS.
AUCKLAND I.
CAMPBELL I.
MACQUARIE I.
EMERALD I.
Kingdom thus:
ncies, thus:
LE ALONG THE EQUATOR
2,000 3,000 4,000 5,000
STATUTE MILES
Longitude East from Greenwich
WILLIAMS ENGRAVING CO., N.Y.

colonies is strict but benevolent; that is, the British government maintains order with a heavy hand, but it also accepts as a part of "the white man's burden" an obligation to rule well. It makes laws which seek to bring to the people better standards of civilization than they had before. It improves means of communication, including the construction of railways, as well as ordinary highways. It encourages agriculture, industry, and commerce. In fact the amount spent in these ways, which of course are also beneficial to British business, has exceeded by a considerable sum the amount spent for education and sanitation in these same colonies.

Commerce between Great Britain and her colonies. Federation.

An immense commerce is carried on between Great Britain and the colonies. In fact, if we exclude the goods sent from Canada to the United States, or exported from India into countries of Asia around the Indian Ocean, *one half of the total trade of the British colonial possessions is with the British Isles.* This shows very conclusively that, from the commercial point of view, the British Empire is exceedingly valuable to Great Britain. To increase trade and to improve all other relations among the colonies and between the mother country and the colonies, *imperial conferences* are held and *imperial federation* has been proposed.

370. Historical Development of British America. — England acquired eastern Canada in 1713 and 1763 (§§ 84–85).[1] For many years her Canadian provinces were governed on the model of the ordinary royal province

---

[1] Besides Canada, British territories in America include the West India possessions: the British islands in the West Indies, the largest of which are Jamaica and Trinidad, the outlying groups of islands known as the Bahamas and the Bermudas, and British territory in Honduras and British Guiana. In the twentieth century the West Indies no longer possess the commercial value which they had two centuries ago (§ 75), but they are important from the strategic point of view, especially since the completion of an interoceanic canal.

Establishment of "responsible government" in the Canadian provinces.

before the Revolutionary War. In lower Canada, in 1837, friction between the British governors and the French population caused a rebellion which was suppressed without difficulty. The British government sent over Lord Durham and other commissioners to investigate the problem. Lord Durham was not able to work it out successfully, but he did publish a famous report, which is the foundation for the government in the self-governing provinces of the empire at the present time. He urged that colonies should not only be allowed to have *representative assemblies*, but that they should be ruled by ministries chosen from the party that controlled those assemblies. In other words, he advocated the adoption of the British system of "*responsible*" or *cabinet government*. Furthermore, he advocated the adoption of the *American plan of federation*, and urged that the provinces of Canada be united into a dominion.

Organization of the Dominion.

In 1867 Durham's suggestion was carried into effect, and the four British provinces on the mainland of North America were united into the "Dominion of Canada." Provision was made for the admission of colonies farther west and north. Two years later, the Dominion purchased the territorial rights of the famous Hudson Bay Company.

Dominion and provincial government.

371. The Dominion of Canada. — There are at the present time in Canada nine states and two territories. As stated above, each province governs itself, making laws on the subjects permitted by the dominion constitution. The dominion government consists of a governor-general appointed by the Crown, an upper house selected by the dominion ministry[1] for life, and a House of Commons consisting of two hundred and twenty-one members, chosen for a term not to exceed five years by popular vote.

Canada contains 3,603,910 square miles and in 1911 had a population of seven millions. Quebec is still inhabited by French Canadians, but the majority in most of the other provinces are of British descent, although some of the new states of the Northwest are inhabited largely by emigrants from the United States. The Indian population is small.

---

[1] Legally by the governor-general.

Area and population.

Canada is far north; agriculture is therefore less extensive than it is south of the Great Lakes, but wheat is grown in large quantities in the Northwest, and the agricultural products of Ontario are varied and valuable. The timber resources of the southern half of Canada are very great. Supplies of coal are found from the Atlantic westward. Considerable iron and other valuable minerals are mined in the Great Lakes region. Like all new countries, Canada has not developed manufacturing very much yet, but is content to export raw materials. Her trade with the United States is greater than that with Great Britain, and her imports from this country far exceed those from the British Isles. During twelve years, from 1854–1865, Canada had a reciprocity treaty with the United States. An attempt was made to have a new reciprocity arrangement in 1911, but it was not popular on either side of the Great Lakes, and the treaty was not ratified by either country.

Agriculture, industry, and commerce.

AUSTRALIA AND AFRICA

372. The Commonwealth of Australia. — Colonization of Australia started with *New South Wales*. For many years it was a "convict colony" used chiefly for the transportation of "ticket-of-leave men," who had been sentenced to death in the British Isles. In 1851, gold was discovered in *Victoria*, and several hundred thousand men came to the colony for the purpose of getting rich quickly; most of them remained as permanent settlers. The development of Australia and her several

The early history.

provinces has depended chiefly upon opportunities for grazing and farming rather than upon her mineral products. By 1911 the population had grown to five millions.

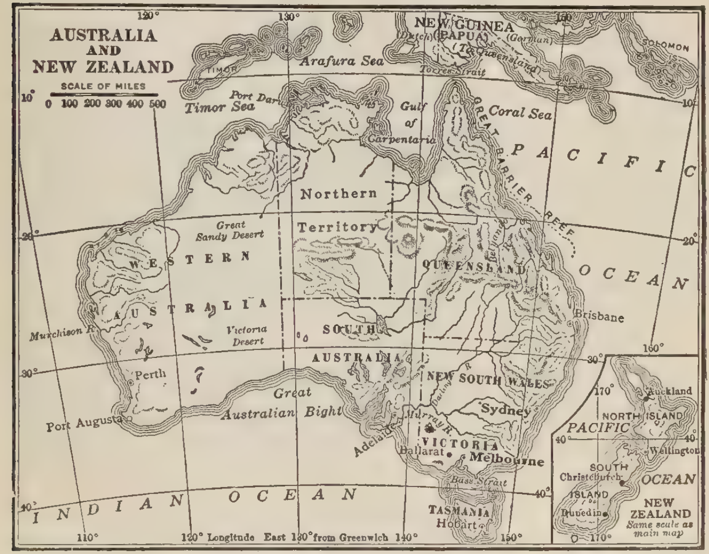
Organization and government of the Australian dominion.

Before 1900 there had been repeated attempts to bring the six provinces, including Tas-ma′ni-a, together into a single union, but they were jealous of each other. Finally, however, in 1900 the "Commonwealth of Australia" was created, and the different provinces were organized into a *federal union*.[1] The central government consists of a governor-general, appointed by the British ministry, of a Senate of thirty-six members (six from each state), and of a House of Representatives of seventy-five members, chosen, like our House of Representatives,

THE PUBLIC OFFICES, MELBOURNE, VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA according to population. The right to interpret the Constitution is left to the High Court of the Commonwealth, just as we leave a similar power to our United States Supreme Court. The Commonwealth is ruled by a cabinet similar to that of Great Britain and responsible to the commonwealth parliament. The government of the Australian Commonwealth therefore seems like a combination of the American and British governments, modified to meet the needs of Australasia.

---

[1] *This union, like that of the United States, leaves all residuary powers to the separate states.* The powers of the central government are therefore specifically stated, as in our American Constitution.



The constitution of Australia can be *amended by popular referendum.* It may also be amended in a manner similar to ours, by vote of the commonwealth parliament, together with ratification by the state parliaments. The members of the commonwealth parliament and of those in the separate states are elected by popular vote, and *suffrage is universal.*

Popular participation in government in Australia.

Political innovations.

373. Reforms and Development in Australia and New Zealand. — Australia and her neighbor New Zealand have been pioneers in developing new political methods, and in inaugurating social reforms. The secret ballot, which is used in most American states, is still called the Australian ballot, although we adopted it from Great Britain, not directly from Australia. Woman suffrage prevails in both dominions.

Australia.

A great many laws have been passed for the care of the poor and to give better protection to workingmen. Among these are measures providing pensions for people over sixty-five years of age, pensions which are twice as large as those granted in Great Britain (§ 348). Sickness insurance and workingmen's compensation are forms of *social insurance* tried out in *Australia* earlier than in Great Britain or the United States. The railways of Australia are owned by the government. To prevent disputes between capitalists and workers, trade boards have been created in Victoria and in two other states. New South Wales, however, uses the New Zealand system of compulsory arbitration.

New Zealand.

A score of years ago *New Zealand* was well advertised in America as the *country without strikes*. She provided that if any organization of workingmen had a dispute with their employer, they might secure arbitration of their differences. Until 1907 *compulsory arbitration* practically freed New Zealand from strikes; since then occasional strikes have occurred. "Government-owned railways, government life-insurance, accident insurance, and fire insurance offices, and government coal mines were some of New Zealand's experiments in state socialism. Notable also was the land tax, which was graduated so as to fall chiefly on great landlords, and the Advance to Settlers Act (1894) which provided government loans to farmers. . . . Pensions were given to aged working people (1898), and compensation to working men injured by accident (1900)."[1]

Beginnings of British rule in Cape Colony.

374. South Africa before 1895. — British control in South Africa dates from the capture of Cape Town from the Dutch in 1805 and the transfer of the Cape Colony to Great Britain in 1814 (§ 171). Practically all of the white inhabitants of South Africa of that time were Dutch, but a considerable number of British settlers migrated to the Cape within the next few years. The Dutch people did not get along well with their English rulers, largely because the English abolished slavery, and did other things which hurt the Boer pride or the Boer pocketbook, for British rule was not arbitrary.

Boers Trekking across River

British and Boers in the interior.

In 1836 *the Boers began their first trek*, and went out on the frontiers of South Africa. As the British colony expanded, they made new treks into what was later the *Orange Free State* and across the Vaal River into the

---

[1] Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 650.

Transvaal. The British officials at Cape Colony tried, unsuccessfully, to extend their authority over these Boer frontiersmen. In 1871, however, the British government brought under its control the valuable *diamond fields* at Kimberley, a small sum being paid to the Orange Free State government for the area that was seized. With the discovery of very rich *gold deposits* in the Rand region of the Transvaal, large numbers of foreigners, chiefly Englishmen, flocked thither in a new search for the Golden Fleece.

Events leading to war.

375. The Boer War and Union of South Africa. — Under the leadership of *Cecil Rhodes* and other enterprising Englishmen, chartered companies had been pressing into the interior of Africa, so that the Boer republics were practically surrounded by British possessions. From one of these Dr. Jameson and some armed forces raided the Transvaal (1895) and tried to start an insurrection. The "*Jameson Raid*" had important consequences, for it showed the unrest of the British settlers in the Transvaal, it warned the Boers of a possible British uprising, and it caused friction between Great Britain and Germany due to the congratulatory telegram sent by Emperor William II to President Kruger (§ 424).

CECIL RHODES

Prolonged guerrilla warfare.

In 1899 war broke out between the British and Boers in South Africa. During the first period of the war the advantage was with the Boers, who were aggressive, showed that they meant business, and by the extraordinary accuracy of their rifle-fire caused havoc among the British forces. With the arrival of reënforcements from Great

Britain, Canada, and Australia, the British armies under the command of Lord Roberts finally overpowered Boer resistance. The war itself lasted really less than a year and a half, but more than two years elapsed before peace was finally made. Great Britain promised to grant cabinet or responsible government to the two Boer republics.

Reconciliation of Boers and union of four provinces.

Need of combined action in all of the provinces was so great that in 1909 the *Union of South Africa* was completed. The four colonies, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, formed a *highly centralized dominion*. The liberal policy of the British authorities was well repaid by the loyalty to the British Empire of the Boer leaders and many of the Boer people. In the campaigns in South Africa during the Great War, two former Boer generals fought successful campaigns against their German opponents.

Relations before 1850.

376. Egypt and Europe before 1883. — Egypt has long been under British rule, but it did not become a British protectorate until after the outbreak of the Great War. It will be remembered[1] that the Egyptians lost their independence in 525 B.C. and have since been under the rule of successive world empires. In the sixteenth century the Turks overran Egypt, which they ruled until the early part of the nineteenth century through a resident governor. After Napoleon's attempt to get control of Egypt as a halfway station to India (§ 144), a very able governor, *Me'he-met A'li*, made himself almost independent of the sultan at Constantinople.

The Suez canal and financial problems.

Centuries ago the Egyptians had canals across part of the Suez peninsula. Napoleon hoped to construct a waterway connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. After 1850 *the French*, now ruled by Napoleon III, *revived the project of a ship-canal* and started construction under de Lesseps. Much money was spent and much, especially Egyptian funds, was wasted. In a few years the khedive, Ishmael, who lived very extravagantly, had created a debt of nearly $500,000,000. To insure the protection of European investors in Egypt, the French and British governments (1878) established a *dual control* over the country.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 48.

British intervention in Egypt (1882).

In 1882 the condition of Egypt was very bad indeed. There was a strong feeling against European interference and a growing demand that "Egypt should be governed for the Egyptians." The government of the khedive was absolutely unable to restore order, and when called upon, the Turkish sultan was either unwilling or impotent. The British fleet, therefore, nominally for the purpose of protecting British residents in Alexandria, in May, 1882, bombarded near-by forts and captured the city.[1]

Vacillating policy in early years.

377. British Occupation of Egypt. — The British occupied all northern Egypt, but declared that their occupation was temporary, and that they would leave as soon as order was restored. For years the government pursued a somewhat halting policy, advancing into the interior and using force only when nothing short of violence was adequate. The result of this vacillation was disastrous. General "Chinese" Gordon, who had helped to put down the Tai-ping rebellion (§ 388), was appointed to look after the Egyptian Su-dan′. In 1886, just before a British army relieved the city of Khartoum, the place was taken by assault and Gordon was murdered. The death of Gordon was largely responsible for the overthrow of the third Gladstone ministry (§ 346).

Ten years later Kitchener was selected to regain control of the Egyptian Sudan. He did this with a severity

---

[1] The French were invited to take part in this movement, but declined to do so until this drastic action was indorsed by the French Chamber of Deputies — and the French lower house refused to do so by a decided majority.

Reconquest of the Sudan.

characteristic of the man, and in spite of the fact that the "little fuzzy-wuzzys of the Sudan" were "first-class fighting men." In 1898 he defeated the largest army of the Su-da-nese′ and then occupied Om-dur-man′. While there he learned of the presence at Fa-sho′da, a village on the Nile river, of a small force under a French officer, Marchand (Mar-shan′) (§ 406). At once he compelled these invaders to surrender. The next year, the French promised to keep out of the Egyptian Sudan, and in 1904, by the "*Entente Cordiale*" (§ 423), in return for a free hand in Morocco, they agreed not to stir up further trouble in Egypt nor to demand that Britain should set a date for ending her occupation of the country.

Nature and success of British administration.

378. British Rule and Reforms in Egypt. — No one can question that, however much the Egyptians might have preferred to rule themselves, the British occupation of Egypt was an excellent thing for the country and the people. In the first place, the British restored order, which may not have been what the Egyptians wanted, but was what they needed. In the second place, they reorganized the finances, and, without increasing the taxes, they have paid the expenses of a good government and have made many wise investments in addition. They have not given to the Egyptians a great share in the government, partly because the people have not been interested to make use of the opportunities which were offered them. While the British officials had comparatively little legal authority before 1914, nothing could be done without their consent, and things must be done if they wished. Failures to carry out British wishes or instructions were prevented by the army of occupation.

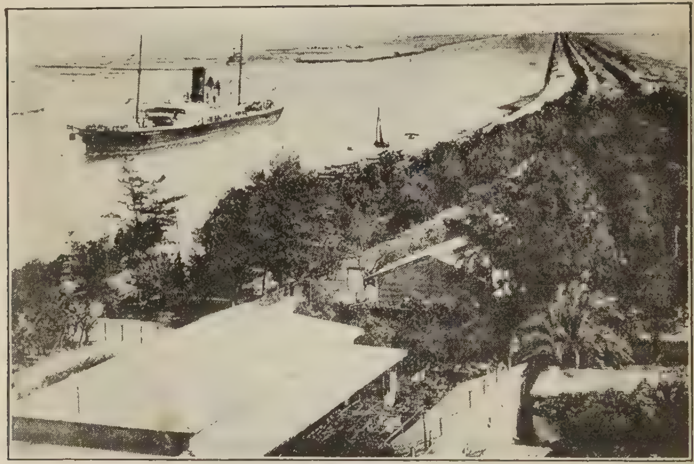
Social reforms.

Two of the greatest reforms instituted by the English were *the forbidding of whipping* by local officials as a means of maintaining order and *the abolition of the vile prisons*, which were more in need of reform than were those in

England before the days of John Howard (§ 98). Very little attention had been paid before 1882 to *sanitation*, but under English rule measures were taken to prevent the spread of cholera and other epidemics, and some necessary sanitary regulations were enforced.[1]

Commercial advantages of British rule.

The construction of the Suez Canal benefited Egypt commercially, because it gave rise to a northern commercial port, Port Said, at the entrance of the Suez Canal, and revived the trade of Alexandria, which has regained something like its ancient commercial prestige[2] since the beginning of the British occupation. The English have introduced some better and newer agricultural methods and have conferred untold benefits upon



SCENE ON SUEZ CANAL

---

[1] Among these were the substitution of cleanly supplies of drinking water for water from streams polluted with the sewage of cities farther up the Nile. Unfortunately, little has been done for *education*, for at the end of the nineteenth century less than two per cent of the women and not more than fifteen per cent of the men were able to read and write.

[2] E. E. C., § 216.

the country by the construction of irrigation dams, notably at As-su-an′. By this means they have created irrigation systems which have not only reclaimed regions that hitherto were arid, but have furnished a supply of water throughout the growing season to lands which formerly depended entirely on the annual inundation.

The British in India

Geographical divisions and peoples.

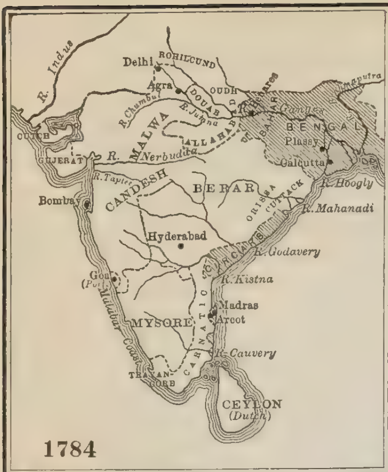
379. British India. — British India to-day covers an area equal to about two thirds of Europe. It consists of three rather distinct parts: (1) the southern half of the peninsula of India, which is best known as the *Deccan*, and the Island of Ceylon; (2) *Hin-du-stan′*, or the plains and valleys of northern India south of the Hi-ma′la-ya mountains; (3) the broad stretch of land from eastern Burma across *the northern plateaus of the Himalayas* into the plateaus of Beluchistan on the borders of Persia. India has almost every kind of climate and a great variety of soil and products. Its peoples vary from short, dark races of the south to the tall, fair-skinned peoples of the northern valleys, and to tribes allied to the Chinese in the northeast.

Different religions.

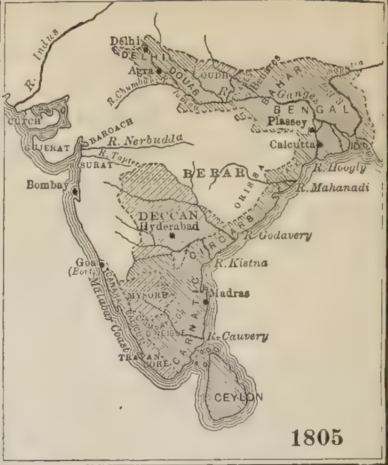
Most of the three hundred fifteen millions of people in British India are believers in the Hindu religion. Originally this religion was represented in the Vedas, but modern *Hinduism* is a faith which places special emphasis upon forms and ceremonies, although the deity who is worshiped may be wholly unworthy of reverence. The Hindu thinks that life should not be sacrificed because he believes in the transmigration of souls. A second very large religious group is made up of followers of Mohammed.[1] *Mohammedanism* has not prospered in India during the last two or three centuries. A third group

---

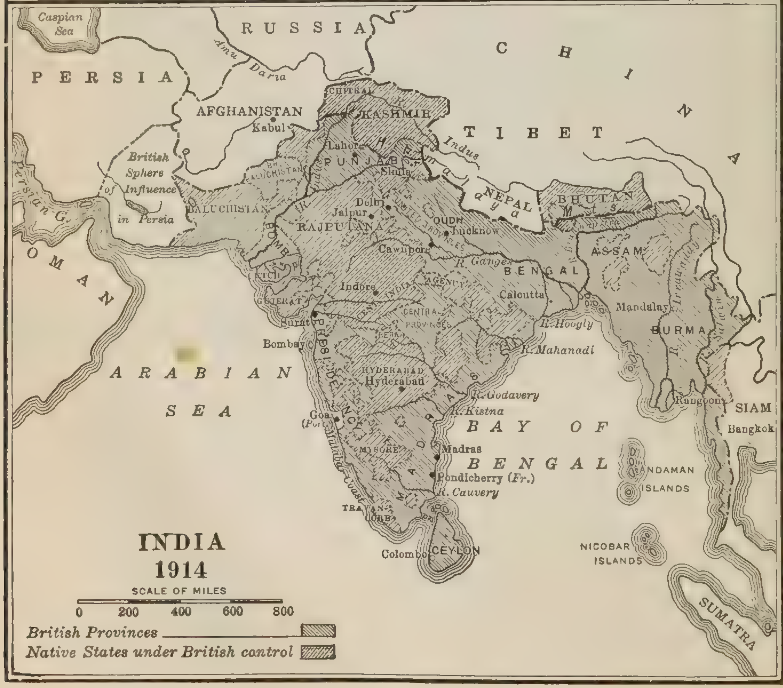
[1] E. E. C., § 444.



1784



1805



INDIA
1914

is still large but declining, that of the Buddhists.[1] In addition there are several million Christians and numerous other religious sects.

The caste system and its influence.

The people of India are divided into castes. A man is born into a caste and must follow the usages of his caste until death. He may not marry any one except another member of the same caste, nor can he eat forbidden foods, nor engage in any occupation except one permitted for his caste. A person of a lower caste must not watch his superiors eat nor cast a shadow upon them. Caste and iron-clad religious rules of life limit the actions of the people of India every hour of the day.

Succession of invasions and controlling dynasties.

380. India before 1800. — The civilization of India dates from the invasion of the tall, fair-skinned hill peoples from the northwest soon after the time of Ham-mu-ra′bi in Babylon.[2] More than twenty centuries later the Mohammedans began to invade India through the passes of the northwest, but they made no real attempts to conquer the country until the sixteenth century. In 1526, a descendant of Tam′er-lane[3] founded a *Mogul empire* in India.[4] Under the Moguls, most of the beautiful buildings of northern India were constructed. One of these, the Taj Ma-hal′, the mausoleum of a Mogul emperor, is considered among the finest pieces of architecture in the world. In 1707 the Mogul empire fell to pieces (§ 86) and a new set of rulers, the leaders of the *Mahràtta*

---

[1] In the sixth century B.C. *Prince Gau′ta-ma*, the Buddha, lived a life of exceptional excellence and taught doctrines far in advance of those of that time. The cardinal idea of Buddhism is loss of individuality in the all-powerful creator. Buddhists therefore place great stress on asceticism. They live apart from the world and by cruel personal injuries they seek to destroy all sense of self.

[2] E. E. C., § 56.

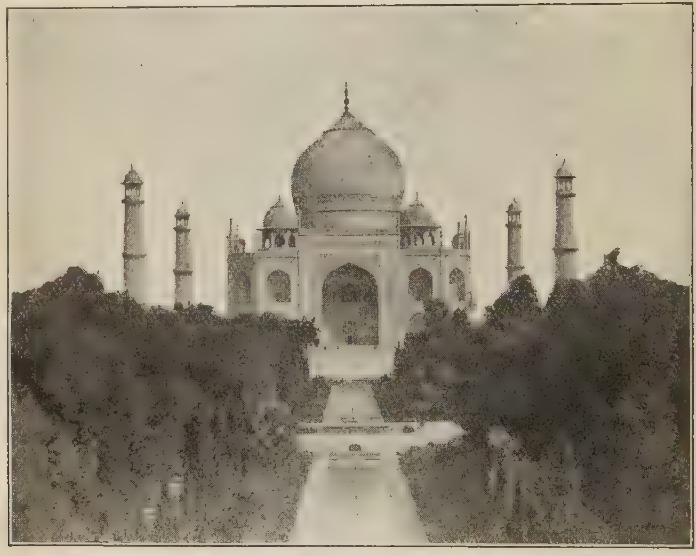
[3] E. E. C., § 573.

[4] The greatest of these Mogul rulers was Akbar the Great (§ 86), who brought most of India under his sway and established an enlightened rule, noted for its wise modern system of taxation and encouragement to agriculture, industry, and art.

confederacy, sought to establish their rule over northern Deccan and southern Hindustan. They were rather successful at first, but the confederacy never had sufficient unity to maintain authority over a large part of the country.

Beginnings of empire under the East India Company.

In 1600 the English government chartered the first East India Company. No ships were sent out for several years, but in 1612 Surat near Bombay was occupied, and, later, English trading posts were established on the east shores of India as well. For a century and a half the English were little more prosperous than the French or the Portuguese, and the volume of their trade, even in India, was decidedly inferior to that of the Dutch East India Company. About the middle of the eighteenth century, however, as we noticed (§ 86), *Bengal, in the*



TAJ MAHAL, AGRA, INDIA

lower Ganges basin, became the first British province in India.[1]

Extension of British dominions.

381. The East India Company in the Nineteenth Century. — British rule was extended rather rapidly[2] over the territories controlled by the Mahrattas and over chiefs whose armies were directed by French officers, during the Napoleonic period. Later, there was trouble with some of the newly conquered races, and some of the older subjects were ready to revolt against the rather arbitrary and shortsightedly benevolent British policy. For example, although the English allowed the people to follow their own religious practices in general, they had forbidden "suttee," that is, the burning of widows, and other revolting practices.

The great Sepoy Revolt (1857).

In 1857 the unrest in India broke out in a great rebellion known as *the Sepoy Revolt.* Throughout the valley of the upper Ganges, the Sepoy Mutiny spread with alarming rapidity. At *Cawn-pore′*, British troops and residents, including women and children, were massacred without mercy. The small garrison of *Lucknow* courageously held out until relief came. In the end, of course, the British troops triumphed. They took barbarous revenge upon some of the captured sepoys; in return for the massacre at Cawnpore, hundreds were blown to pieces at the mouths of cannons. In 1858 the East

---

[1] When Warren Hastings, governor-general of the company, was accused of arbitrary and corrupt acts, he was tried before Parliament (1784); thereafter, Parliament rather than the company directed the affairs of India, although the company continued in existence until 1858. After 1784 British authority in India was extended by Lord Cornwallis, who had fought unsuccessfully against George Washington, and by Wellesley, elder brother of the Duke of Wellington.

[2] By 1805 the English had overpowered all other bodies that threatened British supremacy in India. Under Lord Dal-hou′sie, "the last of the great empire builders," British rule was extended eastward into Burma and farther into the northwest, so that even the ruler of Beluchistan agreed to support the British in all their plans.

India Company lost all control over the government of India, which from that time was ruled absolutely and directly by the British government.

General and local governments.

382. Progress and Problems under British Rule. — India is governed to a large extent from London. In the British ministry there is a secretary of foreign affairs for India. In India there is a viceroy with very extensive authority, aided by a council made up chiefly of Englishmen and a legislative council of more than sixty members, about half of whom are officials, although many are Indians. This *central government* has charge of the army, general control of finances, public utilities, and of some relations with other countries. India is, however, divided into districts, some of which are under British rule and some of which are under *native princes.* In each of the *British districts* is a governor, a council, and a legislative council, similar to that of British India.

Some important reforms.

British rule in India has been exceedingly beneficial in a number of ways. In the first place, it *maintains order.* The Indians are not essentially an unruly people, yet for centuries the majority of them have not been under governments which punished law-breakers and safeguarded life and property. British rule has also *reduced taxes,* because British officials are honest and their native dependents are not so corrupt as the rulers in former ages. Since the English came, *sanitation* has been improving. That the reform has been only partial has been the misfortune rather than the fault of the British authorities. Many of the religious customs of the natives make it impossible either to enact or enforce proper sanitary regulations. In consequence epidemics are still common, and the death rate is very much higher than it should be. By the construction of *railroads* and the building of important *highways,* an end has been put to the isolation of the different districts and villages, and the terrible suffering from famine has been reduced.

National and other problems.

That the English have not solved most of their Indian problems is unquestioned. In the first place, they do not control directly more than three fourths of the people of India. In the second place, religious usages and prejudices interfere with many reform movements. In the third place, custom makes it impossible to introduce reforms rapidly. Among problems as yet unsolved is that of *creating a nation* out of these congeries of races. In spite of the diversity of racial groups, there is in India, as there has been throughout other countries of the Orient within the last twenty years, a nationalist movement, to create an India for the Indians. There is a *Young India,* just as nearly a century ago there was a Young Italy, and as in more recent years there have been Young Turks, and similar groups in other countries. The future of India is a problem not only for the peoples of the peninsula and of the British Empire, but of other European countries and the rest of the world.

The Russian advance into central western Asia.

383. British and Russians in Central Asia. — While the English were expanding to the northeast, to the north, and to the northwest from the valley of the Ganges river, *the Russians,* who had overrun Siberia in the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century, *were advancing with glacier-like slowness but sureness toward the Persian Gulf and the frontiers of India.* During the nineteenth century Russia gained her first foothold near the south end of the Caspian Sea, extended her sway into the Caucasus region, and, after the Turkish War of 1877, beyond the Caucasus mountains into northern Armenia. She also occupied Turkistan.

British advance northwest of India.

In the meantime, the British, about the middle of the century, had gained nominal control of *Be-lu-chi-stan′,* which they annexed in 1887. They had sought much earlier to intimidate the rulers of Af-ghan-i-stan′. In 1841 an English force, which had advanced into Afghanistan, was surprised and annihilated by the Afghans; only one man survived to bring the news of the terrible disaster. By 1880, however, the English had gained control of the foreign relations of *Afghanistan*, and, in the agreement of 1907, upon which the Triple Entente (§ 425) was based, Russia recognized Great Britain's right to control foreign affairs of Afghanistan and agreed that neither should seize any of her territory.

Reëntry of Persia into world affairs.

384. The Partition of Persia. — In spite of her greatness in the days before Alexander the Great, the part played by Persia in modern history has been slight. With the advance of the Russians, and British control in Beluchistan and Afghanistan, and with the development by the Germans of plans for a Berlin to Bagdad railroad (§ 413), which would give Germany access to the Persian Gulf on the west of Persia, *Persian affairs again became important in the international history of the world.*

Attempted reforms and division of spheres of influence.

In 1906 the shah or king of Persia granted certain *reforms* to the Young Persian party. These concessions included a Persian parliament. The revolution gave Russian and British capitalists excuse to invade the country, and *Persia was divided into three spheres of influence.* The northern, which was controlled by Russia, practically converted the Caspian Sea into a Russian lake. The southern, which bordered on the Gulf of Oman, was under British protection, and a middle strip, including all Persian territory on the Persian Gulf, was left temporarily to the Persians.

General character of British Empire and rule.

385. Summary. — The British Empire comprises practically a quarter of the land area and inhabitants of the globe. It includes Canada, Australia, South Africa, and numerous other areas. Only those colonies inhabited chiefly by Englishmen are really self-governing. Four groups of colonies form dominions.

Canada and Australia.

Canada was the first important British colony to enjoy representative assemblies, responsible government, and federation or dominion. The Dominion as well as the separate provinces have bicameral legislatures. The country is noted for its resources and its agricultural products. Relations with the United States have been cordial, and at times intimate. About as large as Canada, if at the other end of the globe, is the Commonwealth or Dominion of Australia, noted for its wheat, its sheep, and its gold. Both Australia and her neighbor New Zealand have been distinguished for extensive governmental activities and social reforms.

The British in Africa.

The British peoples have had colonies in Africa for only a hundred years. When they went into South Africa, the Boers or Dutch settlers moved out. Later, friction arose over control of the diamond fields, gold mines, and the general regulation of South African affairs. These controversies culminated in 1899 in the Boer War, in which the Boers were overpowered. North of the Union of South Africa is Rho-de′si-a. Still farther north is British East Africa, and beyond that lies the Egyptian Sudan. These are colonies or protectorates of the United Kingdom. In the northeastern corner of Africa is Egypt, which for nearly twenty-five centuries has been ruled by aliens. The English became interested in it because it is a halfway station to India; in 1878 the French and English established dual financial control. A few years later, the British, without the French, "occupied" Egypt, and in 1904, by agreement, the "Entente Cordiale," France left England in absolute control. Many reforms have been made, agriculture has developed, and the finances have been reorganized. In 1914 Egypt was organized as a British protectorate.

The British in India.

British India covers more than the peninsula, and its population includes numerous different groups, some of whom have a modern version of Hinduism, although others are Mohammedans, or Buddhists, or Christians. At first the English, like other Europeans, had seaport trading posts, but at the time of the Seven Years' War, the English were victorious over both the French and the natives, especially in the lower Ganges valley. In later years British leaders extended their sway into the interior and into the mountain regions of the north. The people of India have little share in their government, which is made up of a viceroy, and other officials sent from Great Britain, assisted by an army of British and native troops. British rule has brought India some prosperity, has reduced famines somewhat, but has not made the progress in education which one would expect. There is unrest in India and desire on the part of many educated people for a national rule of their own. To the northwest the English have come into conflict with the Russians.

General References

Wilson, *The State*, §§ 1011–1031.
Hazen, *Modern European History*, 487–506.
Hayes, *Political and Social History of Europe*, II, 640–678.
Innes, *England and the British Empire*, IV, 22–28, 107–119, 210–248, 269–294, 326–333, 383–399, 440–447, 470–480.
Lowell, *The Government of England*, II, 386–438.
Woodward, *Expansion of the British Empire.*
Lucas, *The British Empire.*
Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India.*
Seeley, *Expansion of England.*
Ashley (ed.), *British Dominions.*
Egerton, *Short History of British Colonial Policy.*
Northcott, *Australian Social Development.*

Topics

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND FEDERATION IN CANADA: Lucas, *The British Empire*, 116–122; Calkin, *History of British*

America, 138–153, 164–173; Bourinot, *Canada, 1760–1900*, 165–185, 194–215.

THE BOERS IN SOUTH AFRICA: Johnston, *The Colonization of Africa*, 82–90; Harris, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*, 166–193; Larned (ed.), *History for Ready Reference*, IV, 2962–2964; VI, 456–498; VII, 620–627.

BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT: Gibbons, *The New Map of Africa*, 391–420; Harris, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*, 320–329; *World's Work*, 14 (1907), 9063–9085; Penfield, *Present Day Egypt*, 104–169, Ch. X; Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 657–664.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA: Hayes, *Political and Social History of Europe*, II, 669–672; Woodward, *Expansion of the British Empire*, 312–331; Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India*, 157–180; Frazer, *British Rule in India*, Ch. XVI.

Studies

1. The Empire in general. Lowell, *The Government of England*, II, 386–391.

2. Rebellion in Ontario (1837). Bourinot, *Canada, 1760–1900*, 139–156.

3. Relations of Canada and the United States (1850–1900). Bourinot, *Canada, 1760–1900*, 302–313.

4. Government of Canada to-day. Wilson, *The State*, §§ 1016–1022.

5. The Commonwealth of Australia and its constitution. Beard (ed.), *Introduction to the English Historians*, 645–662.

6. Social reforms in Australia. Bliss (ed.), *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, 75–79, 834–837.

7. Compulsory arbitration in New Zealand. Beeman (ed.), *Compulsory Arbitration* (Debaters' Handbook Series), 67–75.

8. The Boer War. Innes, *England and the British Empire*, IV, 470–480.

9. The South African Union. Gibbons, *The New Map of Africa*, 441–453.

10. Egypt as a British protectorate. Gibbons, *The New Map of Africa*, 421–440.

11. The Indian mutiny of 1857. Beard (ed.), *Introduction to the English Historians*, 638–644.

12. Unrest and national demands in India. Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India*, 233–251.

13. Imperial federation. Lowell, *The Government of the British Empire*, II, 430–438.

14. The passing of Persia. Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*, 84–95.

Questions

1. Name the most important colonies in the British Empire. Show how some of the smaller possessions are important from a commercial or strategic point of view. Classify the colonies according to the degree of control exercised over them by the mother country. Explain the general nature of British rule, and account for the extraordinary success of the British as empire builders.

2. Name the more important provinces in the Dominion of Canada. Define the terms dominion, responsible government, federation, and commonwealth. Explain the government and the commercial importance of Canada, and trace her more important relations with the United States.

3. Which are the two most important provinces in Australia? Compare the federal union of the Commonwealth with that of the United States, noting similarities and differences. For what governmental activities and social reforms are Australia and New Zealand famous?

4. What was the nature and importance of the Jameson Raid? Why should it have caused friction between Great Britain and Germany? Give causes, one event, and results of the Boer War. Name the colonies in the Union of South Africa. Explain the nature of the Union, and show how successful it has been in uniting the British colonists and the Boers.

5. Compare British policy in Egypt in the years following 1882 with American policy in Mexico following the overthrow of Diaz in 1910. How was Kitchener's conquest of the Sudan connected with the "Entente Cordiale" (1904) and the friendship of Great Britain and France? What was the nature of British rule in Egypt before 1914, and how did the Egyptians feel about it? Name and explain the most important reforms and changes brought about by British occupation.

6. Name the most important geographical divisions of British India. Characterize the most important races and religions. What peoples controlled India from the time of Queen Elizabeth to that of Queen Victoria?

7. How is India ruled at the present time? Name some of the benefits of British rule. What is the attitude of the people of India toward British control? What is the nature of the "Nationalist movement" in India? Cf. in time and character with nationalist movements in Persia (§ 384), Egypt (§ 376), Turkey (§ 413), Morocco (§ 426), and China (§ 390).

8. Explain the contest among the Great Powers for territory, spheres of influence, or commerce in central or southwestern Asia. Explain the aims, and enumerate the successes of Great Britain, Russia, and Germany. (Cf. §§ 383, 413.)

CHAPTER XIX

THE FAR EAST

CHINA

Area and population of China proper.

386. Land and People. — A study of the expansion of European civilization in modern times would be incomplete without some account of the "westernization" of the oldest country of the world, China, and of the new world power of the western Pacific, Japan. Greater China is considerably larger than the United States and has a population estimated about four times as great. China proper, however, which contains about three fourths of these people, is about half as large as the continental United States; it comprises the southeastern two fifths of the whole country. The Chinese people are remarkably alike in appearance and in general character, yet the people of the different provinces, even of China proper, speak many different dialects, use different kinds of food, and have little in common except their attachment to traditions and their pride in all things Chinese.

Outlying areas of Greater China.

To the north and west of China proper are a number of huge areas inhabited by peoples somewhat related to the Chinese, who are not in any true sense Chinese. The most northeasterly of these provinces is *Man-chu'ri-a*, which lies between the Yellow Sea and Siberia. Far larger, though less important and even more sparsely populated, is *Mon-go'li-a*, separated from China by the Great Chinese Wall. In the heart of Asia the Chinese still control, nominally at least, the two huge areas of *Sin ki-ang'* and of *Ti-bet'*.

Position, river basins, and minerals.

China occupies in Asia an area in the North Temperate zone corresponding in a general way to that occupied by the United States in the North American continent. She has two river basins, those of the Yang′tse and the Hwang Ho, which, like that of the Mississippi, are among the finest river valleys in the world. A large part of her land is fertile, and therefore arable. Her supplies of minerals are probably the richest in the world, for the coal beds of which we have knowledge are twenty times as extensive as those of all Europe, and she has large supplies of iron, copper, and other minerals.

Iron Works, Hankow, China

Geographical isolation of China and its effect on an unchanging civilization.

387. Old China.—Greater China has natural boundaries. On the east she faces the Pacific, and on the southwest and northwest is hemmed in by high mountains. It has therefore been possible for China to develop her own institutions, customs, and civilization without very much help from, or interference by, the rest of the world. In the forty centuries of Chinese history we find that the important changes and development occurred before the Christian era, and that during the last 2000 years China has neither grown much nor changed greatly.

Reasons for little change in China.

One reason for the permanence of Chinese civilization is found in the *nature* of the Chinese people, but the *reverence for ancestors and respect for precedent, taught by Con-fu'cius* and learned thoroughly by the people, are to a great extent responsible for the fact that China's culture to-day is like that of past ages.

Imperial rule of the Mongols and the Manchus.

We will recall that during the Middle Ages[1] the *Mongols* controlled China and extended their sway westward into Europe, and southwestward almost to the Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean. After that empire fell apart, China was brought under the rule of the *Man-chus'*,[2] a tribe from north-central Asia. The earlier rulers of this dynasty were conquerors and extended their sway not only over the outlying areas which we have mentioned, but also over the states south and southwest of the present boundaries of China. They introduced the custom which forced every Chinaman to wear his hair in a queue to show his subjection to the ruling Manchus.

Partial break-up of the Chinese empire (1860–1900)

In the nineteenth century the Manchus lost their grip on Chinese affairs. As a result, the Russians on the north and west, the Japanese on the northeast, the British on the southwest, and the French on the southeast seized territories which either were part of the Chinese Empire or had been tributary to it.

Beginnings of European influence in China.

388. Increasing Outside Influence in China. — About 1840 the Chinese government, which did not allow foreigners to trade at any of its ports, had a dispute with the English over commerce, particularly that in opium. This "*opium war*" was settled in favor of the English, who acquired the island of *Hong Kong* and in addition gained the right to trade at five Chinese ports. A few years later the French and the English took part in another trade war with the Chinese, as a result of which still further concessions were made. In the meantime other countries, including the United States, in a peaceful way, by treaty, had gained similar concessions.[1]

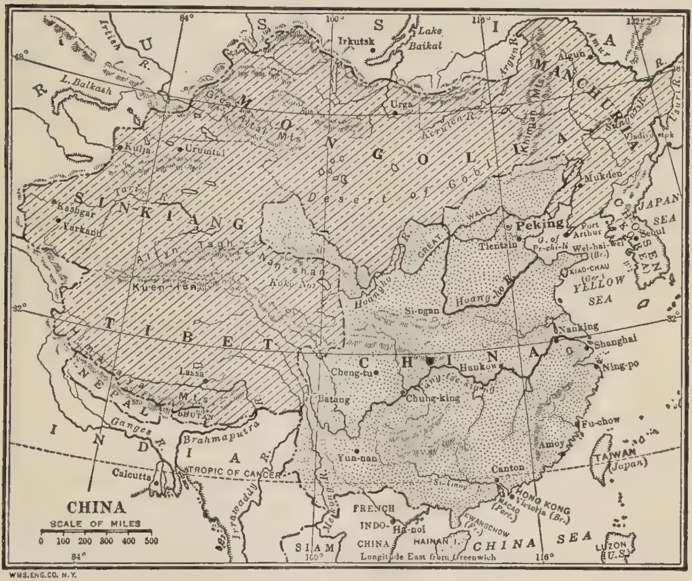
---

[1] E. E. C., § 573.

[2] In 1644 A.D.

The Chino-Japanese war (1894)

European peoples and Asiatic neighbors of China desired opportunities to develop Chinese trade and resources. In 1894 the Japanese and Chinese came into conflict over Korea, a country over which China claimed suzerainty, and which Japan wanted. In this war the Chinese fought bravely, but, with their antiquated



---

[1] About the middle of the nineteenth century, also, a British officer, Gordon, helped the Chinese authorities to put down the Tai-ping Rebellion in the southern and central provinces of China proper. From this distinguished service he earned the name "Chinese" Gordon (see § 377).

When the revolt was suppressed, Gordon could have gained treacherously, very high office in the Chinese government; he proved his sterling honesty by refusing all offers and by driving from his presence bribe bearers from the emperor.

weapons and with their untrained seamen and guns, they were no match for the Japanese, with their modern military equipment and training. By the treaty of *Shi-mo-no-se'ki*, 1895, Japan gained the island of Formosa and control of the Li-ao'tung peninsula, which juts out from southern Manchuria into the Yellow Sea. But she was not allowed to keep this peninsula, for immediately Russia, Germany, and France forced its return to China.

Invasion of China by European capital.

389. Foreign Aggressions and Intervention (1898–1900). — In the last years of the nineteenth century the Chinese Empire seemed to be disintegrating rapidly. Through the aggressions of foreigners, European capital built railroads in several communities and began to develop some of China's limitless resources. Unfortunately the railroads crossed very numerous graveyards, for each household buried its ancestors near at hand, where they might be worshiped daily.

The scramble for concessions (1898).

In 1898 the murder of two German missionaries gave *Germany* excuse for seizing a *sphere of influence at Ki-ao-chau'*. The kaiser's brother was told to use the "mailed fist," an expression which has since been applied to Germany's domineering military methods. Immediately, the other great Powers started a scramble for concessions. *Russia gained a long-time lease on the Liao-tung peninsula*, including Port Arthur and the neighboring port of Dalny, and including also the right to construct and police a railroad from the trans-Siberian railroad across Manchuria to Port Arthur. *Great Britain gained control of Wei-hai' Wei*, near the German sphere of influence, and *the French acquired a sphere of influence* near Ton'kin, which they had occupied a few years earlier (§ 266).

The Boxer uprising.

Even the docile Chinese resented continued interference by foreigners, and they organized patriotic societies which we know as *the Boxers*. With the aid of the empress dowager, a capable, ambitious, and unscrupulous woman, in 1900 the Boxer revolt broke out. In all parts of China missionaries were murdered and attacks were made upon other foreigners. The German minister was killed, and the other Europeans in Peking were besieged by a Boxer army. For the protection of these white men and women, *an allied force advanced against Peking.* This was made up of Japanese, Russian, German, British, and American troops. The kaiser told his officers to treat the Chinese as the Huns did the Europeans centuries ago.[1]

Concessions made by China; agreements to keep the empire intact.

After the Boxer revolt was suppressed, the Chinese government was forced to execute the leaders and to pay the Powers a huge indemnity. The Chinese government was forced to treat with foreigners and to allow them a much larger share than before in Chinese trade and commercial development. If there was danger that China might be broken up, it was prevented by the prompt action and skillful diplomacy of John Hay, our Secretary of State, who secured, from Great Britain and other Powers, promises to respect the territorial integrity of the country.

Reforms, actual and promised.

390. Reform, Revolution, and the Republic. — Twice within six years China had been humiliated. She was beginning to learn the lesson that her old period of seclusion and isolation had passed, and that, in self-defense, she must introduce political and social reforms. In the years following the suppression of the Boxer revolt, she began to create schools similar to those used by the western nations. Universities were established in which modern sciences and other occidental subjects were taught. *The army was reorganized* to some extent, although western models were not followed closely. In 1907 the reformers obtained the right to hold provincial assemblies, and soon after the Chinese government promised to grant a *constitution*. A *parliament* was to be elected and a constitution introduced in 1917. The times were ripe for far more rapid changes than the government expected. In 1911 an apparently unimportant revolt in south China spread like wildfire throughout the country. On the next to the last day of that year Dr. Sun-Yatsen, a Christian Chinaman, who had been educated in the United States, was elected provisional president of a Chinese republic by a convention of the reformers; and, about six weeks later, the Manchu emperor, a child of six years, was forced to resign and to flee from the country. The rule of the Manchus was over. Three days later, a national assembly chose *Yuan′ Shih-kai* to the presidency. Then the assembly proceeded to make a constitution for the Republic of China.

---

[1] "No mercy will be shown! No prisoners will be taken! As the Huns under King At′ti-la made a name for themselves, which is still mighty in traditions and legends to-day, may the name of German be so fixed in China by your deeds that no Chinese would ever dare even to look at a German askance . . . Open the way for kultur once for all."

Establishment of a republic.

© Underwood and Underwood
YUAN SHIH-KAI

The history of the republic was almost as stormy as that of the empire during its last years. Yuan Shih-kai quarreled with his parliament, dissolved it, and proceeded to rule with the help of an administrative council. In fact Yuan tried to reëstablish a monarchy but failed. Since his death in 1916 China has not developed any strong men, and she certainly needs vigorous leadership.

Problems and failures of the republic.

391. Chinese Problems. — When the Great War broke out, Japan joined Great Britain and Russia against Germany, and immediately proceeded to reduce the German

Dangers from Japanese aggressions.

fortifications about Kiao-chau (§ 443). She was expected to return this territory to China, but temporarily she has occupied much of the Shan-tung peninsula. If possible the Japanese would make for themselves a "Monroe Doctrine" which would leave to the peoples of the Occident small share in the direction of the affairs of China and in fact the whole "Far East." In 1915 certain demands were made upon the Chinese government. As finally agreed upon, these were eleven in number, few of which were important.

Why China's problem is one for the Great Powers to solve

Because of her immense natural wealth, her huge area, and her weak, unstable government, the future of China constitutes one of the world's serious problems. If the Chinese cannot furnish the capital necessary to develop the resources of the country, and if they cannot maintain order over so many hundreds of millions, it will be necessary for outsiders to come in and develop China and maintain order. Otherwise the foreign Powers must agree upon some plan by which the territorial integrity of China shall be maintained and stable government shall be established.

JAPAN

General character of the Japanese kingdom.

392. Land and People. — The islands of Japan proper comprise an area somewhat similar to that of our state of California. In her crescent shape and in other respects, also, Japan is not unlike California. Only fifteen per cent of her land is arable, and, as her population is somewhat greater than that of Great Britain, and her industries are even yet quite undeveloped, the people are forced to work hard for long hours in order to maintain even their low standard of living. The island kingdom has some mineral resources, but not enough to turn it into a rival of the commercial nations of Europe or America. However, in the twentieth century the enormous supply of unskilled labor undoubtedly will give Japan advantage over those countries whose labor supply is limited and whose industrial workers maintain higher standards of living.

Japanese characteristics and standards.

The Japanese are short and brown. No people since the Greeks have excelled them in strength and physical development. Their minds are alert, and they are anxious to learn western ways and better methods. They are ambitious personally, and, as a race, they are determined that Japan shall have her full share of territorial influence and power. The Japanese are among the most courteous of all races, but many of their standards, even among those who have come in contact with Europeans, are radically different from those of western nations.

Feudal character of classes in old Japan.

393. Old Japan. — Modern Japan is only a little more than a half century old. Before that time the emperor, or *mi-ka′do*, whose person is considered sacred, lived in seclusion, and was held in reverence as a deity by his people. Although he was practically absolute, he took no part in the government himself. His authority was exercised, not only directly but actually, by a minister called the *sho′gun*. Many people outside of Japan thought that the shogun was the emperor. For centuries the land of Japan had been held by a group of feudal nobles, *dai′mi-os*, who were like the feudal lords of Europe in the Middle Ages. They controlled the government of their own areas, held the people in practical bondage, and exercised considerable influence in the general government of the country. Their retainers, the *sa′mu-rai*, were a hereditary class of warriors. No one could wear a sword unless he belonged to a samurai family or class. The *common people* were divided into two groups. The first included the farmers, the artisans, and the traders. The last of these had comparatively few rights and inferior social standing. Below them were two classes that were practically outcasts.

Opening up of Japan (1854–1867).

Old Japan was conservative, but even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it had some dealings with white men, especially the Portuguese and the Dutch. The opening up of Japan was largely the work of Americans. In 1854 Admiral *Perry*, brother of the hero of Lake Erie, persuaded the Japanese to make a treaty of friendship and amity in order to care for American sailors, shipwrecked in Japan, and provide supplies for American ships. Soon after, similar concessions were made by Japan to other countries. About the time that our Civil War broke out, the Japanese began to fear and attack Europeans, but, after several years of conflict, they were overawed by the black vessels and powerful guns of the white man's fleets. Soon they signed *treaties* which allowed Europeans to trade in Japan and gave the consuls from Europe or America the right to try all cases where a white person and a Japanese had a dispute.

Marvelously rapid transformation of the old political order.

394. The Westernization of Japan. — The Japanese leaders realized that if Japan could not keep out the westerners, the next best thing was to adopt the civilization of the Occident. This was made infinitely easier because the new mikado, *Mut-su-hi′to*, who succeeded his father in 1867, voluntarily came out of his retirement and created a court after the European model in the new capital of To′ky-o. *The shogun was forced to resign.* Most of *the feudal nobles* voluntarily gave up the old rights and privileges, which would be of comparatively little value under the new order of things. The nobles and the samurai that tried to keep their old ancient advantages were very easily overpowered by the new government, and by the army of soldiers levied according to western methods.

Introduction of western methods and institutions.

The government was reorganized soon after these epoch-making changes took place, and a navy as well as an army of the new type was begun. In 1871 the first newspaper was started. Telegraph lines and railroads were inaugurated, and a post-office introduced western methods. In 1875 Japan adopted the European calendar. Throughout the country *schools* were started because the Japanese planned and hoped to give every child some education. In 1884 the study of English was introduced into the courses in most of the public schools. Middle schools were organized in most towns, and secondary or high schools in many localities. In a few of the larger cities there were universities whose courses were modeled after the best to be found in Europe or America. *Codes of laws* and courts for the trial of civil and criminal cases were created, in some cases copied after European models.

THE MIKADO MUTSUHITO

Nature of the constitution and parliament.

In 1889 the emperor gave Japan a *constitution* which had been made by Count Ito, unquestionably the great statesman of that period. The mikado retained almost absolute authority, but he exercised this through a chancellor and heads of executive departments. To help him he created a *parliament* made up of two houses. The members of the upper house were selected by the emperor from distinguished men of the realm, or from the nobles of different provinces. The members of the lower house were elected for terms of not more than seven years by

Japanese men over 25 who paid a fairly large tax. We must not imagine that the parliament governs Japan; it is rather an advisory body. If the government of Japan can be compared with that of any other western nations, it may be said to be somewhat like that of Germany.

Partial but growing industrial development.

395. Economic Progress. — The westernization of Japan has not been chiefly political, for the Japanese are alert business men and keen traders. Since they have such a vast supply of cheap labor, it is possible for them to specialize on industries which require a great number of workers; we therefore find that the Japanese excel in work requiring a large amount of hand labor, either skilled or unskilled. To some extent they have, however, introduced western methods of manufacture, and large factories are already to be found in the cities and in some other industrial districts.

Exports and imports.

Japanese trade with the outside world has been encouraged, and has therefore grown rapidly. Agricultural products such as tea and rice are exported in large quantities, particularly to the United States. Raw silk and silk manufactures are among the most important exports. Japan imports large quantities of iron and steel, raw cotton, machinery, and petroleum.

International importance of the Chino-Japanese war (1894).

396. Wars and Expansion. — As stated above, Japan is a small country with a great many people. Her desire to control colonies and exploit the neighboring peninsula of Korea brought Japan in 1894 into conflict with China. Japan's easy victory created for her a new respect among the western nations. Within less than five years all of the great Powers, including the United States, had agreed to new treaties which allowed her to make her own tariffs without outside interference, and allowed Japanese courts to try all cases involving foreigners in Japan.

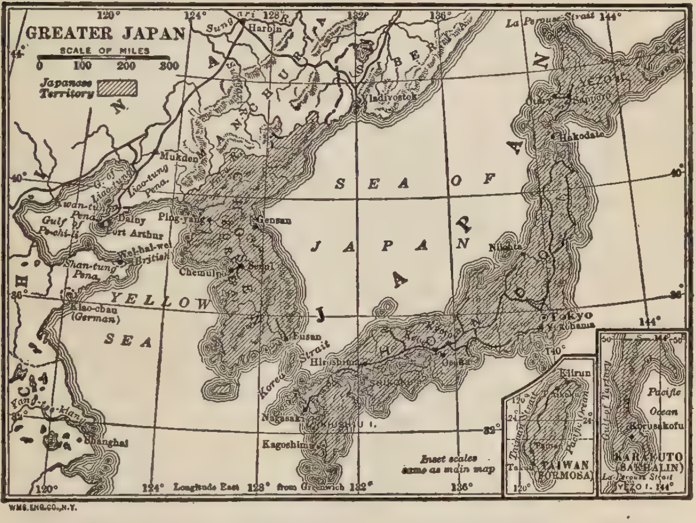
Since Russia and Germany left Japan none of the spoils of her war with China (§ 388), she secretly made vast

Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905).

preparations to regain control of the Liao-tung peninsula, in Manchuria, and if possible Korea. When the Russians failed to take their troops out of Korea and Manchuria, Japan in 1904 suddenly made war upon the Russians. Her troops advanced through Korea, cooped up the Russian forces in *Port Arthur*, which was captured after a severe siege, and drove the larger Russian armies northward. The Russians tried to stop the little brown men at the Li-ao-yang′ river in southern Manchuria, but they were badly defeated. The Japanese, reënforced, pushed on, and at the beginning of March, 1905, fought the Battle of *Muk-den′* which lasted several days and ended in a Russian disaster. In the meantime, one Russian fleet was destroyed by the Japanese navy, and soon after a second fleet which had been sent from Europe was practically annihilated. Since the Japanese were short

SHIPPING BEANS. PORT OF DALNY

of money, and the Russians were practically demoralized, both physically and economically, President Roosevelt's offer was accepted and peace was made at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1905. Russia agreed to keep out of Korea, transferred to Japan her lease upon Port Arthur, and the Liao-tung peninsula (§ 388), and gave her the southern half of the Russian island which



WMS.ENG.CO.,N.Y.

is just north of Japan. Japanese special interests in *Korea* aroused some antagonism in the hermit kingdom, which objected to having its seclusion ended. In 1906, Count Ito, on an embassy to that country, was assassinated by a Korean. This gave Japan excuse for further exploitation of the kingdom, and by 1910 Korea had practically been annexed to Japan. It was possible for Japan to do this because she had a new understanding with Russia and an alliance with England.

Even before the Russo-Japanese war, *Japan*, fearing the

Alliances between Great Britain and Japan.

aggressions of Russia in the Far East, and *Great Britain*, afraid of Russian encroachments north of India (§ 383), made an alliance to protect their mutual interests in Asia. In 1905 and again in 1911 this alliance was renewed and strengthened.

Significance of expansion.

397. Japan as a World Power. — The Japanese are a very ambitious people. They believe that they are the greatest nation of the Far East, and that it is their destiny to rule the western Pacific. Since they have not been defeated by any of their enemies in war, and since they have alliances with some of the greatest Powers of Europe, they see no reason why they should not be allowed to carry out their program. By the acquisition of Formosa at the end of the war with China, by gaining half of the island immediately north, after the conflict with Russia, they have begun the acquisition of a *western Pacific empire*. By the acquisition of Russian rights on the Liao-tung peninsula and by the occupation of Korea, they have made a beginning of a *land empire* on the continent of Asia.

Japan and the future of the western Pacific.

What the future policy of Japan may be in relation to the other Powers, in relation to China (§ 391), or in relation to world politics of the Far East, we do not know; we do know that Japan has not only become westernized, but that in the further Europeanization of the Far East, Japan will be an important factor.

China in relation to the European world.

398. Summary. — The Chinese are racially and in some other ways a nation. They occupy a country with two very fine river valleys, and with immensely valuable mineral deposits. China is the oldest and the most conservative country in the world to-day. Following the guidance of Confucius, the Chinese reverence ancestors and dislike change. For nearly three centuries, until 1911, they were controlled by the Manchus, but otherwise they kept away from outsiders. About 1840 the English gained Hong Kong, and several occidental countries secured commercial concessions. In 1894 China fought and lost a war with Japan. Almost immediately Germany, Russia, France, and England gained spheres of influence and new important concessions. This aroused the Chinese, but the Boxer revolt was suppressed by the allied Powers, and China was forced to introduce western methods; then voluntarily she reformed her schools, her army, and her government. In 1911 the Chinese expelled the Manchus, established a republic, and tried to maintain a parliament. In 1915 she made concessions to Japan.

The Europeanization of Japan.

Japan is a small country, for the whole of the Japanese Empire is only about sixty per cent larger than our state of Texas. The people are athletic, ambitious, and anxious to get ahead. Until a half a century ago, they knew little and cared less about western ways, for they were still in the feudal period of their development. After Admiral Perry visited them in 1854, other western peoples made demands which the Japanese were forced to grant. About 1870, an abrupt transition occurred from the old order to the new. The shogun was forced to resign, the feudal system was broken up, and the warrior class was deprived of its old rights. The mikado personally took charge of the government, later granting a constitution. After the Russo-Japanese war Japan gained the lower part of the Liao-tung peninsula at once, and Korea some years later. Because she has powerful allies, a large supply of labor which is rapidly developing her resources and industries, the beginnings of both an insular and a continental empire, and a desire to dominate the western Pacific, Japan must be regarded as one of the world's great Powers.

General References

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Europe*, II, 560–599.
Herrick, *History of Commerce and Industry*, 422–456.
Douglas, *Europe and the Far East.*
Cambridge Modern History, XI, 802–865, XII, 500–601.

Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics of the Far East.*
Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient.*
Smith, *Chinese Characteristics.*
Latourette, *The Development of China.*
Longford, *Japan of the Japanese.*
Reinch, *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East.*
McLaren, *A Political History of Japan (1867–1912).*
Porter, *The Full Recognition of Japan.*

Topics

THE OPENING UP OF JAPAN: Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics of the Far East.* 105–115; Douglas, *Europe and the Far East,* 144–168; Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient,* 170–198.

THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA: Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics of the Far East,* 3–17; *Annals of American Academy,* 39 (1912), 1–38.

Studies

1. Caleb Cushing and our first treaty with China. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient,* 79–93.

2. The grapple with the opium evil. Ross, *The Changing Chinese,* 139–173.

3. The scramble for concessions. Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics of the Far East,* 223–230.

4. The reform movement. *Annals of American Academy,* 39 (1912), 18–25.

5. Trying to organize a republic. Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics of the Far East,* 38–47.

6. Products and industries of China and Japan. Smith, *Commerce and Industry,* 441–459.

7. Industrial future of China. Ross, *The Changing Chinese,* 112–138.

8. Japan's attempt to control China. Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics of the Far East,* 301–332.

9. The reform movement in Japan a half century ago. Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics of the Far East,* 113–122.

10. Ito and Japan's Constitution. McLaren, *A Political History of Japan (1867–1912),* 133–152.

11. Japan's Monroe Doctrine. Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics of the Far East,* 344–359.

12. Japanese education. Porter, *The Full Recognition of Japan,* 153–195.

Questions

1. Name the outlying areas which, with China proper, make up Greater China. Point out on a map the Yangtse and Hwang Ho rivers. On a map locate Korea, the Liao-tung peninsula, Kiao-chau, Peking, Nanking, Hankow, and Hong Kong.

2. Name those characteristics which you would consider particularly Chinese. Why did the Chinese keep out foreigners before 1840? Why did they not do it after 1840?

3. Trace foreign aggressions upon China, showing what each of the Powers secured, and explaining why the scramble for territory practically ceased after 1900.

4. Explain the nature of the reforms, political, military, or economic, introduced in the first decade of the twentieth century. Give the experience of the republic in dealing with its own people, and with the Japanese.

5. Explain the location and characteristics of Japan and the Japanese. What do you mean by the mikado, the shogun, the daimios, and the samurai?

6. How did Admiral Perry begin the westernization of Japan? How was the feudal system in Japan brought to an end? What were some of the reforms or changes by which the country was westernized? How is the Japanese constitution and parliament different from our Constitution and Congress?

7. Trace the history of Japanese territorial expansion, giving details of the war with Russia. What has Japan gained from her alliances with Great Britain and other Powers? What part has economic development played in the rise of Japan? For what reasons may we consider Japan a world power?

CHAPTER XX

AFRICA AND THE NEAR EAST

AFRICA BEFORE 1885

Place of Africa in modern history.

399. The Dark Continent. — From the historical point of view, Africa is the least important of the continents of the eastern hemisphere, but since 1870 and particularly since 1885, it has come into world prominence, chiefly as the area within which the great European Powers have striven for spheres of influence, protectorates, and colonies. In this new struggle for colonial empires, we find again, as in the case of America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the opening up of the country by missionaries and explorers, the extensive use of chartered companies, the seizure of the mouths of important rivers and of commercial harbors, and the exploitation of the natives and economic resources of the country.

Geographical characteristics of the continent.

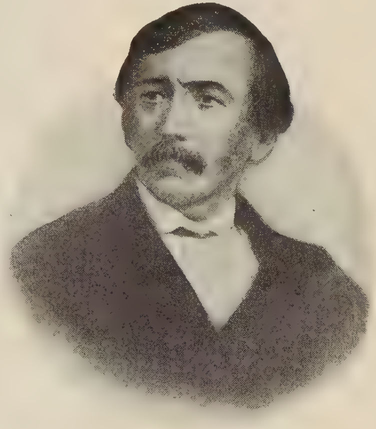
The continent of Africa, connected with Asia by a stretch of sand at its northeastern corner, covers more than eleven and a half million square miles and has a population estimated at nearly one hundred fifty million. It contains the world's greatest desert region, the southern part of which is called the *Sudan* and the northern the *Sahara*. There is an unusual number of large rivers, the Nile, the Niger, the Congo, the Zam-be'zi, and the Orange.

African history between 1400 and 1825.

At the beginning of modern times, trade with northeastern Africa was developed by the Portuguese, one of whose navigators, Vasco da Gama, finally rounded the Cape of Good Hope and made his way to India. From west Africa there was developed an extensive trade in slaves during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. In the early nineteenth century both England and America undertook to put an end to this nefarious traffic.

Early nineteenth century explorers. Livingstone.

400. Exploration. — The opening up of Africa was the work of almost innumerable missionaries, scientists, and explorers, most of whom gave their lives to the spread of European civilization in the Dark Continent. There was some exploration before the nineteenth century, but the real work of bringing to Europe knowledge of the rivers and lakes of Africa began about a century ago. English explorers sought to penetrate the mysteries of the Niger region, without very great success. Explorers of different nationalities started from the Mediterranean coast and worked their way across the great desert to Tim-buk′tu on the upper Niger and to Lake Chad in the heart of the Sudan. Baker, Grant, and others explored the upper waters of the Nile river, but by far the greatest of the nineteenth century explorers before Stanley was the Scotchman *David Livingstone.* Starting as a missionary, Livingstone devoted most of his life to exploration. He covered the Zambezi basin from end to end, he crossed Rhodesia to the Orange river, and he discovered or visited the southern group of mid-African lakes.



David Livingstone

Later explorers and government agents.

In 1871 James Gordon Bennett, proprietor of the "New York Herald," detailed *Henry M. Stanley* to "find Livingstone." In this search Stanley was successful; his report on how he found Livingstone advertised the resources of Central Africa and had a direct effect on the international struggle for control of territory on that continent. Afterwards, Stanley went back, and in a remarkable trip followed the Congo to the sea. Later travelers, like the Frenchman, de Brazza (brad′za), were more than simply explorers. They were advance agents of expansion and exploitation. Sometimes they were scientists who made a study of fauna and flora, but usually they were government agents or business men with an eye to profitable trade.

Henry M. Stanley

Methods and work of different groups.

401. Motives and Methods. — The Europeans made treaties with native chiefs by which each chief placed himself under the protection of the government with whom the treaty was made. Many times government agents hurried through the country, purchasing, by a few trinkets and high-sounding promises, the signatures of the tribal leaders. In general few real concessions were made to the native chieftains in return for the rights obtained by the European countries. Some of the agents interested themselves in Christianizing and to a slight extent civilizing the native peoples, but in spite of the heroic self-sacrificing work of volunteer missionaries, it must be admitted that the Europeans were far more interested in exploiting the natives and the resources of the continent than in carrying to the people the benefits of European civilization.

Ever since the days when the Portuguese began to penetrate the interior of Africa for the ivory, gold, palm oil, fruits, and other products of that continent, there had been trade between the coast and the interior. The foreign commerce is to a very large extent with Europe; and most of the trade of each colony is with its own mother country.

Economic gains from the exploitation of Africa.

The Partition of Africa

402. Extent of Partition. — In 1870, as shown in the small map opposite page 530, Europeans had little more than a foothold on a few coasts of Africa. Besides the old Portuguese factories and spheres of influence only three of these areas were important. These were the French possessions in *Algeria* in the north, the French colony of *Sen-e-gal′* in the west, and *Cape Colony* belonging to Great Britain. Of course there were the two little Boer states (§ 374) in the upper Orange river basin.

European colonies in 1870.

By 1914 practically the whole of Africa had been divided into colonies, protectorates, or spheres of influence. About two thirds of the continent was controlled by France or Great Britain; the other third was under the supervision of Germany, Belgium, Italy, or Portugal. The limits of the areas controlled by the different countries were rather definite, because, after 1890 *international agreements* were made between the countries, which stated the boundaries of their respective territories. If we exclude Egypt, which was to all intents and purposes a British protectorate, Abyssinia and Liberia were the only independent countries on the continent.

Extent and limits of European colonization in 1914

403. Portuguese, Belgian, and German Colonies. — If Africa had been divided into European dependencies in the sixteenth century, Portugal would have had the chief share, but in 1914 she had only two large colonies. To be sure these gave her absolute control of the lower

Portuguese colonies.

waters of the Zambezi river and one shore of the mouth of the Congo.

Leopold II of Belgium and the Congo Free State.

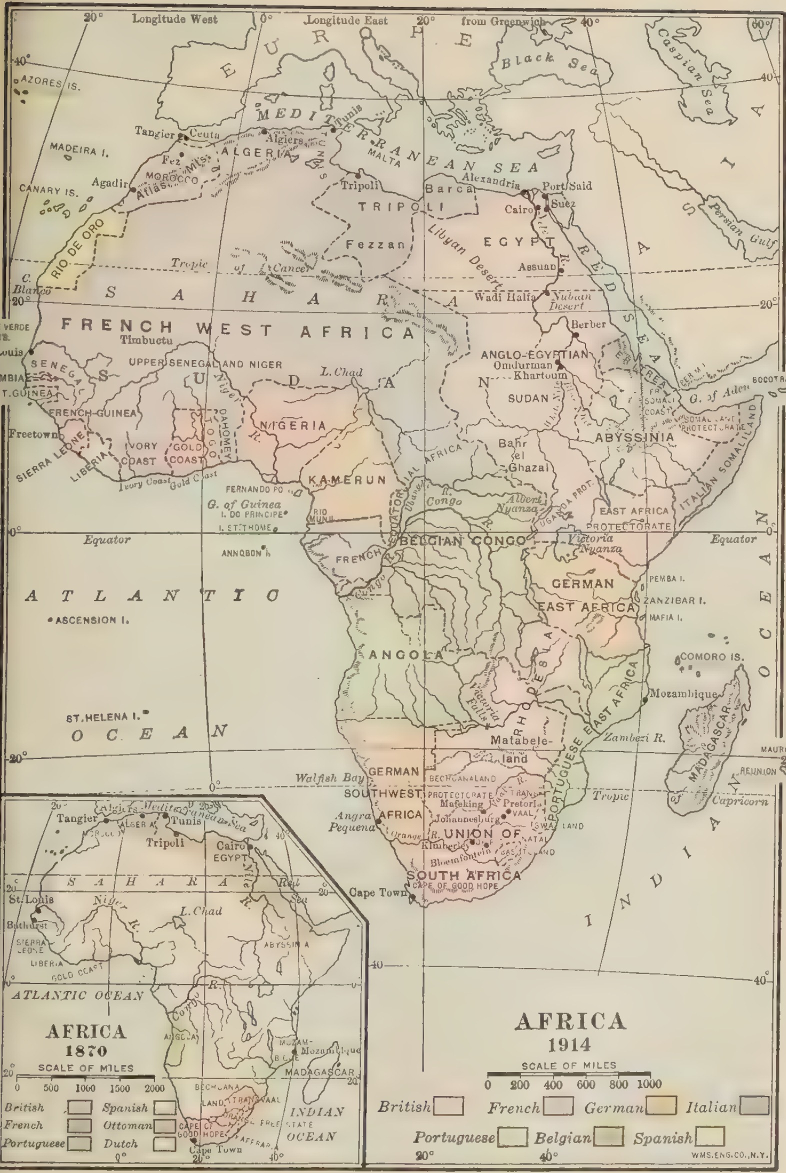
The first European country to interest itself in the modern work of opening up Africa for purposes of trade was *Belgium*, whose king Leopold II called in Brussels in 1876 the first international conference for the purpose of exploring and civilizing the Congo region. In 1885 this great area was organized under international protection as the Congo Free State. Leopold found it was necessary to expend immense sums from his own private fortune in order to develop trade in rubber and ivory, but he reaped his reward by securing for himself huge personal estates in the Congo region and controlling a large part of the profitable trade from that region. There were complaints that the blacks were ill treated, but the most serious of these evils were remedied, and in 1908 the Congo Free State was reorganized as a Belgian colony.

German colonies in Africa in 1914.

As already noted (§ 297), Bismarck had not been exceedingly favorable to German expansion and colonization, but he was not willing to leave without support pioneer German traders, scientists, and explorers in Africa. Following the initiative taken by these Germans as individuals, trading companies were organized, which looked after German interests. As her share Germany secured German East Africa, German Southwest Africa, the Kamerun (§ 405), and Togoland.

Italian colonies in east Africa.

404. Italian Possessions. — Italy began to look across the Mediterranean for colonies soon after she had unified the Italian peninsula (§§ 237–240). As we shall notice (§ 418), she was disappointed. Later, the Italians acquired two colonies near the south end of the Red Sea. From these they wished to press into the interior, but the Abyssinians were a fairly well-organized race of people and resisted Italian advance with both vigor and success. The Italians did not give up the effort, however, until


AFRICA
1914
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600 800 1000
British
French
German
Italian
Portuguese
Belgian
Spanish
AFRICA
1870
SCALE OF MILES
0 500 1000 1500 2000
British
Spanish
French
Ottoman
Portuguese
Dutch
Longitude West
Longitude East
from Greenwich
E U R O P E
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
A S I A
AZORES IS.
MADEIRA I.
CANARY IS.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tangier
Ceuta
Algiers
Tunis
MALTA
Tripoli
Barca
Alexandria
Port Said
Suez
Cairo
ALGERIA
TUNIS
Fez
MOROCCO
Atlas Mts.
Agadir
RIO DE ORO
TRIPOLI
Fezzan
Libyan Desert
EGYPT
Assuan
Persian Gulf
ARABIA
RED SEA
Tropic of Cancer
C. Blanco
SAHARA
Wadi Halfa
Nubian Desert
Berber
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
Timbuctu
St. Louis
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
PORT. GUINEA
UPPER SENEGAL AND NIGER
SUDAN
L. Chad
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN
Omdurman
Khartoum
SUDAN
ERITREA
FR. SOMALI COAST
G. of Aden
SOCOTRA
SOMALILAND PROTECTORATE
FRENCH GUINEA
Freetown
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
IVORY COAST
GOLD COAST
TOGO
DAHOMEY
Niger R.
NIGERIA
Ivory Coast
Gold Coast
FERNANDO PO
G. of Guinea
I. DO PRINCIPE
I. ST. THOME
RIO MUNI
KAMERUN
EQUATORIAL AFRICA
Ubangi
Bahr el Ghazal
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
R. Congo
Albert Nyanza
UGANDA PROT.
EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE
Equator
BELGIAN CONGO
Victoria Nyanza
FRENCH
ANNOBON I.
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
ASCENSION I.
Congo R.
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
PEMBA I.
ZANZIBAR I.
MAFIA I.
ANGOLA
COMORO IS.
RHODESIA
Victoria Falls
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
Mozambique
MADAGASCAR
ST. HELENA I.
Matabeleland
Zambezi R.
MAURITIUS
REUNION
Walfish Bay
GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA
BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE
Mafeking
Pretoria
Johannesburg
VAAL
TRANSVAAL
SWAZILAND
Tropic of Capricorn
Angra Pequena
Orange R.
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
Kimberley
Bloemfontein
NATAL
BASUTOLAND
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
Cape Town
INDIAN
OCEAN
Tangier
Algiers
Mediterranean Sea
Tunis
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
Tripoli
Cairo
EGYPT
Nile R.
SAHARA
Red Sea
St. Louis
Bathurst
Niger R.
L. Chad
ABYSSINIA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
GOLD COAST
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Congo R.
ANGOLA
MOZAMBIQUE
Mozambique
MADAGASCAR
BECHUANALAND
TRANSVAAL
ORANGE FREE STATE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
NATAL
CAFFRARIA
Cape Town
INDIAN OCEAN
0°
20°
40°
60°
WMS.ENG.CO., N.Y.

the Abyssinians defeated and almost destroyed their army.

Conquest of Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

Italy was of course much more interested in northern Africa than in the east coast. Her friendship with France, broken by French occupation of Tunis (§ 418), was restored when in 1901 Delcassé promised the friendship and neutrality of France in case Italy should seek to acquire Tripoli. In 1911 the Italians followed up their attempts to acquire interests in Tripoli by making war upon Turkey. As Italy's navy was superior to that of Turkey, and the Turks could not send adequate relief, the Italians acquired both *Tripoli* and *Cyrenaica*, which were organized as the colony of *Libya*. This war probably had some influence upon the Balkan wars (§ 414), which were the forerunners of the great European conflict that broke out in 1914.

Conquest of Algeria.

405. The French in Northern Africa. — The second European colony in Africa was that of France in *Algeria*. In 1827 the dey or ruler of Algeria struck the French consul in the face with a fly fan. For three years the insult went unavenged; then French troops were transferred to Algeria and a long slow process of subjugation was begun. The task was completed in a rather thorough manner, however, and long before there was law or order in any other part of Barbary Africa, Algeria had become peaceful and prosperous. A large number of French settlers went there, and an immense amount of money was invested in the country.

Tunis. The "Entente Cordiale."

In 1882, with the approval of Bismarck, France extended her sway over the disorderly tribes of *Tunis*, which borders Algeria on the east. French occupation brought to this country something of the prosperity which it had to Algeria. The French expanded not only to the east, but also to the west, attracted by the wealth of Morocco. French investors, as well as those of Great Britain and later of Germany, formed commercial companies and sought to exploit the wealth of that country. In 1904, in return for recognition of paramount British interests in Egypt, Great Britain agreed to leave France a free hand in Morocco. Germany, fearing for the safety of her interests and investments, but far more concerned with possible interference with her plans for expansion (§ 300), protested and sought to uphold the sultan and other Moroccan chiefs against the French. The result was the *Al-ge-ci'ras conference* (§ 426), an important event in world history.

The Water Front, Algiers

The French in Morocco.

Since the Algeciras conference gave the French, with the negligible aid of the Spaniards, the right to maintain order in Morocco, and to control her banking affairs, it was only a short time before the French army was used to put down revolts. Very quickly, therefore, the French had excuse for controlling the most important affairs of the country. In 1911 another crisis arose when Germany dispatched a gunboat, the *Panther*, to

Agadir Bay. This crisis was averted when France transferred to Germany a large amount of territory on the Congo, which was added to Kamerun (§ 427). France was then allowed to establish a protectorate over practically all *Morocco.*

Extent of mid-African possessions.

406. The African Empire of France. — Besides this exceedingly valuable strip of coast, including Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, the French have a vast area extending from the southern border of these countries to the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Guinea on the one side and to the great branches of the Congo river on the other. The acquisition of this huge area has taken place within the last quarter century and reminds us in some respects of French expansion in the Great Lakes region and in the Mississippi basin in the last part of the seventeenth and first part of the eighteenth century (§ 85).

Conquest of the interior.

In 1894 the French reached *Timbuktu,* and spread eastward into the Sudan beyond *Lake Chad.* One of their commanders, Captain Marchand, even penetrated the Egyptian Sudan with the idea that the French empire might be extended to the Nile river. He was at Fashoda with his small band of followers when Kitchener, hearing of his arrival, warned the French to leave the Nile basin. The next year, largely through the influence of Delcassé, the Egyptian Sudan was left to the English, and the right of France to north central Africa was admitted by Great Britain.

THE NEAR EAST BEFORE 1880

Spread of Ottoman rule.

407. The Ottoman Turks in Europe and in Asia. — The Ottoman Turks first appeared as a small tribe in Asia Minor in the early part of the fourteenth century. They conquered most of the peninsula, and in 1361 they captured Ad-ri-a-no′ple and began a conquest of the Balkan region. In 1453 they entered Constantinople after a long siege, and put an end to the old Byzantine empire. Within the next century they extended their sway southward through Syria and Palestine and then westward into Egypt and the Barbary states in northern Africa. Mesopotamia and the Tigris-Euphrates valley with the old Mohammedan capital, Bag-dad′, was brought under their rule soon after. In the meantime they were gradually pressing northward and westward, and by the seventeenth century they had conquered most of Hungary, the area north of the Black Sea, and the Caucasus region.

Loss of territories in Africa and in Europe before 1774.

We have already noticed how the sultan lost all his possessions in northern Africa to the French (§ 405), the Italians (§ 404), and the British (§ 377). Turkey in Asia was maintained practically intact before the outbreak of the Great War. In Europe the Turks have been losing their lands gradually since the seventeenth century.[1]

Organization of first autonomous Balkan states.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, there was discontent among the Mon-te-ne′grins, Serbs, Albanians, and Greeks. Greek independence (§ 176) was gained largely through the intervention of the European Powers, the most influential of which was Russia. The treaty which made *Greece* independent also gave self-government to the *Ru-ma′ni-an provinces,* under a Russian protectorate. The next year (1830) *Serbia,* which had long been in revolt, was allowed to organize self-government.

408. The Sick Man of Europe. — We can see from this brief survey that the European dominions of Turkey

---

[1] By the *Treaty of Karlowitz* in 1699 the Austrians wrested from the Turks practically all of Hungary. Russia did not drive the Turks back and gain a foothold on the Black Sea until the time of Catherine the Great (§ 64). By the *Treaty of 1774* the ruler of Russia, as the head of the Russian church, gained the right to aid those Christians who also belonged to the Greek Catholic Church but were living under Turkish rule, and to interfere in behalf of Rumania.

Misrule, discontent, and disorder in Turkey.

were taken from her either by the Christian nations of Europe or by her own subject Christian peoples. This was natural, because in 1830 the Christians outnumbered the Mohammedans of European Turkey at least five to one.[1] Among the Christian subjects of the

Turkish Imperial Palace

---

[1] The Turks were fierce warriors, but their rulers, being unable to conquer new territories, lived lives of ease and indolence. The empire was honeycombed with corruption, for each Turkish official from the prime minister (Grand Vi-zier′) down to the local policeman paid for his position and used it to gain wealth as well as influence for himself. In general, however, the Turkish rule was liberal if not enlightened. That is, the Turks did not interfere with the religion of most of the subject peoples, provided there was profit in the trade of those races. This was not true of the *Armenians*, who are Christians and who inhabit the plateau region south of the Caucasus and the Black Sea. These people have been exposed repeatedly to raids of the fierce Kurds, whose massacres of Christian Armenians have aroused Europe again and again. In spite of the protests made by the Powers to the Porte, no real relief has ever been granted, because, even if the slaughter has stopped at the time, fresh massacres and atrocities occurred again at comparatively short intervals.

Turks there was oppression, heavy taxation, and consequently discontent. When the Turks ceased to make war, it was inevitable that trouble should be caused by their Christian subjects, especially those in the Balkan region,[1] who were born fighters.

Russia and England on the question of the "sick man."

Russia naturally hoped to get control of the Black Sea and particularly of its outlet. In order to do the latter she must have both Constantinople and the Dardanelles. Soon after 1850 Tsar Nicholas I had an informal talk with the British minister, a conversation which was destined to become famous. He said: "We have on our hands a sick man, a very sick man; it will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away from us, especially before all necessary arrangements were made." Because Russia was so anxious to hasten the demise of the sick man, England immediately prepared to bolster up the dying Turkish rule, which she believed possessed considerable vitality.

Events in the Crimea.

409. The Crimean War. — In 1854 Russia made war on Turkey, but Great Britain, France,[2] and Sardinia aided the Turks. The war was fought almost exclusively within the peninsula between the Black Sea and the Sea of Asof which is known in history as *the Cri-me'a.* The Allies sought to capture and destroy the great fortress of *Se-bas'to-pol,* which was not only an arsenal, but was the base of military and particularly naval operations for the Russians on the Black Sea.[3] The siege itself was not very brilliantly conducted, but it was marked by such events as the battle of Ba-la-kla′va, which has been immortalized by Alfred Tennyson in his poem, "The Charge of the Light Brigade."

---

[1] Particularly in Montenegro and Albania.

[2] The excuse was found in the desire of the French emperor, Napoleon III, as the protector of the Latin monks in the church of the holy sepulcher at Jerusalem to quarrel with the tsar, who was in a somewhat similar sense protector of the Greek Catholic monks of the same city.

[3] The war was concerned chiefly with the capture of this fortress in a siege which lasted eleven months. The weather was intensely severe and the troops were not furnished with proper clothing or food. More soldiers died of cold and disease than from wounds. During this siege Florence Nightingale organized a group of nurses — one of the first

The Treaty of Paris, 1856.

By the famous Treaty of Paris (1856), the Russians lost comparatively little territory except that at the mouth of the Danube river. The river itself was "internationalized," that is, made free from its source to its mouth. Thereafter, the Turks were allowed to attend the conferences of the Powers which dealt with questions of the Near East. The Congress of 1856 also adopted resolutions which prohibited privateering and aimed to protect neutrals on the sea in time of war.

The Bulgarian atrocities and changes in Turkey.

410. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877 and the Treaty of Berlin. — In 1875 and 1876 Europe was aroused to the need of reforming Turkish rule; throughout all the northwestern dominions of the sultan there was unrest and serious disorder. In suppressing the Bulgarians, the Turkish troops were guilty of unusual cruelty and atrocities. In one community of less than ten thousand more than half of the inhabitants were murdered with all the refinements of civilized barbarity. Great Britain was intensely indignant. Gladstone wrote a scathing pamphlet denouncing the Bulgarian atrocities of the "unspeakable Turk." Conditions in the Ottoman empire were so bad that the sultan was deposed. His successor reigned only a short time, and was succeeded by Ab-dul Ha-mid′ II, an able and crafty ruler.

War between Russia and Turkey.

Under pretext of protecting the Christian peoples of the Balkans, Russia in 1877 declared war on Turkey. The chief event of the war was the siege of the fortress of *Plev′na* in Bulgaria, which was surrendered with its garrison of forty thousand men. A second Turkish army

attempts to have a civilian organization for the protection of the health of troops at the front.

was defeated and captured by the Russians. Within nine months from the outbreak of the war, Russian troops were advancing on the defenses of Constantinople.

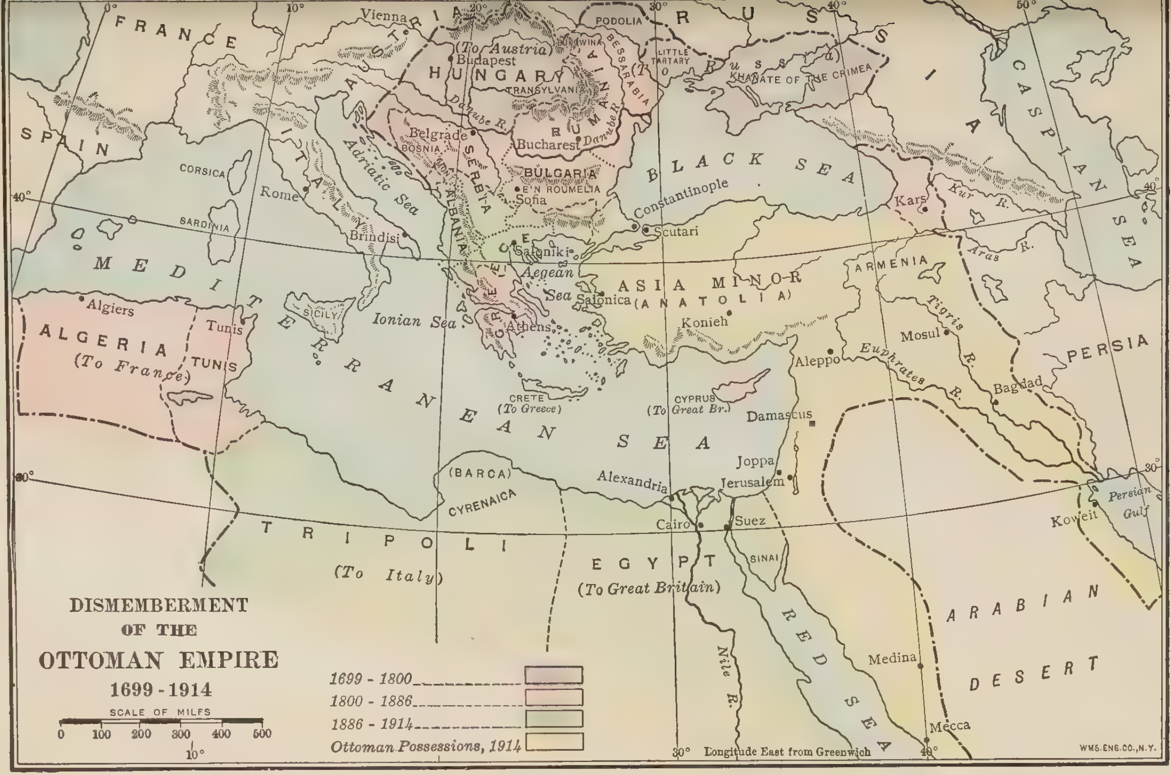
The Treaty of Berlin, 1878.

Russia's victories enabled her to dictate a peace, the *Treaty of San Ste'fa-no,* exceedingly favorable to her and very humiliating to Turkey.[1] Austria and Great Britain were greatly alarmed at this extension of Russian territory and influence in the Near East. As a result of their protest a conference of the Powers was called at Berlin (1878) and a new peace, *the Treaty of Berlin,* was made. The result was of course a serious check to Russia's ambitious plans. *The independence of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro* was recognized, but *Bulgaria* was reduced to about one third of the proposed area, although another third, known as eastern Ru-me'li-a, was separately or-

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

---

[1] The sultan recognized the independence of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro. Most of the Balkan area from the Danube river to the Ægean Sea was to be erected into a self-governing principality, known as Bulgaria, which should of course be under Russian influence. (See map opposite page **544**.) The treaty provided for a huge war indemnity to Russia and some further extension of Russian territories.



DISMEMBERMENT OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE 1699-1914

ganized under the suzerainty of the sultan. Russia was not allowed to levy a war indemnity, nor was she permitted to keep as much territory as she had planned. In order to counterbalance the gains of Russia, *Austria* was allowed to occupy and administer Bosnia and Her-ze-go-vi′na, and *Great Britain* was permitted to occupy the Island of Cyprus, opposite the Suez Canal. By the treaty of Berlin, the life of the "sick man" was prolonged, and *the "Eastern Question"* became a far more serious international problem than at any previous time.

THE NEAR EAST IN RECENT YEARS

Problems of boundaries and government in Greece.

411. Greece, Bulgaria, and Rumania. — The history of Greece since she gained her independence ninety years ago has not been one of remarkable prosperity. Until the recent Balkan wars (§ 414) left her with greatly extended boundaries, the Powers had never been willing to give her more than a small part of the area occupied by the Greek peoples.[1] Greece has had a constitution; under her later rulers she has been more prosperous and united.[2] At the outbreak of the Great War, Greece refused to take part on either side, although most of the people, under the leadership of the able patriot Venizelos, wished to have her join the Entente Powers. After 1917, she was nominally if not actively associated with the Allies that were warring against Germany.

Bulgarian geography, physical and political.

Bulgaria and Rumania cover wide fertile valleys and extensive plains, in addition to mountain regions. Bulgaria, being closest to Constantinople, was the last Balkan country to become half-free. By the Treaty of Berlin, she gained self-government, and in 1885 the Bulgarians defied the Turks and annexed eastern Rumelia.

---

[1] Not until 1912 did she even gain the Island of Crete which had always been closely associated with Greece (E. E. C., §§ 22, 23, 123).

[2] Since 1863 Greece has been ruled by kings who are descended from the royal House of Denmark. The sister of the German Kaiser, William II, was queen of Greece from 1913–1917.

Bulgaria and her neighbors.

Bulgaria, which was intended to be a Russian vassal state, did not remain long under Russian influence, because of the greed of the Russians. As the Balkan country which was most likely to gain control of Constantinople, her friendship was desired and encouraged by both Austria and Germany. Bulgaria did not come into the Great War at the very beginning, but, as soon as the time was ripe for the troops of the Central Empires to overrun Serbia, she joined those Powers in the conquest of the ill-fated Serbs.

Rumania.

Rumania is the largest and most prosperous of the Christian countries of the Near East. She is made up of two districts, Wal-la′chi-a and Mol-da′vi-a. Rumania's independence was acknowledged by the Treaty of Berlin. Her fertile valleys are coveted by other countries because of her position at the mouth of the Danube and because of her valuable wheat fields and large supplies of minerals and mineral oils. In spite of her resources, however, the Rumanians have been and still are in a rather poverty-stricken condition.

Racial ambitions of the Rumanians.

The Rumanians are a mixed race,[1] and claim to include not only the people of Rumania proper but a large share of those in Transylvania, across the Carpathian mountains in Hungary, in Bukowina (boo-ko-vi′na) in Austria, and in Bes-sa-ra′bi-a in southern Russia. The desire of the Rumanians to unite all these people was one reason why she held aloof at first from an active part in the Great War.

412. Serbia and the Jugo-Slavs. — The area northeast of Greece, west of Bulgaria, and south of Hungary

---

[1] They claim they are chiefly descended from the Roman colonists who were established in the province of Dacia by Trajan (E. E. C., § 392), but they are probably to a still greater extent Slavs.

The kingdom of Serbia.

proper is occupied by the Jugo-Slavs. Most of these people are Serbs, more than half of whom have now been organized under the kingdom of Serbia. The Serbs were allowed some self-government as early as 1830 (§ 407), but Serbia was not organized as a kingdom until 1878. Besides their desire to extend their boundaries to include other Serbs, they needed a seaport on the Adriatic Sea. Serbia has had the misfortune of internal dissensions between two ruling houses.

Racial political, and religious problems.

There are *several problems* to be worked out before it is possible to unite all of the Jugo-Slavs. First of all there are several different groups of peoples. There are the Serbs themselves, the Montenegrins, and the Serbs in Albania, Bosnia, and other areas. In the second place there are the Ser′bo-Cro′ats of southern Hungary and the Slo-venes′ of southwestern Austria. As can be seen, a second racial problem is due to the fact that these peoples are under a number of different and distinct governments. Still a third problem arises from the fact that the Jugo-Slavs are adherents of three distinct churches. The Serbs themselves and some other Jugo-Slavs are orthodox, that is, members of the Greek Catholic Church. Most of the others are Roman Catholics, but nearly a million are Mohammedans. Whether it will be possible to unite these ten or more millions of scattered peoples, whose history for centuries has carried them different ways, only the future can determine. The Serbians have been anxious to expand Serbia until it includes most of these groups. The Serbo-Croats, on the contrary, have desired a union of these races of which they should be the foundation. One of the problems to be worked out after the Great War will be the future of the Jugo-Slavs.

German influence in Turkey.

413. Revolution and Reform in Turkey. — In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Turkish enterprises were financed at first chiefly by British and French investors and later by the Germans. As early as 1898 Kaiser Wilhelm II visited Constantinople and went on to *Damascus*. At a banquet in his honor he declared: "Say to the three hundred million Moslems of the world that I am their friend." From this trip of the kaiser, in a sense, dates Germany's interest in improving the Turkish army, her increasing investments in Asiatic Turkey, concessions to her for the building of railways in Asia Minor controlled by German capitalists, especially *the Bagdad railway*, and German support for a program of Pan-Is′lam-ism. In the twentieth century a railway from the head of the Persian Gulf or from the east shores of the Red Sea across Asia Minor, the Balkans, and Austria would of course give the Germans by far the quickest and most direct route from Central Europe to the Near East and the Indian Ocean. The possession of a network of railways, one terminus of which would be "within twelve hours of Egypt," and another terminus "within four days of Bombay," would leave Germany opportunity to strike some of the most important dependencies of the British Empire in Northern Africa and in India. If Turkey were made a subject state dependent on Germany, it would give the Germans a real empire, stretching clear across the two continents, Europe and Asia, from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, an imperial domain which would have threatened the economic prosperity and the political stability of all other great Powers. By 1914 the railway had been completed almost to the Euphrates river.

Young Turk revolutions, 1908–1909.

In 1876 a constitution was granted to Turkey by Abdul Hamid, but it was wholly suspended in 1878. In many Christian parts of the Ottoman Empire, for example, Bulgaria, Mac-e-do′ni-a, and Ar-me′ni-a, misrule was continuous and massacres were intermittent. A well-organized group, known as the "Young Turks," secretly fomented revolt until a favorable time arrived in 1908. In July of that year, at Saloniki, the "Young Turks" proclaimed a constitution. As they had practically complete control of the army, resistance was useless, and Abdul Hamid accepted the constitution and followed out his favorite policy of promising reforms. The Turkish revolution of 1908 gave Austria-Hungary opportunity to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, which she had "occupied" since the Treaty of Berlin. It gave Ferdinand of Bulgaria excuse to assert the absolute independence of his country and to assume the title of tsar. Small indemnities were later paid to Turkey for these losses. In a second revolution, in 1909, the "Young Turks" forced Abdul Hamid to abdicate.

SALONIKI AND THE HARBOR FROM THE HILL

The rule of the "Young Turks" did not prosper because

Failures of the "Young Turks."

they were unable to maintain order in many parts of the empire. Moreover, their attempt to "nationalize" their dominions, that is, to take away special rights and privileges of the subject peoples in the empire, aroused against them the anger of millions of their subjects and of the people of the Balkans.

The Balkan Alliance and beginning of First Balkan War.

414. The Balkan Wars. — The policies of the "Young Turks" were so offensive to the Balkan races that in the spring of 1912 four of them joined in a *Balkan Alliance* against Turkey. We will recall that at that time Turkey was in the midst of war with Italy in which she lost Tripoli (§ 279). Just as peace was being made with the Italians, the Balkan states declared war on the Ottoman Empire. *The European Powers* first tried to prevent war and then insisted that under no circumstances should any territory be taken away from Turkey.

Events of the First Balkan War.

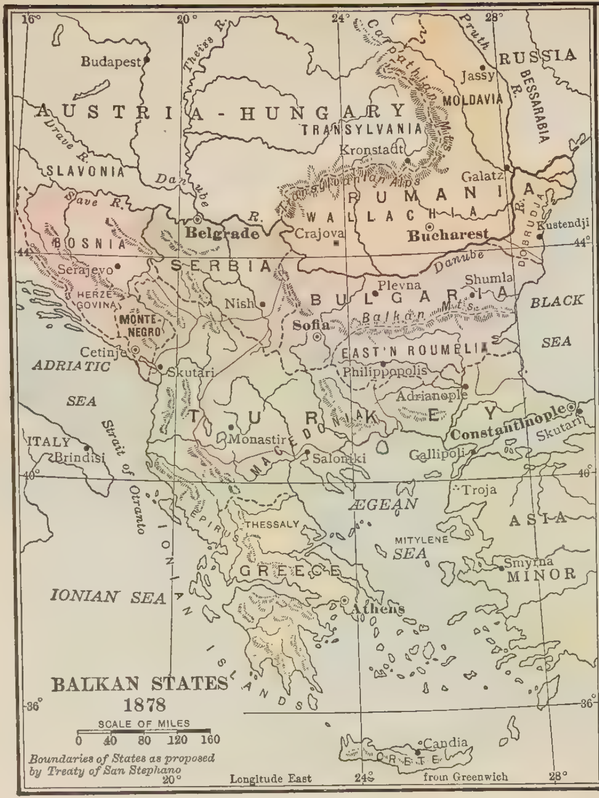
The Bulgarians advanced southward and defeated the Turks in two great battles. Leaving an army of Bulgarians and Serbs to besiege Adrianople, they then advanced southward to the fortifications of Constantinople. The *Serbs* occupied the Turkish territory immediately south of Serbia, and Du-raz′zo on the Adriatic. The *Greeks* besieged some of the Ægean islands and Saloniki in Macedonia.

Second Balkan War and Treaty of Bucharest, 1913.

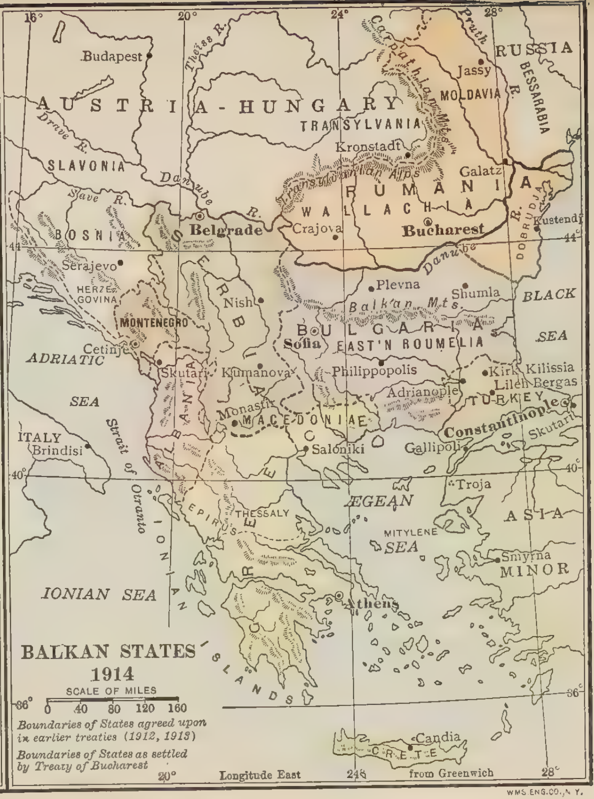
As a result of this *First Balkan War*[1] Turkey was restricted to a small area around Constantinople, Bulgaria increased her territory greatly to the Ægean, and the other Balkan allies gained some slight, if unsatisfactory, additions. There was great discontent because Bulgaria had obtained more than the others, and the Greeks and Serbians refused to give up the territories they held. Bulgaria immediately made war on Greece and Serbia, which were joined by Turkey and Rumania. The result of this *Second Balkan War*, settled by the

---

[1] Treaty of London, 1913.



BALKAN STATES
1878



BALKAN STATES
1914

WMS. ENG. CO., N. Y.

Treaty of Bu-cha-rest′, was the transfer, by Bulgaria, to Turkey of Adrianople and the surrounding territory, to Rumania of a small strip east of the Danube, to Serbia of a considerable area in northern Macedonia, and to Greece of Saloniki and territory on the Ægean.

Menace of the Balkan situation to European peace.

The result of these Balkan wars was unrest and consequently danger to the peace of Europe. Bulgaria was disappointed at her losses. Serbia was disgusted to be shut off from a much desired commercial outlet to the Adriatic. The kingdom of *Albania*, created in the western Balkan area by the Powers, refused to be ruled by the king selected for it; and the Albanians quickly drove him out of the country. We can see that conditions were ripe for further trouble in southeastern Europe.

Africa before 1885.

415. Summary. — In the last half century, Africa has again become important in the history of the world. Numerous were the men who visited northern or northwestern African river valleys, but nevertheless, the opening up of Africa was largely the work of David Livingstone and Henry M. Stanley. Following their explorations, merchants penetrated the interior after gold, ivory, or other products, and government agents "signed up" native chiefs and established protectorates for their home country.

The partition of Africa.

The Dark Continent, almost unknown a half century ago, was by 1914 wholly divided up among the Great Powers. The largest area went to France, the most important coasts and river valleys to Great Britain. Germany had established four colonies. Portugal retained her foothold in three important areas, Belgium had acquired the lower Congo region, and Italy had seized the huge area of Tripoli, besides smaller territories. The French colonial empire started with Algeria on the Mediterranean coast, and Senegal on the Atlantic. In the north it extended over Tunis and finally over Morocco, and into the interior as far as the Congo.

The Near East before 1880.

In 1453 the Ottoman Turks gained Constantinople. Their sway they extended to the northwest, to the northeast, to the southeast, and west in northern Africa as far as Morocco. Beginning in 1699, the decline set in, and by 1800 they had lost most of their territory north of the Balkans and the Black Sea. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the Greeks gained their independence. The Rumanian provinces and Serbia became self-governing. Montenegro was recognized as independent still earlier. Turkish rule was corrupt, incompetent, and in other ways unsatisfactory. Russia desired but failed to get Constantinople in either the Crimean War (1854–1856) or the Russo-Turkish war (1877–1878), for by the Treaty of Berlin (1878) Russia was compelled to give up her gains, Austria occupied Bosnia, and Great Britain took Cyprus.

The Near East in recent years.

The Balkan area has been noted for its unrest and disorder; it finally disturbed the peace of Europe. It is inhabited not only by Mohammedans (Turks), but by numerous Christian peoples, each of which wants all the land it can get, and would like to control affairs of the Near East. Greece, the oldest of these states, has been independent less than a century. The Jugo-Slavs, including the Serbs, occupy a large and rather indefinite region, extending from Greece, north to Hungary proper, and from the Adriatic Sea halfway to the Black Sea. South and north of the Danube in its lower courses are Bulgaria, ambitious to control the whole Balkan area, and Rumania, whose people are anxious to create a greater Rumania. In 1908, a nationalist movement of the "Young Turks" gained control of the Turkish government, and made it possible for Austria to annex Bosnia. The "Young Turks" did not get along well with the subject Christian peoples, and in 1912 the states north of European Turkey formed the Balkan Alliance. The allies were successful in the First Balkan War, and Turkey was almost driven out of Europe, but Bulgaria demanded more than her share of territory, and a Second Balkan War followed. By the Treaty of Bucharest, Serbia and Greece gained at the expense of Bulgaria. In 1913 the Balkan situation was serious for the world at large.

General References

Hazen, *Modern European History*, 507–514, 540–557, 590–607.

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 490–539, 614–639.

Johnston, *The Colonization of Africa.*

Harris, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa.*

Gibbons, *The New Map of Africa (1900–1916).*

Rose, *Development of the European Nations*, I, 184–343, II, 228–298.

Miller, *The Ottoman Empire, 1801–1913.*

Forbes, *et al.*, *The Balkans.*

Sloane, *The Balkans, A Laboratory of History.*

Schurman, *The Balkan Wars.*

Topics

THE FRENCH COLONIAL EMPIRE IN AFRICA: Harris, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*, 108–130; Johnston, *The Colonization of Africa*, 122–145; Gibbons, *The New Map of Africa*, 312–354.

SERBIA: Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 657–664; Larned, *History for Ready Reference*, in Vols. IV, VI, and VII; Forbes, *The Balkans*, 79–162.

THE BALKAN WARS: Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 528–539; Hazen, *Modern European History*, 590–607; *American Year Book* (1913), 94–106, 146–149; Seymour, *Diplomatic Background of the War*, 221–244.

Studies

1. African exploration a century ago. Johnston, *The Colonization of Africa*, 194–204.

2. The Belgians in the Congo. Gibbons, *The New Map of Africa*, 147–172.

3. The French in Algeria and Tunis. Gibbons, *The New Map of Africa*, 130–146.

4. Decline of the Ottoman Empire before 1815. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 490–498.

5. The Crimean War. Innes, *England and the British Empire*, IV, 251–266.

6. The Treaty of San Stefano. Miller, *The Ottoman Empire*, 382–386.

7. The Jugo-Slav movement. Kerner, in *The Russian Revolution — The Jugo-Slav Movement*, 81–95.

8. Bulgaria from 1878 to 1908. Forbes, *The Balkans*, 54–64.

9. The "Young Turk" movement. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 524–527.

10. The Armenians and the Adana massacres. Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*, 187–194.

Questions

1. Explain the geography of Africa, giving some idea of its climate, rivers, products, and natural resources. What part did northern Africa play in the early history of the human race (E. E. C., §§ 22–24, 40), and in the early historic period (E. E. C., §§ 42–50, 67, 308, 312)? In later times how did the rule of the Saracens and of the Ottoman Turks in northern Africa affect the people of Europe?

2. In the opening of Africa, what part was played by the following: Prince Henry the Navigator, Vasco da Gama, the slave trade, trade in gold and ivory, explorers in northwestern Africa, David Livingstone, and Henry M. Stanley?

3. To what extent had Europeans made any progress in the real partition of Africa by 1870? (See small map, page 530.) Give a summary of the colonies and protectorates of the different European countries in 1914. Explain why the Congo Free State was changed into a Belgian colony. Show the importance of commerce in the acquisition of German colonies. What difficulties did Italy have in gaining her present possessions?

4. Why was Algeria the first important European colony in northern or central Africa? Explain how and why French influence extended over Tunis and Morocco as well. To what extent did the French penetrate the interior?

5. Explain the extent of expansion of the Ottoman Empire before 1683. What was the nature of Turkish rule: in general;

among the Christians of European Turkey; among the Armenians; and in northern Africa? Trace the decline of Turkey from 1699 to 1850, giving causes of decline and naming the most important territories lost.

6. What has been the importance of Constantinople in European history during the last hundred years? Why was Turkey called the "sick man" of Europe? Explain causes, main events, results, and importance of the Crimean War. What were the Bulgarian atrocities in 1876? What was the importance of the Treaty of Berlin, and the "Eastern Question" in European politics?

7. Trace the history of Greece since her independence was established (§ 176). Why do the Serb peoples look back upon a greater Serbia, and look forward to a pan-Serbian union? What peoples belong to the Jugo-Slavs? Where and under what governments have they been living?

√ 8. What was the "Young Turk" movement, and what changes did it make in Turkish government? What was the Balkan Alliance? What countries were involved in the First Balkan War, and what was the attitude of the concert of Powers? Why did the Treaty of London give Bulgaria the lion's share of the spoils? Why was there a Second Balkan War, and which countries were in that conflict? What were the provisions of the Treaty of Bucharest, and why was that treaty a defeat for Germany? Explain why the Balkan situation in 1913 was likely to lead to a general war.

CHAPTER XXI

THE GREAT ALLIANCES AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS

The Triple Alliance and German World Politics

General character of early German foreign policy.

416. Bismarck's Aggressive International Policy. — As we have seen (§§ 243–247, 252–254) in 1871 Bismarck was able, through a policy of "blood and iron," to create a consolidated German Empire. This was a Prussianized Germany which did not include Austria or many outlying districts of the old Holy Roman Empire (§ 160). The first aim of Bismarck's international policy was to gain the friendship of powerful neighboring countries, his second to use against any possible enemy of Germany the policy of "blood and iron" which had been so useful to him. He and his successors wanted to create a larger Germany, controlling or, if desirable, including most or all of the territory of the old Holy Roman Empire.

Lack of natural boundaries but numerous powerful neighbors.

Bismarck believed that his problem was difficult. In the first place, Germany has no definite natural boundaries. In the second place, Germany was almost completely surrounded by powerful countries, two of which she had recently defeated. It would have been the most natural thing in the world for both *France* and *Austria* to wish revenge for the humiliations suffered in the wars with Prussia.

As soon as the German Empire had been created, the Iron Chancellor set to work to establish friendly rela-

How Bismarck kept on friendly terms with both Austria and Russia.

tions between the German Empire on the one hand, and Austria and Russia.[1] In 1872 and in succeeding years he entertained Francis Joseph II and Alexander II in Berlin. Affairs of state undoubtedly were talked over, and policies were blocked out for the advantage of the three empires. This "League of Three Emperors" was in no sense an alliance, but it gave Bismarck friends at a time when he wished to devote his whole attention to the internal policies of Germany (§ 294).

Desire of Bismarck for combination of Austria and Germany.

417. Alliance of Germany and Austria. — For nearly a thousand years before 1866 the name "Germany" had included an area from the North Sea to the Adriatic. It was natural, therefore, that Bismarck should desire a union of the new Germany and Austria, provided that the union was controlled by Prussia. After a few years, he found, however, that if he were friendly with Austria, he would arouse the hostility of Russia. The reason for this is simple. *Austria* believed that her power should be extended to the southeast at the expense of Slavic peoples that *Russia* wished to have under her own protection. The real break between Germany and Russia, therefore, grew out of the Near Eastern Question, which Bismarck declared was "not worth the bones of a Pom-e-ra′ni-an grenadier."

Germany aids Austria and opposes Russia.

In the Treaty of Berlin (§ 410), Bismarck maintained that he occupied the position of an "honest broker," in other words, that he did not take sides and played fair with all parties. But as Austria, in return for her neutrality during the war, was allowed to "occupy" the two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whereas Russia, in spite of her numerous victories, received practically nothing for herself, and the newly created Slavic Balkan state of Bulgaria was reduced greatly in size, Russia did not forgive Bismarck and Germany.

---

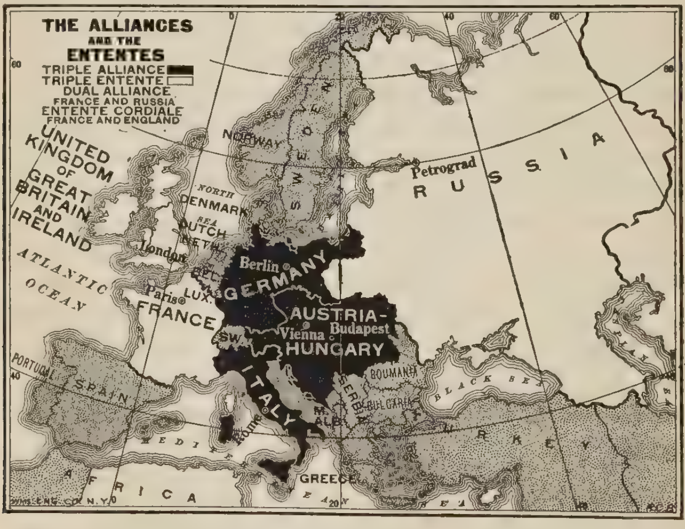
[1] Bismarck was able to keep on friendly terms with Russia, partly because he had given her moral support at the time of the latest Polish Revolt in 1863 (§ 313), and partly because Wilhelm I and his nephew, Tsar Alexander II of Russia, were good friends.

erms of
he Alli-
nce of
879 against
ussia.

At the Treaty of Berlin the way was paved for *an alliance between Germany and Austria* in 1879. How greatly Bismarck feared Russia is shown by the terms of the alliance. The two countries agreed that if either were attacked by *Russia*, they would aid each other in every way possible and that one would not conclude peace without the consent of the other. Russia did not know of this agreement for several years, but she was already distrustful of Bismarck and Germany.

esire of
ismarck
o add Italy
o Alliance.

418. Completion of the Triple Alliance. — In order to extend this Alliance and to consolidate all central Europe against any possible enemy, Bismarck prepared to include Italy in this new grouping of nations. As the relations of Italy had been quite cordial with France,



except for a short period, and, for a half century, Italy had looked upon Austria as her natural and therefore her greatest enemy, Bismarck did not find this an easy task. However, Italy had always been friendly with Prussia and was grateful to Prussia for helping her to obtain Venetia (§ 246). With characteristic Bismarckian craft, the Iron Chancellor suggested to France that, as she held Algeria, it might be a good plan to establish a protectorate over Tunis, just east of Algeria. The French followed this suggestion (§ 405).

Formation of the Triple Alliance in 1882.

Italy was greatly offended at this action of the French, since she was already beginning to look greedily across the Mediterranean and considered Tunis the most desirable area that was accessible, first, because it included the site of Rome's ancient rival, Carthage, secondly, because of its nearness to Italy, and thirdly, because there were many more Italians than Frenchmen in Tunis. In their excitement, the Italians ignored their ancient enmity against Austria, and did exactly what Bismarck hoped, that is, they accepted an alliance with Germany and Austria (1882). *This Triple Alliance was a purely defensive organization, as far as Italy was concerned,* for she was to join her allies in making war only in case some other Power was the aggressor. In this way did Bismarck create the first great group of nations which was, ostensibly, to preserve the peace of Europe, but which really kept that peace only so long as it was satisfactory to Germany.

Contrast between Bismarck's international policy and that of William II.

419. Pan-Germanism and Further Expansion. — The underlying idea of the alliance with Austria was unquestionably the union of all German peoples, the dominance of German authority in Europe, and the extension of German power and influence. Bismarck was satisfied to consolidate all interests within the German Empire and to make certain Germany's prestige in *Europe.*

For that reason he was opposed to plans for a colonial empire and was an unwilling convert to the acquisition of German colonies during his chancellorship. With the accession of William II, however, and the dismissal of Bismarck, Germany's imperialistic plans began to develop rapidly. In the last years of the nineteenth century, the Germans began to formulate their ideas of Pan-Germanism. While the term is indefinite, it may be said to mean a union of all German peoples, and a world policy which included the acquisition of colonies (§ 298), the building of a powerful navy, the development of trade (§§ 300, 472), political control of adjacent countries and their colonies (§ 300), and of an area southeast to the Persian Gulf (§ 413), and the domination of the world (§ 420).

ANTWERP AND THE SCHELDT

ierman
vorld
olitics in
he West-
rn Hemi-
phere.

We must not imagine that German plans and schemes have left the American continents untouched. In southern Brazil there are a number of states inhabited chiefly by Germans, and special attention has been given by Germany to her South American trade. Soon after the opening of the twentieth century, Germany desired and would have acquired, but for the Monroe Doctrine, special interests in Venezuela, close to the Panama Canal.

Nor has the North American continent been neglected. We need only recall the fact that, before there was serious thought of war in the United States, Germany tried to intrigue with Mexico and Japan (§ 446) against the United States, whose government up to that time had been friendly to her.

Means and purposes of German world policy.

420. German World Politics and the World. — The belief of the German people that they have the best civilization of the world, that they are far more intellectual and efficient than any other people, that they have a mission to perform in forcing their civilization upon others and bringing white peoples under their control and domination: these are the heart of kultur and of German *Welt-politik* (world politics). It can be seen from these statements why most of Germany's neighbors feared, if they did not respect, her authority. When we add to this the use of state authority everywhere and in all ways to aid her in controlling the world's business (§ 472), the diabolically efficient spy system which stops at no means to carry out the schemes of the Fatherland, the plots to stir up the subject peoples of her rival's colonies so that they would revolt, the preaching of holy wars among the Mohammedans (§ 435), and the use of German gold to buy what they could not otherwise obtain directly or honestly; we can see why most of Europe became banded against the plans of the German leaders. Since the Germans were not satisfied with German primacy in continental Europe and her rapidly expanding trade and influence, they demanded a better position and a finer opportunity, to which Germany referred as her "place in the sun." The antagonism of her near neighbors was naturally aroused more fully than before, because, even while Germany occupied her old place in the sun, there was cast in their faces the sinister shadow of a million spiked steel helmets. It was not

Opposition of other Powers

until that shadow, spreading with the years, at length reached across America to the Pacific, that the American people awoke to the menace of Germany's program for world domination.

THE DUAL ALLIANCE AND THE ENTENTES

Effect of German policy toward France on France, England, and Russia.

421. The Relations of France with Germany. — Germany's attempt to humiliate and isolate France after 1870 naturally aroused in France hatred toward her new domineering neighbor. The forcible transfer of Alsace-Lorraine, against the wishes of France and of the provinces themselves, however necessary it might have seemed to Bismarck for the future protection of the German Empire, was a serious blunder because it created in France a demand for revenge which did not grow less with the passing years. Moreover, Germany's policy toward France influenced Great Britain and Russia, because neither of these powers was willing that France should be weakened further.

Recuperation of France and the crisis of 1875.

On her part France was taking all necessary precautions by thoroughly *reorganizing her military forces* and providing that most of her young men should have five years in the active army. In addition, she began *the construction of a chain of powerful forts* along her eastern border, of which those around Ver-dun′ formed the center and key. These measures were intended purely for defense, but they aroused the intense hostility of the Prussian war party, which desired excuse to humiliate France anew.[1] In the spring of 1875 Germany seemed to be mobilizing her forces for a new war. The

---

[1] With amazement and disgust, this war party witnessed the extraordinarily rapid payment of the immense war indemnity which they had forced upon France in 1871. As it was too late to make this indemnity larger, the war party sought for reasonable excuse to invade France again and crush her, this time if possible completely.

French diplomats were on the alert, however, and sent appeals for help to the courts at London and Petrograd. Immediately the English and Russian governments asked Bismarck what Germany was planning to do and urged him to maintain peace at all hazards. This interference on the part of Great Britain and Russia halted any possible preparations of Germany for conflict.

France takes Germany's place in Russian friendship and finance.

422. Formation of the Dual Alliance. — During the chancellorship of Bismarck it was impossible for France and Russia to get together, although Russia was much chagrined that she gained nothing at the Treaty of Berlin (§ 410), and Alexander III (1881–1895) was not friendly to Germany. With the death of William I in 1888, Germany and Russia began to drift farther and farther apart, and, before Bismarck's retirement as chancellor in 1890, Russia arranged that the loans which she had borrowed from German bankers should be renewed by bonds sold on the French stock exchange. These loans of the French capitalists and peasants to the Russian government continued in later years, and amounted before 1906 to a sum of nearly two and a half billion dollars (§ 271). These French *loans* enabled the Russian government to build state-owned railroads and to carry on other improvements needed in that undeveloped country (§ 317). They created a feeling of greater friendship than before for France.

The Dual Alliance (1891).

In the rivalry between France and either Prussia or Austria since the time of the Renaissance, France had frequently looked to some eastern country as an ally. The fear which the Third French Republic entertained of Germany and the distrust which Russia was coming to have for that Power made an alliance at this time perfectly natural. In 1891 the French fleet was entertained enthusiastically at Kron-stadt′, but before the Russian fleet could return this visit with a trip to

Toulon,[1] the French and Russian governments signed a secret treaty of alliance. By the terms of a later agreement each Power was to aid the other in case of attack. This *Dual Alliance* gave France the international friend and the men that she needed; it assured Russia a continued supply of money, which she had lacked.

NAVAL BASE, TOULON, FRANCE

mitations the Dual liance.

423. Delcassé and the "Entente Cordiale." — The Dual Alliance tended to preserve the equilibrium on the Continent, because against the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy it balanced the new alliance of Russia and France. The new alliance, however, was in the nature of a "marriage of convenience," since after all the western republic and the eastern autocracy had little in common except the menace of Germany. Even before the Russo-Japanese War proved that, from the military point of view, whoever leaned on Russia leaned on a broken reed, France began to realize that she must find help elsewhere, if possible.

---

[1] It is interesting to notice that soon after this alliance was made a Russian fleet visited the French harbor of Toulon, and Russian sailors, arm-in-arm with French jackies, strolled down the street singing the Marseillaise, the hymn of republican France, whose use was forbidden within the territories of the tsar of all the Russias. In fact, at Kronstadt, when in spite of the Russian law the French national hymn was played, even the tsar stood at salute.

French concessions after the Fashoda Affair (1898).

In 1898, as we noticed above (§ 406), France and England came into conflict at Fashoda because the colonies of France in north central Africa were expanding eastward and Great Britain was extending her authority in Egypt southward into the Sudan. This was exactly what Bismarck had hoped and planned; but the ultimate result was the opposite of what Bismarck had intended, partly because at this time the foreign affairs of France were controlled for a number of years by Theophile Delcassé. *Delcassé,* a keen, far-sighted statesman, realized better than any one else the grave danger to France in the ambitious and unscrupulous plans of the German leaders. He therefore persuaded the French people to make concessions in the Egyptian Sudan, and from that time he worked incessantly to bring about a better understanding with Great Britain.

DELCASSÉ

Understanding reached by the French and the English (1904).

So long as Queen Victoria lived, this was impossible, because she thought a great deal of her grandson, Emperor William II, and was not friendly toward the French. When Edward VII came to the throne, the case was quite the opposite, for Edward knew and loved the French people.

In 1904 the French and English governments reached an understanding in regard to a number of disputed problems; this is known as the *"Entente Cordiale."* By far the most important questions which it settled were those in northern Africa (§ 377). The "Entente Cordiale" was not an alliance, at least so far as any public admission was made before 1914, yet it gave both countries assurance that in case of need they could depend upon the other.

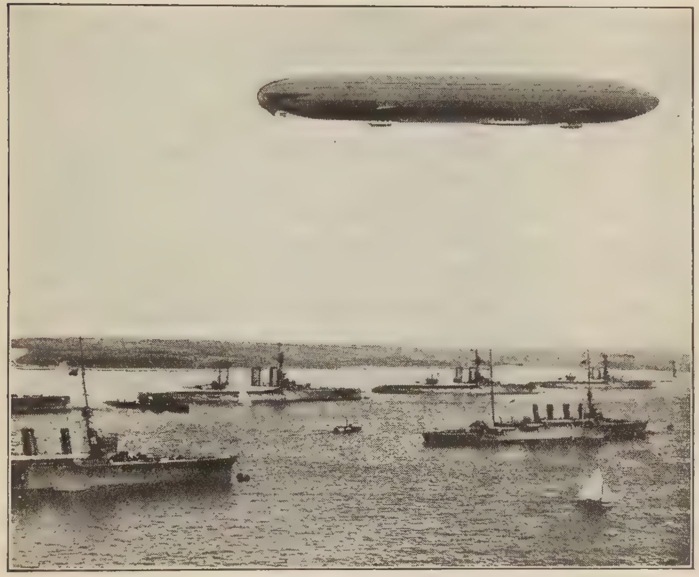
EDWARD VII OF ENGLAND

Growing hostility of the English toward Germany.

424. Attitude of England toward Germany and Russia before 1905. — The "Entente Cordiale" would have been impossible had there not been a growing sentiment in Great Britain against the aggressive naval and other policies of Germany, and also a fear on the part of England that Germany would seek to form against her a great alliance which might leave her as isolated as France had been after the Franco-German War. This fear of Germany had not existed in England in 1890 (§ 298). Since that time the Germans had opened the Kiel Canal, had fortified Helgoland more strongly than Gibraltar, and had created a great navy (§ 299). Beginning with the telegram of congratulation sent by the kaiser to Oom Paul Kruger on the failure of the Jameson Raid (§ 375), sentiment had been growing against Germany. Especially did it develop after the death of Queen Victoria, because the English did not like the growing German trade overseas and feared that the German navy would become larger than that which England could keep for the protection of the British Isles.

Change in feelings of Great Britain and Russia toward each other.

Three years after the "Entente Cordiale" had been completed, England and Russia finally came together. This would have seemed natural, because one had an alliance with France and the other an understanding with that country. Since the overthrow of Napoleon, however, Russia and Britain had had many conflicts over their interests in the Near East. So long as England was in possession of Egypt, she felt bound to prevent Russian advance to the Mediterranean and was anxious that Russia should not control Constantinople.[1] In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth the two countries had some diplomatic controversies in central western



KIEL CANAL

---

[1] To be sure, after England had acquired the Island of Cyprus in the Treaty of Berlin, that fear oppressed her less.

Asia, because Russia was expanding toward the northern borders of India and the Persian Gulf (§ 383).

Change of British feeling toward Russia.

425. The Triple Entente. — In the early years of the twentieth century two events brought England and Russia together. The first of these was the defeat of Russia in the Japanese War (§ 396). England then realized that she need not fear greatly the military achievements of the Russian people. The second was the threatened completion of the Bagdad railway (§ 413). Unless something was done, Germany was likely to reach the coveted Persian Gulf before either England or Russia.

Formation and importance of the Triple Entente.

In 1907, therefore, an understanding was reached by Russia and Great Britain which settled their disputes in the East, including Afghanistan, Tibet, and Persia. *Persia* was divided into three spheres of influence (§ 384). To all practical purposes an understanding had now been reached by the three Powers, France, Russia, and Great Britain. We call this understanding the *Triple Entente*. Against the Triple Alliance was now opposed a new group of nations which was organized to maintain the balance of power, and to keep peace in Europe, if possible. If Germany tried to dominate the Continent, or if German "Welt-politik" threatened to control the Old World, this entente might become an alliance.

THE CONFLICT OF THE ALLIANCES (1905–1914)

The kaiser makes trouble in Morocco.

426. The Algeciras Affair (1905–1906). — During Bismarck's lifetime, Germany, supported by the Triple Alliance, had had her own way in Europe. William II wanted even more power and wished to show that other countries must follow German leadership outside of Europe also. In 1905, three weeks after the decisive Russian defeat at Mukden (§ 396), the kaiser landed from his yacht at Tangier, in Morocco. In a speech which startled Europe, he addressed the sultan of Morocco as an independent monarch and declared that Germany would support her own merchants in Morocco in carrying on business in a free country. Undoubtedly he wished to protect German commerce in Morocco, but he was far more concerned with asserting and maintaining the prestige and political authority of the German Empire. His declarations ignored France's obvious interests in Morocco and immediately called for explanations. The kaiser insisted that a general conference of the Powers should be held, at which the Moroccan question should be discussed thoroughly. Against the protests of Delcassé, who was forced to resign, a conference was called at Algeciras, almost under the shadow of Gibraltar.[1]

The Algeciras conference: results and importance.

The calling of a conference was of course a great victory for Germany and her international prestige, but the results of the conference were a disappointment to her. In the first place, although the conference gave all nations with interests in Morocco some share in the affairs of that country, nevertheless, Morocco was divided into a Spanish sphere covering about one fifth of the area and a French sphere covering the other four fifths. In addition, the police were brought under the control of French or Spanish officers and banking interests were to be controlled chiefly by France. *The conference was really a defeat for the kaiser*, chiefly because it united his enemies against him far more completely than ever before. On almost all important questions Germany and Austria were outvoted by the other members; even Italy usually sided with the enemies of Germany. In numerous conversations between the English and Russian representatives the foundations were laid for the entente between their countries which occurred the next year (§ 425), and which we have just discussed.

---

[1] Before the meeting was held France was able to secure but one concession, namely, that French paramount interests in Morocco should be recognized by the conference.

Maintenance of order by the French.

427. Settlement of the Moroccan Question, 1906–1911. — Since the Algeciras conference had practically imposed upon France an obligation to maintain order in Morocco, it was possible for her to land troops and to develop a well-disciplined though small force. In 1911 the French army, in order to suppress a revolt, marched upon the inland capital, Fez; the Germans made excuse that lives and property of their citizens in the seaports must be protected.

The Agadir affair (1911).

A gunboat was dispatched to the port of *Agadir* for the purpose of protecting German prestige in Europe rather than her interests in Morocco. Not only did the French make preparations to mobilize their troops, but England informed Germany that in case of war she should support France. This policy of the two western powers was sufficient to decide the controversy. Germany agreed to a French protectorate in Morocco, and in exchange for the Moroccan interests that she claimed, she received lands in the Congo region.[1] It will be seen from the narrative of these comparatively insignificant events that Germany was determined to maintain outside of Europe the leadership and prestige which under Bismarck she had claimed and exercised on that Continent.

Incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Dual Monarchy (1908).

428. The Bosnian Question (1908). — It will be recalled that, by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, Austria-Hungary gained, as a reward for her neutrality, the right to occupy and administer the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As these provinces were inhabited by Slavs, of the Serb race or closely related to the Serbs, this gave offense to the Serbians and was accepted with ill grace by Russia. Austria found that, although the acquisition of these provinces made trade easier between the Adriatic and southern Hungary, it gave her continual trouble because the Bosnians did not take kindly to Austrian rule. As long as these provinces remained under Turkish sovereignty, Austria could not make her rule complete; but when the "Young Turk" party revolted in 1908 (§ 413), partly with the help of the Germans, Austria's opportunity came. She declared that Bosnia and Herzegovina no longer formed a protectorate under Austria's supervision, but were a real part of the Dual Monarchy.

---

[1] Treaty of Nov. 4, 1911.

Ineffectual protest of Serbia, Turkey, and Russia.

Serbia had hoped to include within her territories not only Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also all southern Hungary (§ 412), which was inhabited by allied Slavic peoples; she protested vigorously against Austria's violating her pledge made in the Treaty of Berlin and thus treating that important document as a "scrap of paper." In this protest she was backed up by Turkey, but the Turkish protest amounted to nothing because the new revolutionary government could not even maintain its authority at home. Russia also objected, for she was exceedingly anxious to enlarge the Slavic Balkan states and, if possible, have all Slavic peoples brought under her own dominion or protection. The protest of Russia amounted to nothing, first, because the defeats of the Japanese War had absolutely demoralized her army, which in 1908 was only partly reorganized, and secondly, because the revolution of 1905–1906 had almost as completely demoralized the Russian government. If Russia had had to deal only with Austria, war would probably have followed, but when Germany took up the challenge of her ally, Austria, and the kaiser "donned his shining armor" and fiercely "shook the sword in its scabbard," the Russians accepted the inevitable, and yielded. Once more Germany's military prestige had been vindicated without a controversy.

Numerous Austrian interests in the Near East.

429. Balkan Interests of Austria and Russia. — The Bosnian crisis had emphasized, as nothing had done before, the fact that the Balkan interests of Russia and Austria were diametrically opposed to each other. Since Austria had given up hope of leadership in Germany (§ 242), she turned her attention to affairs in the South and East. She wished first to round out her possessions by securing complete control of Bosnia and Herzegovina. She desired a further extension of her territories or influence on the Adriatic Sea southward in order that she might control the entire eastern shore of the Adriatic, from Trieste to the Mediterranean. In any case she was determined that neither Serbia nor Montenegro, or any other country supported by Russia, should gain possession of any of this coast or of any of its seaports. Since the Danube is the great river of the Dual Monarchy and runs between or through Balkan states (some of which before 1914 were unfriendly to Austria) and empties into the Black Sea, whose outlet through the Dardanelles is controlled by Turkey, Austria believed that it was necessary for her to keep the river open and to be on good terms with the Porte in order to protect her commerce. Moreover, she wished, first, to have a railway under Austrian control direct to the Ægean Sea,[1] secondly, to have German influence dominant in Constantinople, and thirdly, to establish her influence over as many of the Balkan states as possible.

To the *Pan-Germanic expansion* desired by Austria and Germany, Russia opposed a *Pan-Slavic movement. Russia's interests in the Near East were of three kinds, religious, racial, and geographical.* They were religious

---

[1] Both she and Germany were anxious that they should control railways to Constantinople and from that great city between the Dardanelles southeast across Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf (see § 413).

Religious and racial policies of Russia in the Near East.

because the Russians were by far the greatest peoples of the Greek Catholic Church, to which the Christians of the Balkan region belong. These Christians naturally look for leadership to Petrograd rather than to the patriarch of Constantinople. In the second place, Russia's interests in the Near East were and are racial, because at least three quarters of the peoples living in the Balkan states are Slavs, closely related in race to the Russians. Naturally, as well as for political reasons of her own, Russia has wished to be considered the protector of all Slavic peoples. In fact, she has wanted to bring all of them within her own rule or under her protection.

Russian need of a Mediterranean outlet.

In the third place, Russia's interests in the Near East are *geographical and economic*. We have noticed more than once that, in spite of her great size, Russia has had practically no desirable seacoast, or coast that gives her direct contact with the outside world. At no time has Russia been able to extend her territory beyond the mouth of the Danube, owing largely to British influence in the nineteenth century and to that of Germany in the twentieth century. She has made little headway toward securing possession of the great gateway of southeastern Europe, Constantinople. To Russia the extension of German influence over Turkey has been a menace; to her the spread of German dominion from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf (§ 300) would be a catastrophe.

Germany's attitude on the Agadir affair (1911) and later.

430. Approaching a Crisis. — The European situation in every year from 1911 to 1914 was fraught with danger. In 1911, at the time of the Agadir affair, Germany, France, and England were on the verge of war. That so distant and unimportant a problem as the Moroccan question should have created such a crisis shows that the alliances feared each other. Germany had been accustomed to dictate what the other Powers should do. Her failure to force her wishes on France angered her greatly and she was determined that the next time a quarrel arose between the alliances, she would be fully prepared; but in 1911 her financiers and her military leaders were not ready, so Germany and her allies did not fight France, England, and probably Russia.

How peace was maintained during the First Balkan War.

During the First Balkan War, the Central Powers did not make trouble because *Bulgaria*, which was friendly to them, gained most of the advantages, and the creation of the new kingdom of *Albania* shut off Serbia from the Adriatic Sea. But if the Central Empires were satisfied, the Balkan peoples, with the exception of the Bulgarians, were not.

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI—February 26, 1913.

THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE.

Hans and Jacques (*together*) "AND I HEAR THERE'S MORE TO COME!"

Courtesy of "Punch"

Why the Balkan situation was critical after 1913.

When the treaty of Bucharest at the end of the Second Balkan War created a new and larger Serbia, Austria was ready to make war on almost any pretext. At the same time, the Serbians, elated by their expansion, began a new agitation for a still greater Serbia. If the Austrians and Serbians were able to settle their differences, all would be well. But *if Austria threatened the independence of Serbia, the latter could count on the support of Russia, and Germany was determined soon to show by* ARMS *if not by diplomacy that she dominated Europe.* Germany would have preferred excuse for a direct quarrel with France, but so long as she had one for attacking and, if possible, overpowering France, she would be satisfied. Germany had been preparing many years for any possible general conflict, and since 1911 her preparations had been much more active. She had borrowed money on a large scale, hoping, if not intending, that she would win a great victory over her enemies and need not pay back these sums. In the fall of 1913, so confident was she a general war was at hand, and Germany would win, that the kaiser called together a group of big business men and, in return for their support, promised them lands and trade opportunities in British colonies — in Australia, in India, and in Canada. French and Russian statesmen had a slight idea of Germany's plans and schemes, but even they had no idea of the lengths to which Germany was prepared to go.

The Triple Alliance and German world politics.

431. Summary. — Germany's friendship with Austria was cemented in an alliance in 1879. When Italy was induced to join this, the Triple Alliance was organized, which for several decades was dominant in European affairs. With her huge army, her policy of "blood and iron," and her tradition of ancient greatness, Germany, after Bismarck retired, developed plans of pan-Germanism, to control middle Europe and an empire from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, and to acquire possessions in Africa and the Americas. Her scheme of world politics (§ 300) included industrial development, commercial expansion, a colonial empire, a huge navy and merchant marine, and political control of many countries. Her ambition, her unscrupulousness, her efficient spy system, her use of state authority to carry out her plans, and the menace of militarism, coupled with this ambitious scheme of world domination, aroused against Germany practically all Europe.

France, overpowered in 1871, and threatened many

The Dual Alliance and the ententes.

times later, reorganized her army and constructed forts on her eastern border. To protect herself better, in 1891 she formed with Russia the Dual Alliance, for which France furnished the money and Russia was to provide men. Since Russia was not a very dependable friend, the French foreign minister, Delcassé, and Edward VII of England in 1904 made for the two countries the "Entente Cordiale," which settled their disputes in Egypt and Morocco and completed their friendship. England had already been aroused against Germany because of German aggressions, the development of the German navy, and other dangers. In 1907 Russia and England, fearing that Germany and her railroad to Bagdad would destroy their influence and menace their possessions in southwestern Asia, entered into an understanding, and thereby formed the Triple Entente.

Conflict of the alliances (1905–1914).

After the "Entente Cordiale" was formed, Germany sought new opportunities to prove her prestige both in Europe and outside. The kaiser tried to block France's control in Morocco, and insisted that Moroccan affairs should be decided in a European conference. That was held in Algeciras in 1906, but the French were left in control of the finances and the police of the country. In 1911 Germany sent a gunboat to Agadir; but, when Great Britain told Germany she would help France in case of war, the Germans yielded and accepted part of the French Congo in exchange for a French protectorate over Morocco. Three years earlier, when Austria annexed Bosnia in 1908, trouble between Germany and Austria on the one side and Russia on the other had been avoided only by Russia's refusal to fight. Germany, defeated in the Agadir affair and balked in her Near Eastern plans by the Treaty of Bucharest (1913), refused to depend longer on diplomacy but prepared to dominate the Balkans and maintain her prestige in Europe by force of arms.

General References

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 679–710.

Fife, *The German Empire between Two Wars*, 3–97.

Bullard, *The Diplomacy of the Great War*, Book I.

Committee of Public Information, *Conquest and Kultur*.

Allen, *The Great War*, I, 60–203.

Rose, *The Development of the European Nations*, Part II, 1–43, 320–384.

Tardieu, *France and the Alliances*.

Chéradame, *The Pan-German Plot Unmasked*.

Schmitt, *England and Germany 1740–1914*.

Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*.

Usher, *Pan-Germanism*.

Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War (1870–1914)*.

Von Bülow, *Imperial Germany*.

Topics

German World Politics: Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*, 21–57; Von Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, 13–123; Rohrbach, *German World Policies*, 157–211; Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War*, 61–114.

Entente Cordiale: Tardieu, *France and the Alliances*, 60–80; Bullard, *The Diplomacy of the Great War*, 69–83; Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War*, 140–158.

The Algeciras Affair: Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War*, 166–176; Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*, 71–76; Bullard, *The Diplomacy of the Great War*, 84–101; Schmitt, *England and Germany*, 226–240.

Studies

1. The "League of the Three Emperors." Coolidge, *The Triple Alliance*, 43–52.
2. The war scare of 1875. Coolidge, *The Triple Alliance*, 55–62.
3. The Congress of Berlin. Bullard, *The Diplomacy of the Great War*, 3–12.
4. Formation of the Dual Alliance. Tardieu, *France and the Alliances*, 1–15.
5. The Dual Alliance after 1894. Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War*, 54–60.

6. The Agadir affair. Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War*, 184–193.

7. The Bosnian crisis of 1908. Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War*, 178–182.

8. Serbia and the Jugo-Slav union. Forbes, *The Balkans*, 131–142.

9. International significance of the Balkan Wars. Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War*, 230–244.

Questions

1. What did Bismarck consider his greatest task after the formation of the German Empire? Why did he form the Triple Alliance, and what was the purpose and nature of that Alliance?

2. What do you mean by pan-Germanism? Name and explain the most important elements of German world policy. What was the attitude of Germany toward the Netherlands? What military methods were an integral part of the German plan? What was the nature of Germany's spy system? What did Germany mean by her "place in the sun"? What is "kultur"?

3. How did the North African situation make possible friendship between France and Great Britain? What was the nature and importance of the "Entente Cordiale"? Explain why England feared Germany. Why did England secure the friendship of Russia? What was the nature of the Triple Entente?

4. Explain the events which led to the calling of the Algeciras conference. What agreements were made at Algeciras? Why were the German war party and most of the people determined never again to yield after the Agadir affair? (Compare German confidence in their diplomats and in their army.)

5. Why did not the absorption of Bosnia by Austria in 1908 give rise to a general war? What were the Balkan interests of Austria? What were the Near Eastern ambitions of Germany? Explain the different Russian interests and plans among the Slavic peoples of the Near East.

6. Why did not Germany in 1911 make use of her army and navy to uphold her prestige in Morocco? Why were the Central Empires fairly content with the results of the First Balkan War? Why were they much dissatisfied with the results of the Second Balkan War? Why were the plans of the Serbians an excellent excuse for Germany's ambitious schemes?

CHAPTER XXII

THE GREAT WAR (TO 1918)

BEGINNINGS

432. The Situation before July, 1914. — It can be seen from the events related in the preceding chapter that the peace of Europe had been maintained with difficulty before 1914. Moreover, the development of the great alliances, or groups of Powers, which in a sense maintained the balance of power in Europe, gave assurance that, if any war began which involved two or even one of the six Great Powers, all of the others would almost inevitably become involved also.

Difficulties in maintaining the peace of Europe.

As already explained, the Balkan situation was full of danger. The kaiser had asserted, after the Agadir affair (§ 427), that he would not again compromise for the sake of European peace. Moreover, the German imperial chancellor, von Beth-mann-Holl′weg, declared before the Reichstag that the changes of those years in the Balkans were disastrous to Germany, if "the great European controversy between Germanism and Pan-Slavism should come." During the First Balkan War *Germany* began a new period of militarism by adding 140,000 more men than the army contained before and by voting larger sums of money for her military establishment. At once *France* passed a law restoring the three year term of service for her recruits. *Belgium* then provided for the reorganization of her army, including all young men of a certain age. *Russia* soon after increased the term of enlistment for her soldiers. It can thus be seen that the Balkan wars created a new situation and a new distrust

Preparations for possible trouble.

among the great military Powers of the Continent. It was in this year also that the Germans perfected their new heavy howitzers, the "Big Berthas" which proved in 1914 that the most heavily armed steel fortresses furnished slight protection to cities.

Murder of the Archduke Ferdinand, and ultimatum to Serbia.

433. The Serbian Crisis. — The last week of June, 1914, the Crown Prince Ferdinand of Austria, a leader of the Austrian Pan-Germanists, was in Sa-ra-je′vo, the capital of Bosnia, the Serb people of which (§ 412) were discontented and opposed to Austrian rule. On June 28, *Ferdinand was assassinated* in a street of Sarajevo. Almost a month of ominous quiet followed this murder, although at Potsdam, on July 5, a secret conference of German leaders agreed upon war, after giving their bankers two weeks in which to get ready. On July 23, at a time when the Russian ambassador to Vienna was on his vacation, and the leading men of the French government were away, the Austrian government presented to Serbia an ultimatum which insisted that she put an end to Pan-Slavic agitation, that she accept the help of

MARKET PLACE, SARAJEVO, BOSNIA

Austrians in ferreting out and punishing the assassins of Ferdinand, and that she practically give up her independence for the benefit of Austria. Forty-eight hours only were allowed for a reply. Two minutes before the time was up, Serbia, at the earnest request of Great Britain and France, yielded on most of the points demanded by Austria, and asked for further information on one other. The last request of all was denied because it was contrary to the Serbian constitution.

Attitude of the Powers toward the ultimatum.

It was hoped and expected by the friends of Serbia that this reply would be satisfactory to Austria, but it was not, largely because the Austrians were eager for war with Serbia. When the Entente Powers protested to Germany, she declared that it was not her affair and that the controversy was of a purely local character, not of an international nature. Because the German general staff, as early as *June 9*, had ordered "*industrial mobilization*," it really is immaterial whether the German government knew in advance the general character of the Austrian demands. Since Germany was preparing for actual war before the assassination of the Archduke occurred, undoubtedly both Germany and Austria desired such terms in the ultimatum as the Serbians would not be able to grant. We know also that many classes besides those in control of the German government earnestly desired a general war. If war could not be forced on Europe, Germany was determined to carry out her program and to make this another proof of the prestige of the Teutonic Powers in Europe.[1]

---

[1] At this time it was understood in Germany, according to her papers, that "warlike moves on the part of Austria-Hungary against Serbia *would bring Russia into the question* and might draw Germany into a war in accordance with her duty as Austria's ally." Germany stated further that Pan-Slavism threatened the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which would so weaken her ally that it menaced the Triple Alliance and therefore affected Germany vitally.

Progress of hostilities before July 29.

434. Peace or War? — During the last week of July, 1914, Lord Edward Grey, the British foreign minister, was particularly active in his efforts to maintain peace. He first suggested a conference of the four great European Powers which were not directly involved, for the purpose of settling the dispute between Austria and Russia, since Russia was supporting Serbia unhesitatingly. This suggestion was declined by Germany, and two other attempts to maintain peace were equally futile. On July 28 *Austria declared war on Serbia*, and the next day Russia began to mobilize her troops against Austria. She took particular pains to inform Germany that mobilization was not against her.

Contrasts between Britain's and Germany's efforts to maintain peace.

That same day Viscount *Grey* urged that some plan of peaceful settlement be arranged and he declared that he was willing to accept " any method that Germany thought possible, if only Germany would press the button in the interests of peace." Germany claimed that she did try to bring pressure to bear upon Austria to wait, but Austria refused to do so until she found that the much desired war against Serbia would mean war with Russia. Then she hesitated and agreed to reopen the whole question. She so informed Germany, but Germany refused to give this information to the entente allies. In fact throughout those critical days *Germany* blocked every offer of mediation. She pretended to be working for peace, but her only idea of peace was one in which Russia should stand aside and allow Austria to crush Serbia.

German ultimatums to Russia and France.

On July 31 Russia began the mobilization of her entire army against Austria. At two o'clock that same day Germany informed Russia that unless her mobilization ceased immediately there must be war between them, and the responsibility would be Russia's. At the same time she called for a quasi-mobilization of her own forces, which had been called to "attention" more than a week before. *Germany demanded of Russia that her forces be demobilized* immediately and allowed but twelve hours for an answer. On the same fatal thirty-first of July, Germany demanded that France inform her what France's attitude would be in case of war between Germany and Russia. The next day France replied that she "would take such action as her interests might dictate." Meanwhile, Great Britain notified Germany that in case of general European troubles the German government must not think "that Great Britain would stand aside."

Conditions favorable for Germany in case of war

435. The Outbreak of War. — On August first, therefore, a general war was almost unavoidable. Serbian concessions, Russian willingness to discuss the problem, French influence against war, repeated British attempts to mediate, and even Austria's willingness to reopen the question had been in vain. *Germany wanted war and was determined to rule or ruin,* and the time seemed to her propitious. A great strike had just occurred in Petrograd, the president and premier of France were out of the country, and the Irish Home Rule problem threatened trouble for Great Britain, if not disruption of the United Kingdom. To be sure, the kaiser was on a hunting trip, but German statesmen have admitted that his vacation was a "blind," intended to deceive the peoples of the entente countries.

German preparations for an aggressive and "successful" war.

If the time seemed propitious, so did the preparations. The German standing army was forty per cent larger than it had been three years before. Ordnance and munitions factories of the empire had been working overtime. Gold and military supplies had been gathered in large quantities. If war was to come, it must be, in the opinion of German military leaders, an offensive war. Already trouble had been stirred up "in the north of

Africa and in Russia, . . . in Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco." The Germans believed that "an ultimatum with a short time limit, to be followed *immediately* by invasion, would allow sufficient justification for our [German] action in international law." "We must be strong in order to annihilate at one powerful swoop our enemies in the East and West."

Germany makes war on Russia and France.

On the first of August, therefore, Germany mobilized her troops on the eastern front against Russia and on the western front against France. Already she had declared through her ambassador at Petrograd that *a state of war existed between Germany and Russia.* At once France began to mobilize her troops on her eastern front, but she gave orders that they should not take position nearer than five miles to the Belgian frontier. August 3 *war was declared by Germany against France.*

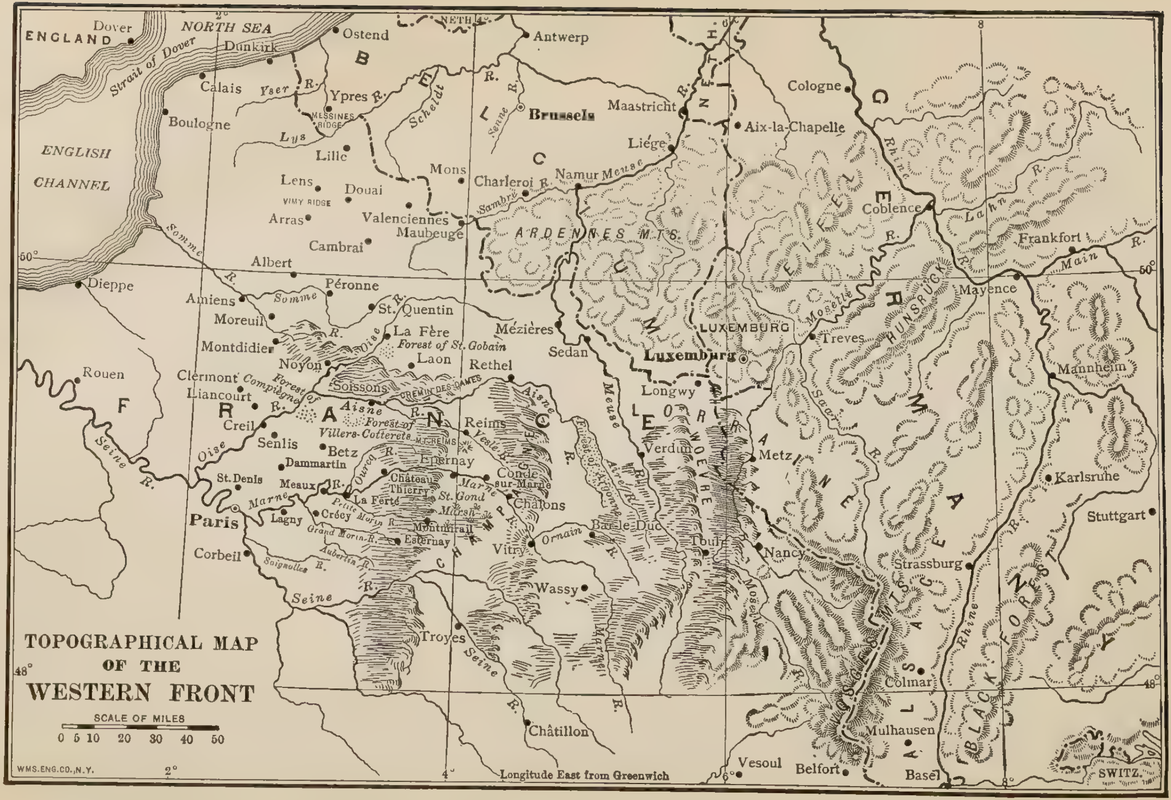
Great Britain enters the war.

On August 4, after the invasion of Belgium by German troops, *Great Britain*, which had already been mobilizing her navy and was ready to send an expeditionary force to the Continent, *declared war against Germany.* The Great War, a war which in a true sense had been "made in Germany," was a reality.

Coastal plain and series of bluffs and escarpments.

436. The Western Theater of War. — The area in which the most important events of the war have occurred includes Belgium and northeastern France. The geography of this region from the Rhine river west to the Seine[1] and north to the English Channel and North Sea is exceedingly interesting. For a distance of approximately one hundred miles from the seacoast there is a wide plain broken by very few rivers, the most important of which are the Somme[2] and the Scheldt,[3] neither of which, however, is a serious barrier to the advance of an army. The southern two thirds of this region is made up of a series of slopes. Beginning at a point a little less than

[1] Sen. [2] Som. [3] Shelt.



TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF THE WESTERN FRONT

one hundred miles east of Paris,[1] there is a series of bluffs facing eastward and commanding the plains which lie between each two series of bluffs. An army advancing across this country from Germany would find it necessary either to climb the succession of bluffs, or to make use of one of the exceedingly narrow river valleys which extend like canyons from the east to the west.[2]

One easy route, and two possible but difficult.

Because of the geography of the southern part of this region and the series of French forts[3] along the German boundary west of the Vosges mountains, the Germans were obliged either to risk an attack through the narrow passage-way north of Verdun and south of Longwy,[4] or it would be necessary for them to violate the neutrality of Lux′em-burg for an invasion south of the Ardennes mountains, or to invade Belgium in order to sweep across through the northern coastal plain, if possible, to the Seine river. We can see from this short survey and from a careful study of the topographical map on the opposite page, that if the Germans were determined to make a quick and successful drive into France, they must make it by way of Brussels in Belgium. For that reason the invasion through Belgium was referred to by the German chancellor as a " dire necessity," but to do that meant the violation of Belgian neutrality.

Attitude of Germany before 1914 toward Belgian neutrality.

437. Violation of Belgian Neutrality. — The neutrality of Belgium had been guaranteed in 1839 by all of the great Powers of that day and had been reaffirmed by Prussia and France in 1870. In 1913 the German war party believed and asserted that " in the next European war it will also be necessary that the small states should be forced to follow us or be subdued. In certain conditions their armies and their fortified places can be rapidly conquered or neutralized. This would probably be the case with Belgium and Holland. . . . If their defensive organization was established against us . . . we could in no circumstances offer Belgium a guarantee for the security of her neutrality."

---

[1] For centuries the area around Paris has been called the "island of France"; within this island lies the "Paris basin."

[2] See map on opposite page.

[3] Those at Belfort (bel-for′), near Nan-cy′, at Verdun, and south of Verdun.

[4] Lon-vee′.

Peculiar reasoning of German leaders toward Belgium.

German justification for disregarding Belgian neutrality sounds odd to foreign ears. Not only did the imperial chancellor declare that invasion of Belgium was a matter of necessity, but he argued that "necessity knows no law." "Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps have already entered Belgian territory. Gentlemen, that is a breach of international law. . . . He who is menaced as we are, and is fighting for his highest possessions, can consider only how he is to hack his way through."[1] A day or two later, when Great Britain entered the war because Belgium's neutrality had been violated, Bethmann-Hollweg declared further, "just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her." This action of England he asserted "was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants." The strange thing about these otherwise unexplainable phrases is the fact that the chancellor probably believed what he said.

Belgium's refusal to allow the passage of the German army.

438. The Conquest of Belgium. — Germany hoped that her troops would be allowed to pass through Belgium and strike France a vital blow before the French were ready, and before Russia's army could make any movement. If France were crippled and out of the combat, she could then be left; and the whole of Germany's military might could be brought to bear upon Russia, which the general staff believed would not be prepared for war for several months. This plan miscarried for a number of reasons. When Belgium was asked to allow the German troops to pass through the country, on condition that they did no unnecessary injury and paid an indemnity for damages, the Belgian government refused absolutely and asserted that they were "firmly resolved to repel, by every means within their power, any attack upon their rights."

---

[1] *The German White Book*, Appendix.

Progress of the invasion.

The German forces advanced against Liège and Na′mur, two well-fortified industrial cities on the Meuse river. There they were detained several days by the stout but futile resistance of the Belgians, for the forts surrounding those cities were destroyed quickly by the heavy German artillery. Most of the troops crossed the Belgian plain via Brussels. As the invaders came to towns, they were attacked by different Belgian forces and on entering

AMERICAN RELIEF DEPOT IN BELGIUM

cities suffered appreciably from snipers, who shot from the windows and roofs of the houses.

Belgian atrocities.

A large part of the unspeakable *atrocities* which were suffered later by the Belgian people were excused by the Germans on their claim that many of these snipers were *civilians*, statements which are unquestionably false. From the very first, when entering a town, they placed groups of women and sometimes children in front of their own soldiers. In case there was sniping, houses were burned, property looted, and innocent people murdered without provocation. Apparently for the bayoneting of babies and attacks upon women, the Huns needed no excuse. Belgian atrocities were the result of three causes: the German idea that whatever they wanted was right, the brutal barbarity of officers and soldiers, and the desire to break down resistance by terrorizing the people.

Withdrawal of French and British forces to the Marne valley.

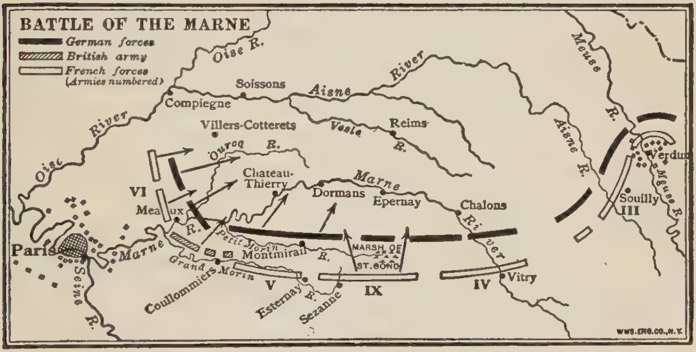
439. The Drive on Paris and the Battle of the Marne. — It is impossible and unnecessary to follow in detail the campaigns since August, 1914. We can note only a few general movements; the first of these is the drive on Paris. Before the Germans were able to cross Belgium, a series of armies, French, Belgian, and British, tried to delay them at the hills *on the west side of the Meuse river and the south side of the Sambre*[1] *river*, in Belgium. Of course, there were not enough men to hold this line. The Belgian armies withdrew toward Antwerp, which was captured in October; and the French and British troops were forced back by the Germans, who tried day after day to surround the British forces on the left flank of the retreating armies. For nearly two weeks, there was a general withdrawal movement, in form like the closing of a door, the hinges of which were at *Verdun* and the outer edge first in northwestern Belgium, then in northeastern France, and finally in and near Paris. So long as the door remained partly open, the Germans might have forced their way through into central France. When the door had swung shut, its inner edge was just south of *Verdun*, and protected by the fortresses along the Meuse, and the lock had snapped shut just south of *Paris* and its fortifications. The Germans were then forced to give up their encircling or outflanking movement. They had failed to capture or destroy any real part of the allied field army.

---

[1] Sanb.

The battle of the Marne.

The French commander, *General Joffre,*[1] *had placed his series of armies on the south side of the Marne river valley* in a line stretching from a point south of Verdun across to a similar point south of Paris. Behind this he had gathered one new army, and on his left wing he had prepared another. Because the Russians were making rapid progress in their Gā-li′cian campaign (§ 440), the Germans sent back 200,000 men to help on the eastern front. When the new army in the West was brought out from Paris on auto trucks, the German right wing, attacked in front and on the side, was forced to retreat.



---

[1] Zhoff.

The German army next on the east was therefore compelled to withdraw somewhat. The changed position of this second German army left a gap on its right. This made it possible for *General Foch* [1] to attack on both sides of the marshes of St. Gond. In two places he broke through the German line and forced all of the Teuton armies to retreat rapidly. Thus, on the plain of Champagne,[2] only a few miles from the point where Europe was saved thirteen and a half centuries earlier from Attila and his Huns, the German hordes were driven back and *Europe again was saved.*

Battle of the Aisne, 1914.

The Germans withdrew to the heights north of the *Aisne* [3] *river,* where some trenches had already been constructed. As the river is deep and there are high hills on both sides, it was impossible for the Allies to capture the new German positions without a sacrifice of men which they were unwilling to make.[4]

CAMPAIGNS OUTSIDE OF FRANCE

1914 seesaw campaigns on the eastern front.

440. Campaigns on the Eastern Front. — The Russian advance into East Prussia and into Galicia, a province of northeastern Austria, in August, 1914, was not expected by the Germans, and it was undertaken for the purpose of drawing troops from the drive on Paris. On September 3 the capture of *Lemberg* caused the transfer of several army corps to the east. Caught in the lake region of East Prussia, two Russian armies were defeated by von Hin′den-burg, but his attempt to follow up these German successes by an invasion of Russia and Russian Poland ended in disaster for Germany. Evidently the advantages on the northeastern fronts were with the *defenders*. During the winter of 1914–15 the Russians advanced again into East Prussia and again into Galicia. By 1915, they were in possession of most of the gaps which led through the Car-pa′thi-an mountains into Hungary.

---

[1] Fosh.

[2] Sham-pain′.

[3] Ain.

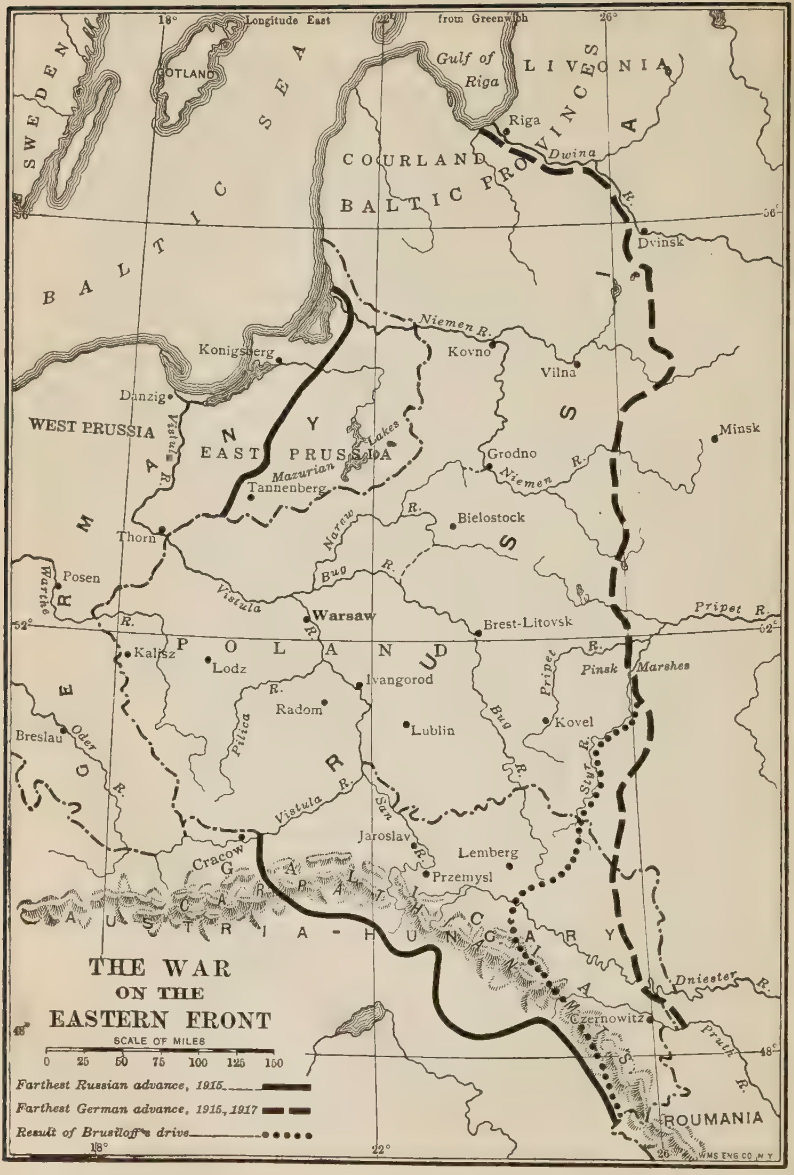
[4] After the capture of *Antwerp,* surrounded by very strong forts, which were reduced in about twelve days by the new German siege artillery, the Belgians withdrew into the northwestern corner of their country. The Allies and the Germans, in their attempts to out-flank each other, moved their armies farther and farther north from the Aisne until, in this "*race for the sea,*" there was a complete double line of intrenchments from the Aisne to the sea; in fact, the trenches stretched from the North Sea to Switzerland. Open fighting in the West was at an end. At *Yser* near the North Sea the Germans tried to break through and reach the "channel ports," but the heroic Belgians flooded the country. Farther south at *Ypres* the picked troops of the Prussian guards were driven back (October, 1914) with appalling losses.

German offensive of 1915. Great Russian drive of 1916.

In the summer of 1915 the Germans, well intrenched on the west front, made another attempt to capture Warsaw, the capital of Poland. A force, led by Hindenburg, advanced from the north and at the same time another army, led by von Mack′en-sen, drove east through Galicia and then north toward Warsaw. The Polish front was skillfully but unsuccessfully defended by the Russian armies under the Grand Duke Nicholas. Partly through German intrigue (§ 325) there was a scarcity of the proper ammunition and of necessary supplies. On August 5, 1915, *Warsaw* was evacuated, and the Russian forces slowly fell back eastward. In spite of the great territory occupied by the Germans, they had failed, for they had neither destroyed the Russian army nor had they gained control of the north-and-south railway from Petrograd to Rumania, the loss of which would have really crippled the Russians. The next spring, a Russian force under General Bru′si-loff started a new drive in Galicia and in southern Poland, by which *the German forces were pushed back* a long distance.

Germany and Russia after 1916.

In the fall of 1917 a German force finally captured Ri′ga and a German fleet advanced as far as the Gulf of Finland. The Russian revolution during the year 1917 (§ 325) prevented the Russians from organizing a proper defense; but, temporarily, it kept the Germans from assum-


THE WAR
ON THE
EASTERN FRONT
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75 100 125 150
Farthest Russian advance, 1915
Farthest German advance, 1915, 1917
Result of Brusiloff's drive
Longitude East from Greenwich
18°
22°
26°
56°
52°
48°
SWEDEN
GOTLAND
BALTIC SEA
Gulf of Riga
LIVONIA
Riga
Dwina R.
COURLAND
BALTIC PROVINCES
Dvinsk
Niemen R.
Kovno
Vilna
Minsk
Konigsberg
Danzig
WEST PRUSSIA
EAST PRUSSIA
Vistula R.
Mazurian Lakes
Tannenberg
Grodno
Niemen R.
Bielostock
Narew R.
Thorn
Posen
Warthe
Bug R.
Vistula
Warsaw
Brest-Litovsk
Pripet R.
GERMANY
RUSSIA
POLAND
Kalisz
Lodz
Ivangorod
Radom
Pilica
Lublin
Pripet R.
Pinsk Marshes
Kovel
Styr R.
Bug R.
Breslau
Oder R.
Vistula R.
San R.
Jaroslav
Lemberg
Przemysl
Cracow
CARPATHIAN MTS.
GALICIA
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Dniester R.
Czernowitz
Pruth R.
ROUMANIA
WMS ENG CO. N.Y.

ing an active offensive campaign against Russia, because they were anxious to conclude peace with the new Russian government. For many months *German officers and forces then occupied the western half of European Russia,* until the late summer of 1918, since German agents had become leaders in the Russian government. Allied successes on the western front in 1918 (§ 450), Czecho-Slovak and Japanese troops in Siberia, and the advance of an allied army from northern Russia then forced the Germans to withdraw from central Russia and prepare, if necessary, for a new "eastern front."

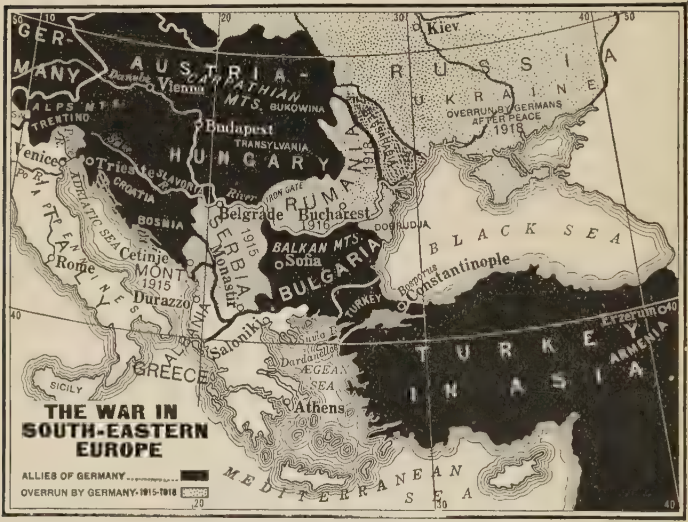
Attempted invasion of Serbia in 1914.

441. Campaigns in the Southeast. — At the beginning of the war the Austrians naturally advanced into *Serbia,* but the rather unexpected Russian attack in August, 1914, against Galicia, forced them to evacuate Serbia within a month. Something more than a year later, in October, 1915, *Bulgaria,* which had been mobilizing her troops, was informed by France and Russia that she must join the Entente Allies or war would be declared. She accepted the latter alternative, and threw in her lot with the Central Empires, which had been joined by *Turkey* as early as November, 1914. As soon as Bulgaria came into the war, a large Austro-German army advanced from the north against *Serbia* to coöperate with the Bulgarian army from the east. The Serbian defense collapsed, as was inevitable; and within a few weeks practically her entire fighting force had been driven out of the country. Serbia and Montenegro were thus completely conquered, their fields and villages laid waste, and their inhabitants subjected to atrocities even greater than those suffered by the stricken Belgians.

Conquests of southern Rumania in 1916.

With the entrance of *Rumania* into the war, in August, 1916, once more a huge Austro-German force advanced southeastward. Since Russia had promised to help the Rumanians, they resisted stoutly the advance of the

Austrians and Germans through the passes of the Carpathian Alps and of the Bulgarians on the Danube front, but the Russians, influenced by German gold, did not come in time. The Teutonic armies thus gained complete control of Rumania, of the Danube river to its mouth, and of a famous wheat-producing country.



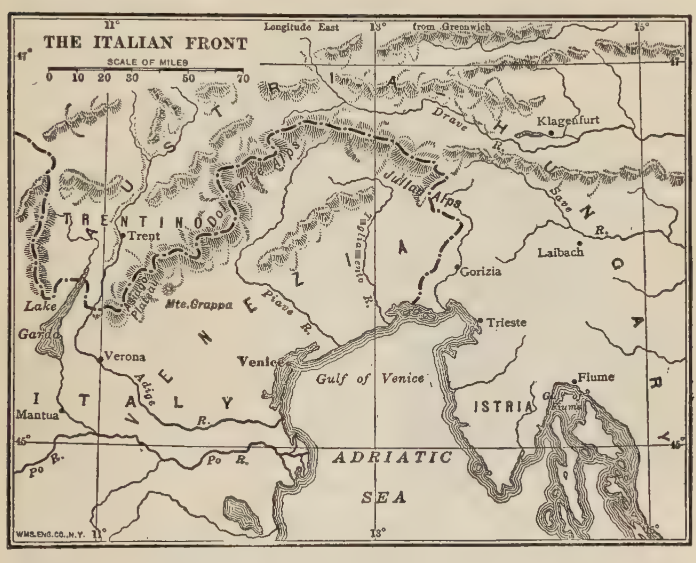
THE WAR IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

The Gallipoli campaign.

Early in the war an attempt had been made by the combined British and French forces, supported by powerful fleets, to seize the *Dardanelles.* This ended in disaster and the blame was laid upon the English minister of war, and commanding general, Kitchener. This Dardanelles force was afterward transferred to Saloniki, Greece. In the fall of 1918 this army, including Serbs and other troops from western Europe, attacked the strongly fortified heights held by the Bulgarians. They were completely victorious, and late in September, 1918, Bulgaria surrendered unconditionally.

Slow advance of Italian forces for *Italia Irredenta.*

442. Italian Campaigns. — When war broke out, Italy refused to aid Germany and Austria, because, according to the terms of the Triple Alliance (§ 418), she could be called upon to help them only in case they were attacked, and she considered them the aggressors. Italy remained out of the war until May, 1915, when she declared war on Austria and began a campaign for the conquest of the Trentino and Is'tri-a (§ 279), two areas which were still held by her ancient enemy. She found it necessary to maneuve in mountainous regions, and her advance was slow in both regions. Not until later did Italy find it necessary to declare war upon Germany. The progress of the Italians received a decided check in 1916, when the Austro-German forces made two great concerted drives, one upon Italy and the other on the ring of fortresses around Verdun (§ 448). The Italians were saved by counter drives, started, one by Brusiloff in



southern Poland and Galicia (§ 440), and another by the British in the Somme valley (§ 448).

Stout resistance of the Italians on the Piave river front.

Under General Cadorna the Italians advanced slowly toward *Trieste*, the Austrian port at the head of the Adriatic Sea. The farther he penetrated Austrian territory, the more he exposed the left wing of his army to attacks from the north. In November, 1917, the enemy took advantage of this situation and made a drive of unequaled violence upon the Italian left flank. Cadorna was obliged to withdraw about fifty miles to the Pi-a′ve river, where he took up a new position connecting his army with the force which was fighting in the Trentino. This position the Italians were able to hold until in June, 1918, the Austrians were driven back on the Piave front and late in October were overwhelmingly defeated by the victorious Italians under Diaz. They then surrendered everything.

General Diaz

Conquest by Japan of German colonies in China and in the Pacific Ocean.

443. Campaigns Outside of Europe. — As we noted in section 298, Germany had acquired, in the last years of the nineteenth century and to some extent in the earlier years of the twentieth, a good-sized colonial empire. Since the Allies had absolute control of the sea, all of these German colonies and the exposed possessions of the German allies, particularly those of Turkey, were open to allied attacks. Immediately upon entering the war the Japanese landed troops near *Kiao-chou*, the German sphere of influence in China (§ 388). *Japan* declared that she was conquering this area not for herself, but for China. The town and German garrison surrendered on

November 7, 1914. In the meantime the Japanese navy, supported by some Japanese troops, had seized the *Caroline islands* and other German colonies in the *Pacific Ocean.* Some of these were turned over to Great Britain, whose Australian navy had already captured the *Samoan islands* and other German possessions in the South Pacific.

Conquest of the German colonies in Africa.

At the outbreak of hostilities the German colonists in central and southwestern *Africa* took the field against the British forces. The British armies under Generals Bo′tha and Smuts succeeded in overcoming the German troops in Southwest Africa, and later a force conquered without very great difficulty the German Kameruns. German East Africa was overrun in 1917. In this way Germany lost possession of all her colonies in Africa.

British advance into Palestine.

The Turks naturally desired to get control of the Suez Canal and regain for themselves Egypt, which had practically become a separate state under British suzerainty (§ 377). They failed in this undertaking, and the counter movement of the British force was so successful that in December, 1917, *Jerusalem* was occupied by the British troops, and in September, 1918, the British commander, General Allenby, *captured two Turkish armies* near the Sea of Galilee.

The British in Mesopotamia.

An English force succeeded in penetrating the Tigris-Euphrates basin, and *capturing Bagdad,* from which the English advanced northward until they reached the Caspian Sea. The Russian army in the Caucasus region had been commanded by the Grand Duke Nicholas and as early as February, 1916, had captured Er′ze-rum near the east end of the Black Sea.

AMERICA'S ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR

The problem of neutral trade.

444. Neutral Trade and Submarine Warfare. — At the very beginning of the Great War, the United States declared her neutrality and President Wilson urged that all American citizens be truly and strictly neutral. In accordance with the custom of all nations and ages, we left our ports open to the vessels of all countries on equal terms. At these ports foodstuffs, munitions of war, copper, and other materials necessary for war supplies could be obtained by any unarmed merchant vessel which served as an ocean carrier. Because of the blockade of the German ports which was maintained by Great Britain and her allies, it was impossible for German vessels to take advantage of these opportunities, but the merchantmen of the Allies and ships which flew the American flag carried these war supplies in constantly increasing quantities from our Atlantic seaports to the war area.

THE LUSITANIA

First submarine campaign.

In order to break the British blockade, the Germans began early in the year 1915 the *first submarine warfare.* These submarines were small, with limited sailing radii, and were soon hunted down and destroyed at the bases which had been established on the Irish coast. They destroyed many vessels, but their effect upon the blockade was practically negligible. Seeing this, *the German government adopted a policy of "frightfulness,"* which they hoped would destroy the ever tightening cordon of blockading ships. All the world remembers that on the seventh day of May, 1915, the British passenger steamship *Lusitania* was torpedoed from a submarine, absolutely without warning. One hundred fourteen Americans lost their lives by this outrage. On protest of the American government, Germany relaxed her submarine policy, but she offered no satisfaction or proper explanation for this ruthless deed.

Controversy over submarine warfare.

445. Extension of German Submarine Program. — After months of patient waiting, during which several Americans lost their lives through submarines, in March, 1916, a French steamer, the *Sussex*, plying between ports on either side of the English Channel, was sunk together with many of her 325 passengers. The United States government immediately protested in vigorous terms and on the eighteenth of April notified Germany that "the government of the United States has been very patient," but it could tolerate no longer "the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce." We asserted that submarine warfare "is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of noncombatants." A few days later, on the fourth of May, the German imperial government notified President Wilson that *unarmed merchant vessels* "both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, *shall not be* *sunk without warning and without saving human lives,* unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance."

Ruthless submarine warfare.

Although the Germans did not keep that promise, there was at least some pretense of attempting to observe it until the thirty-first of January, 1917, when the German ambassador notified the authorities in Washington that on the following day a *ruthless submarine campaign would begin, that an immense new war zone had been created, and that "all ships met within that zone will be sunk."* Immediately passports were handed to the ambassador, von Bern′storff, and Gerard, our ambassador at Berlin, was recalled. President Wilson's years of patient negotiation were over.

Other hostile acts of Germany against the United States.

446. Reasons for America's Entrance. — The acts of Germany during the last week of January, 1917, were in a sense *a declaration of war against all neutrals* and particularly against the United States. The German imperial government considered war with the United States inevitable as a result of this new ruthless submarine campaign. To be sure of this we have only to recall that before Germany told us of her submarine plans, her foreign minister, Zim′mer-mann, sent through her embassy in Washington papers which *urged Mexico to join with Germany and Japan in making war upon the United States.*

Underlying causes of our entrance into the war.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* or any one of the events of January, 1917, would have been sufficient cause for war with Germany, but we must bear in mind that to these were added the work of German agents in destroying American property which they thought might aid the Allies, and the appeal of a Europe which had suffered in hundreds of ways, from the violation of Belgium's neutrality to the brutal murder of innocent children. In fact we had refrained from war as long as we did partly because of Germany's continued promises, partly because we did not believe the reports of atrocities, partly because the American public was not yet ready for war — and the American principles embodied in the Monroe Doctrine forbade our engaging in the war while it remained a European conflict — and lastly, but most important of all, because so long as we remained neutral there was possibility of our bringing the war to an end.

Declaration of war, April, 1917.

At first armed neutrality was proposed, but, as this would have been an unsatisfactory makeshift, on April 6, 1917, Congress adopted a resolution which opened with the sentence: "The state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared. . . ." It closed with the following forceful and significant words: "to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."

Creation of an American army.

447. The American War Program. — Two of the greatest problems of a nation at war are the raising of an army and of money. Early in 1917 Congress agreed that all men between twenty-one and thirty inclusive should be subject to draft. From this number, excluding aliens, those physically disabled, and those who had persons dependent, 687,500 were drawn by lot for the first draft army. In the meantime, many hundred thousand had volunteered for the regular army, the national guard army, naval service, and other branches. This force of nearly two million men was of course only the beginning. The officers to lead these troops were prepared in officers' camps, and training was given to the soldiers in cantonments, of which thirty-two were originally located in different parts of the country. Immense preparations were undertaken for aviation service and other necessary war activities. By September, 1918, a million and a half soldiers were in France, and more than three millions were enrolled in the American army. In that month Congress passed a new law by which all men between the ages of 18 and 45 inclusive were subject to military service.

Some war problems.

Since large sums of money were needed, Congress began at once to levy new taxes and to issue new loans (§ 452). As early as 1916 the government had begun to reorganize some of its departments and bureaus. A Council for National Defense had been created. In 1917 a food administration was organized under Herbert Hoover, to help conserve food supplies within the country. A fuel administration was created, and in December, 1917, the government took over the railroads and appointed William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, director general of the railroads. Since it was necessary to have more unity and greater coöperation, and better coördination in the numerous administrative departments, the Overman Bill in 1918 empowered President Wilson to reorganize any bureau or its work in the interest of greater efficiency.

THE WESTERN FRONT (JANUARY, 1916–NOVEMBER, 1918)

Importance of Verdun to the defense and morale of France.

448. Verdun and the Somme. — The center of the allied defense and the key to the French position was the series of powerful forts in a very hilly region of French Lorraine surrounding the old town of Verdun, on the upper Meuse river. In February, 1916, the Germans massed an immense force under their crown prince for the purpose of capturing this ring of forts. If Verdun could be taken, the French line would be forced back at its most exposed point; but the result chiefly desired by the Germans was to break the spirit of French resistance. The French people believed that so long as Verdun stood their cause would triumph; the Germans felt that the capture of Verdun would be the beginning of the end, and that the end would be the collapse and failure of France.

German attack, French defense, and French victory.

The terrific blows of the German attack were in part successful, and the French were driven back several miles. They rallied bravely and their defense was like a stone wall, as the French troops echoed the cry, "They shall not pass." Although they had only one railway leading into Verdun compared with fourteen on which the attacking Germans depended, by the use of a continuous line of 20,000 motor trucks, they brought 200,000 troops to the relief of the besieged garrison and so stiffened their defense that the Germans could make no headway. In June, 1916, after Brusiloff's great drive into Galicia and southern Poland (§ 440), and the combined British and French offensive on the Somme, the French assumed the offensive. Within seven hours they drove the Germans back almost to their original line before Verdun.

RUINS OF PERONNE AFTER THE EVACUATION OF THE GERMANS, 1916
(King George V at left of center)

The heroic and successful defense of Verdun may easily be ranked with the Battle of the Marne as a turning point in the Great War.

Battles in the Somme valley, 1916.

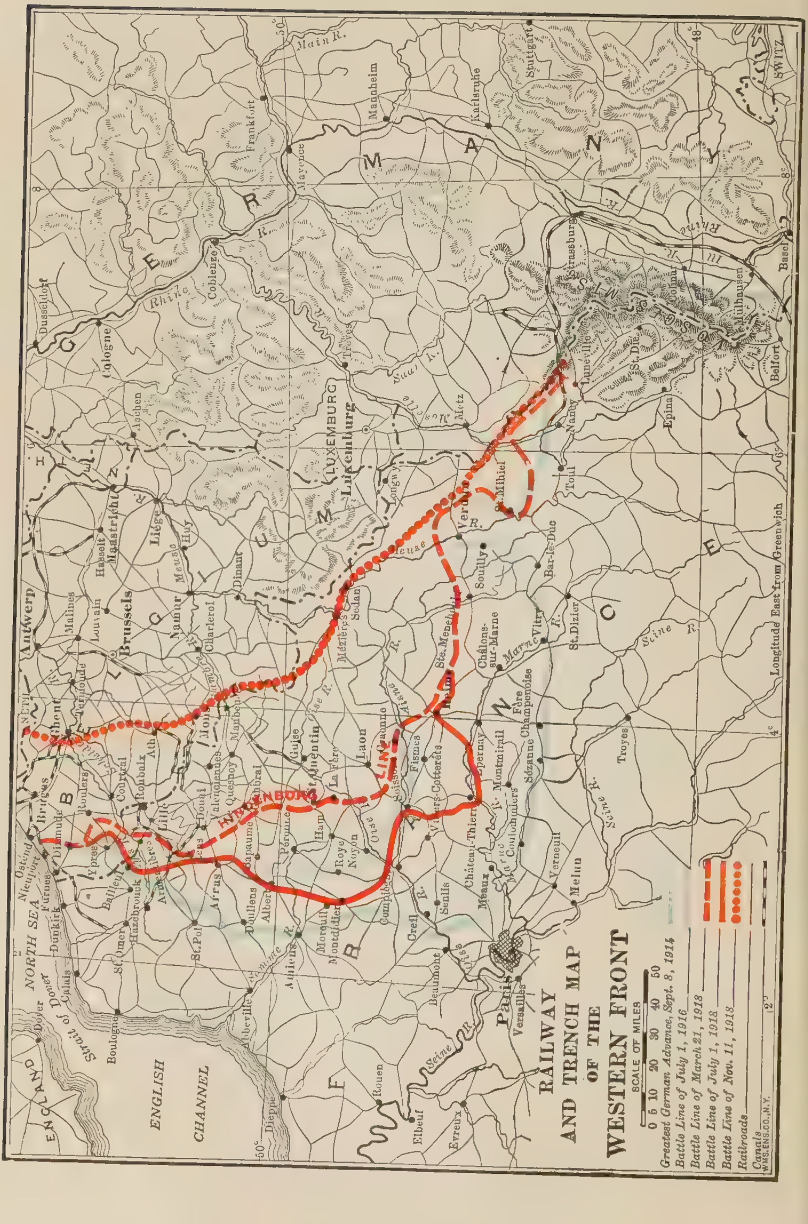
In the *Somme valley* in Northern France, where the British and French lines joined, attacks were made repeatedly before July, 1916. At that time there began a great drive on the part of the British and the French, which consisted of a series of battles lasting several months. The allied loss was heavy, but the German loss was estimated as twice as large, and for the first five months was thought to have been more than 700,000. As a result of this drive, the Germans withdrew in 1917 to the "Hindenburg line," named after the chief of staff who had been directing German operations since August, 1916.

Reasons for German offensive in the spring of 1918.

449. The German Offensive (1918). — During the fall and winter of 1917–18, the Germans massed men on the northern part of the western front and brought up guns, ammunition, and other military supplies in appalling quantities. It was known that the offensive of 1918 would be the supreme effort of the German forces. There was good reason for this, because more than a million Germans who had been fighting on the eastern front were freed when the Russians and others in eastern Europe made peace with the Germans. A second reason was the fact that the Americans, who eventually would furnish a force of many millions, had at the time only a few hundred thousand soldiers in France. There was a third reason: in spite of drawing upon boys for their yearly supply of soldiers, the German armies numbered a million and a half less in the spring of 1918 than in the summer of 1916. This loss in numbers was bound to continue. In a sense, therefore, the drive of the spring of 1918 was Germany's last chance.

The battle of Picardy.

The German drive of 1918 began in Pic′ar-dy on the morning of March 21. An attack was made along an



RAILWAY AND TRENCH MAP OF THE WESTERN FRONT

entire front, the trenches of which had been bombarded for hours or days with high explosives and with gas shells. At certain points where they hoped to break through, great masses of men trained for "shock" attacks were hurled forward with tremendous losses. Meanwhile, the attacking forces on either side of the massed formation of shock troops carried the trenches north and south of the point where the Germans had already broken through. Thrust back and in disorder, the allied line gave way over a fifty-mile front and reserves were not able to come up in sufficient numbers until the Germans had reached a line only a few miles east of Amiens. In area, however, the territory regained by the Germans was only about equal to that which the Allies had gained as a result of the battles of the Somme and the subsequent German withdrawal.

Later German offensives, April–June, 1918.

In 1914, after the failure of the drive against Paris, the Germans had tried to break through the allied line in Flanders (§ 439 *n.*) in order to reach the "channel ports." In 1918 they attempted to do the same thing, and *south of Ypres*[1] they made some progress. Later, an army under the crown prince attacked the allied forces west of Reims[2] and advanced to the Marne river. When the Germans attempted to widen this "*Marne salient*," they failed, and *American marines* even forced them back a distance of several miles in the first really successful counter attack made by the Allies. The Germans had failed to reach Paris, they had failed to reach the "channel ports," they had failed to get control of any important railways, and they had so extended their line, and had so undermined the morale of their own troops that their apparent successes were their greatest failures.

450. The Great Allied Victory, 1918. — One lesson learned by the Allies during those months of stress was

[1] Eepr.

[2] Ranz or Reems.

Allied victory in the "Marne salient."

the need of concerted action. While the battle of Picardy was still in progress, *General Foch,* hero of the Marne and later engagements, and considered at that time the greatest strategist of Europe, was named generalissimo of all the allied armies, including the Italians and the Americans. On the eighteenth of July, 1918, General Foch started his great series of counter offensives against the Germans, who were again trying to drive south of the Marne river and also to capture Reims. By making use of a "pincer" attack and driving in from either side of the "Marne salient," he forced the crown prince's army to withdraw from the entire pocket. Again a great forward movement of the allies had begun, as at Verdun, by the defeat of the heir to the Prussian throne.

General Pershing

Succession of Allied victories — Soissons to North Sea.

Having once gained the offensive, Foch kept it, and British armies almost immediately drove deep wedges into the German lines east of Amiens near Albert, and in the sector south of Ypres. Every day for weeks the British and French forces struck all along the line, now a five-mile gain here, now an encircling movement there. In no case was the German army able to hold the attacking force; and, when the French made a new drive north of Soissons,[1] the Germans were forced to withdraw their whole line east of Soissons and northwest from that point. They did not stop at the old Hindenburg line for the excellent reason that when the Allies had them "on the run," they gave them no rest. In the meantime, *the*

---

[1] Swa-son'.

American army under General Pershing had wiped out a salient south of Verdun and had begun an advance into German Lorraine. East and west of the Argonne forest, in Champagne, French and *American troops* cut into the German line, and early in November drove forward along the Meuse river to Sedan, cutting off the retreat of the enemy and threatening to trap them in central Belgium. Meanwhile, Bulgaria (§ 441) had surrendered, and the last day of October Turkey, her armies annihilated in Palestine and Syria, did likewise. November 4 Austria, her army on the Piave (§ 442) almost destroyed, withdrew from the war. Nothing was left for Germany but to follow the example of her allies.

End of the war.

Woodrow Wilson

The surrender of Germany.

On November 11, 1918, *Germany surrendered* to the Allies all territory as far east as the Rhine river, withdrew her armies thirty miles farther, gave up control of her western railroads and thousands of locomotives and cars, and surrendered her U-boats and many other war vessels, in short, practically dropped out of the war. The kaiser, unwilling to withstand the storm of revolution rising in Germany, abdicated and fled to Holland. The crown prince renounced the throne of Prussia. Many other German princes and kings abdicated, and *republics were proclaimed.* Germany, whose responsibility for the making of the war has been proved conclusively, was allowed, through the generosity of the Allies, to make a military truce and withdraw from the conflict.

451. The Peace Conference and Peace Treaties. — The Allied armies had not made peace with any enemy;

Basic conditions upon which peace was made.

they had simply accepted the surrender of the enemy's armies and forces. The terms of peace were to be decided later. The surrender of Germany was, however, accompanied by an agreement, on the part of the President of the United States and Allied statesmen, that the basis of peace should be the conditions named in President Wilson's addresses during the year 1918, special emphasis being placed on the *fourteen points* stated in his message of January 8. Among these conditions several should be noted: (1) that there should be a league of nations to maintain peace and order, and settle international disputes; (2) that arbitrary power which threatened the peace of the world should be destroyed, or, if destruction was impossible, rendered innocuous; (3) that there should be the "right of self-determination" for subject races and peoples; and (4) that justice should be rendered to all, including the defeated nations.

Organization of the Peace Conference.

The delegates to the peace conference, 62 in number, met in Versailles on January 18, 1919, to consider general problems of peace and make peace treaties with Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria. The delegates from the United States were President Wilson, Secretary of State Lansing, Colonel House, General Bliss, and Mr. Henry White. A number of committees were appointed to consider different problems, such as the formation of a constitution for the proposed League of Nations, reparation, boundaries, and other matters. All disputed questions of importance were brought to the attention of the "*big four*," President Wilson, representing the United States, Lloyd-George, Cle-men-ceau′, and Or-lan′do, premiers respectively of Great Britain, France, and Italy. The work of the Peace Conference, so far as the German treaty was concerned, was practically completed in April, 1919, but copies were not given to the German delegates until May seventh, the anniversary of the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

Territorial, military, and financial provisions of the treaty with Germany.

By the terms of the treaty of peace, Germany gave up all her colonies outside of Europe, restored Alsace-Lorraine to France, ceded small districts to Belgium, gave back to Denmark part of Schleswig, and returned to Poland practically all of west Prussia, most of Posen, and upper Silesia, a total area only a little smaller than that of the state of Indiana. The German army was to be reduced permanently to one hundred thousand men and officers. The German navy was to be made one of the smallest in existence. Fortifications on the west bank of the Rhine and east of the Rhine for a considerable distance were to be demolished, as were the fortifications of Helgoland. The sum of *one hundred billion marks* was the amount required to reimburse all civil damages, and, until a considerable amount of this was paid, the reparation commission was to have great influence over German business. Germany was compelled to pay ton for ton for ships sunk or destroyed by her submarines. Allied troops were to occupy some German soil until part or all of the treaty obligations were fulfilled.

Other provisions of German peace treaty.

Germany was to give up the coal mines of the Sarre Valley to France, was to make tariff concessions to all the Allies, and was to recognize the principles on which the League of Nations was organized, but was not to be a member of that organization. A number of tribunals or commissions were organized to carry out different provisions of the treaty or to arrange for plans contemplated in the treaty. Germany transferred to Japan her rights at Kiao-chau on the Shan-tung peninsula (§ 389).

Peace treaties with Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

By the peace treaty with Austria-Hungary, Austria lost three quarters of her territory and Hungary more than half of hers (§§ 308, 309). The Austrian army was reduced to thirty thousand, and she was forced to admit her responsibility in connection with the beginning of the war, as well as to pay indemnities. The *Bulgarian* *treaty* was signed without opposition in the fall of 1919. Bulgaria's indemnities were proportionally smaller than those of her allies. Her army was to be reduced to twenty thousand men, and some of her territory was taken from her. The treaty with Turkey leaves her control of Constantinople and of northern Asia Minor, but places under interallied control the straits between Asia and Europe. Armenia is allowed to become a republic. Greece acquires the Ægean coast of Asia Minor and Italy territory north of Cyprus. Syria becomes a French mandatory; Palestine and the Tigris-Euphrates basin are under British mandate. Turkey is allowed to have a small army but no navy.

Importance of the League of Nations.

452. The League of Nations. — A League of Nations was organized for the avowed purpose of maintaining the peace of the world. At the present time it has a specific but double task: (1) of enforcing the terms of the peace treaty, together with supervising the work of commissions created by the peace treaty, and (2) of protecting the new small states of central-eastern Europe and the territories taken from Germany or Turkey which have been placed under the mandate of separate nations and under the supervision of the League.

New republics under the supervision of the League.

Three states in central-eastern Europe are recognized by the peace treaties. These are Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Jugoslavia. There are, however, very many of the new republics that will ask for help from the League. In addition to the old Russian kingdom of Poland, the new *Poland* includes part of German Posen, part of the German Prussias, a southern corner of Silesia, and part of Austrian Galicia. The state of *Czechoslovakia* includes a long narrow strip across northern Austria and Hungary. (See § 308.) The state of *Jugoslavia* (§ 412) is organized out of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, and out of provinces of Hungary and Austria to the north and northeast of Bosnia. The Adriatic problem of *Fi'u-me* is connected with Italy's desire to control the Adriatic sea and the need of an Adriatic port for Jugoslavia.

Membership of the League.

The *constitution of the League*, finally agreed upon in the Peace Conference, was signed at that time by the representatives of thirty-two states. Thirteen others were invited to join, but this invitation was not extended to any of the former belligerent enemies. Any fully self-governing state, dominion, or colony, not already a member, may become so, if approved by two thirds of the members of the League Assembly.

Organization of the League government.

As the permanent seat of the League, Geneva, Switzerland, has been selected. The *government of the League* consists of an Assembly made up of representatives from the different members — of not more than three representatives from each member of the League, each member, regardless of size, having one vote. This plan gives the British empire six votes in the Assembly. When votes are taken, all members must agree before any action is taken. There is a *Council* of nine persons consisting of representatives of the United States,[1] the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of four other members chosen by the Assembly. The Council rather than the Assembly takes charge of League affairs. There is a Secretariat composed of a Secretary General and assistants. It looks after routine business.

Objects of the League.

The *objects of the League* are to maintain peace, to reduce armaments, to settle disputes arising between members, or between a member and a country not connected with the League, and to care for the general interests of the members. Provision is made for arbitration of disputes, for making war upon members that refuse to carry out their obligations, and for the maintenance of the League against non-members who interfere with its work.

---

[1] This arrangement will be changed if we do not enter the League.

THE GREAT WAR —

General	Western Front
1914	1914
July 23. Austria's ultimatum to Serbia	
July 28. War on Serbia by Austria	
July 31. War on Russia by Germany	
Aug. 3. War on France by Germany	
Aug. 4. Violation of Belgium's neutrality	Aug. 4. Invasion of Belgium
Great Britain enters war	
	Aug. 24. Invasion of France
	Sept. 6–10. Battle of Marne
	Battle of the Aisne
	Fall of Antwerp
	Race for the Sea
British blockade	Battles of Yser and Ypres
1915	1915
German submarine warfare	
Sinking of *Lusitania*	Battles in Flanders
Bulgaria enters war	
1916	1916
Battle of Jutland	
Rumania enters war	Attacks on Verdun
Negotiations between United States and Germany over submarines	Repulse of Germans at Verdun
	The Somme campaign
1917	1917
Ruthless submarine warfare	German withdrawal to "Hindenburg line"
Revolution in Russia	
America enters war	
1918	1918
Versailles conference and council	Battle of Picardy
	Third battle of Ypres
Union of allied armies	Soissons-Reims drive
Bulgaria withdraws	Great allied victories Reims to North Sea
Turkey withdraws	
Austria surrenders	American victories in Lorraine, Champagne and Sedan
Germany surrenders	
	General armistice

— CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

EASTERN EUROPE	REST OF WORLD
1914	**1914**
Russians in East Prussia and Galicia	America neutral
German invasions of Russia and Poland	Japan seizes Kiao-chau
	Britain seizes German colonies in South Pacific and Africa
1915	1915
Galician campaign	Gallipoli (Dardanelles campaign)
Lower Vistula campaign	Italy enters war
Capture of Warsaw	First Mesopotamian campaign
Conquest of Serbia	
1916	1916
Brusiloff's drive	Campaign in northern Italy and Istria
Conquest of Rumania	Campaigns in Mesopotamia and East Africa
1917	1917
Disbandment of armies on this front	Conquest of German East Africa
	Capture of Bagdad
	Italian withdrawal to Piave
	Capture of Jerusalem
1918	1918
Formation of a new "Eastern front" by Germany	Gains over U-boats
Victories of Allies in Serbia and Bulgaria	Italian victory on Piave
	Huge American army in France
	Capture of Turkish armies in Palestine
	Great Italian victory over Austria

Beginnings diplomatic and military.

453. Summary. — Before 1914 the peace of Europe was threatened, and Germany had been prepared carefully for war. Other nations had increased the size of their armies. After the crown prince of Austria was murdered, the Germans believed that assassination an excellent excuse for war, and Austria demanded of Serbia many things which the Serbians could not grant. In spite of Great Britain's efforts to keep peace, Austria declared war on Serbia, Russia began to mobilize her troops against Austria, and Germany insisted upon complete submission to Austria or a general war. The time seemed propitious to Germany, because she was ready, and all her enemies were in trouble. On the second of August, 1914, she invaded Luxemburg, a neutral state, and on the fourth, she violated the neutrality of Belgium. Thereupon Great Britain followed France and Russia, upon which Germany had already declared war. The Germans went through Belgium, because it was by far the easiest route to Paris, and they wished to strike quickly and hard in France, and, after crushing her, turn upon Russia. The Belgians opposed their passage through that country, and the Germans in return destroyed cities, murdered women and children, and in other ways behaved like Huns. The combined forces of Belgians, British, and French could not stop the German drive until the invaders reached the southern side of the Marne valley. By outflanking the German right wing and piercing their center, the Allies drove the Germans back to the line of the Aisne river.

Campaigns outside of France.

By invading East Prussia and Galicia, the Russians drew off a good-sized German army from the western front, but were themselves driven back. In the summer of 1915, German forces from the north and south captured Warsaw, capital of Poland, and advanced eastward from the Vistula river to a line running from Riga south almost to Rumania. Austria tried to conquer Serbia at the beginning, but failed. Later, after Turkey and Bulgaria had come into the war, she succeeded. When Rumania joined the Allies in 1916 she was overrun, for the Russians did not help. The Italians, in order to regain territory held by Austrians, made war on Austria in 1915. Their early advance was checked, and they were driven back in 1917 to the Piave river, where they later won a great victory. Near the Sea of Galilee two Turkish armies were captured. All German colonies in the Far East and Pacific were taken by Japan, and her African colonies were conquered by Great Britain. British forces advanced beyond Bagdad to the Caspian Sea and beyond Jerusalem in Palestine.

America's entrance into the war.

Because of British blockades, and German submarine warfare, our neutral commerce was involved from the beginning. After the *Lusitania* was sunk in May, 1915, we offered Germany every chance to give satisfaction, but she put us off with false promises, until ready for a new ruthless submarine campaign, and until intrigues against America had been worked out. On April 6, 1917, war was declared against Germany, and later against Austria. From the beginning, an army was recruited partly by voluntary enlistment, but chiefly by draft. The President was given practically dictatorial power in controlling the government during the war.

The western front after 1915.

In 1916 the Germans under their crown prince made a ghastly attempt to capture Verdun, the key and center of the allied position. This failed. The Germans' attack was stopped in part by British and French drives in the Somme valley, and by Brusiloff's drive in Galicia. Fighting on the western front in 1917 was favorable to the Allies. On March 21, 1918, the Germans started a series of drives to reach Paris or to sever railroad connections between Paris and the English Channel. After appalling losses they pushed back the allied lines in Picardy, south of Ypres, and between Soissons and Reims. On July 18 the Allies assumed the offensive, quickly regained all land lost to the Germans in the spring, and forced German withdrawal from northeastern France and from Belgium. Thereafter the defeat of Germany and the end of the war were simply a matter of time.

General References

Committee on Public Information, *The War Cyclopedia.*

Harding, *The Study of the Great War.*

Nida, *Story of the World War for Young People.*

International Encyclopedia under "War in Europe," and International Year Book, 1916–.

The American Year Book, 1914–, "The European War."

Davis, *Handbook of Northern France.*

Johnson, *Topography and Strategy of the War.*

Powers, *The Things Men Fight For.*

Allen, Whitehead, and Chadwick, *The Great War.*

Belloc, *A General Sketch of the European War.*

Reynolds *et al.* (ed.), *Collier's, The Story of the Great War.*

The New York Times, *Current History,* 1914–.

Simonds, *History of the World War.*

Beck, *The Evidence in the Case.*

Headlam, *The History of Twelve Days.*

Collected Documents relating to the Outbreak of the European War.

Topics

THE ULTIMATUM OF AUSTRIA TO SERBIA: Beck, *The Evidence in the Case,* 31–60; Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe,* 368–385; Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War,* 245–259; Headlam, *The History of Twelve Days,* 3–39; *Collected Documents,* 1–19, 147–167, 370–390, 424, 448–461.

VIOLATION OF BELGIAN NEUTRALITY: Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War,* 278–287; Allen, *The Great War;* Harding, *The Study of the Great War,* 18–20; Headlam, *The History of Twelve Days,* 346–389; *Collected Documents,* 95, 107–109, 300–367, 436–439.

THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE: *International Encyclopedia,* Vol. 23, 341–344; Harding, *The Study of the Great War,* 25–29;

Allen, *et al.*, *The Great War*, III, Ch. VII; Johnson, *Topography and Strategy of the War*, 31–38; Collier's *Story of the Great War*, II, 87–130; Perris, *Campaign of 1914 in France and Belgium*, 147–178.

HOW THE WAR CAME TO AMERICA: Committee on Public Information, *How the War Came to America, The War Message and the Facts behind It, The President's Flag Day Address*, etc.; *The American Year Book* (1914) 100–105, (1915) 1–69, (1916) 55–79, (1917) 19–26; *International Encyclopedia*, Vol. 23, 384–392; *International Year Book* (1916) 746–754, (1917) 744, 795, 707–715.

GERMAN ATROCITIES: Committee on Public Information, *German War Practices;* Toynbee, *The German Terror in Belgium* and *The German Terror in France;* Bryce *et al.*, *On Belgian Atrocities;* Morgan, *German Atrocities, an Official Investigation.*

Studies

1. Germany's responsibility for the war. Lichnowsky's *Memoir* in *Current History*, May, 1918, xiv–xx.

2. The Potsdam conference and its effect. Morgenthau, H., in *World's Work*, 36 (1918), 170–178.

3. Great Britain enters the war. Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*, 399–412.

4. German atrocities from the first day in Belgium. Toynbee, *The German Terror in Belgium*, 23–51.

5. Louvain. Toynbee, *The German Terror in Belgium*, 89–160.

6. Why Germany invaded France through Belgium. Johnson, *Topography and Strategy of the War*, 1–19.

7. The eastern half of the Paris basin. Davis, *Handbook of Northern France*, 43–48.

8. The retreat from Mons to the Marne. Perris, *Campaign of 1914 in France and Belgium*, 109–124.

9. The race to the sea. Allen *et al.*, *The Great War*, III, 199–210.

10. Stopping the first German drive on the channel ports. Simonds, *The History of the World War*, I, 167–170.

11. Brusiloff's great drive. Simonds, F., in *Review of Reviews*, 54 (1916), 56–64.

12. The defense of Verdun. Simonds, F., in *Review of Reviews*, 54 (1916), 559–569.

13. 1917 Campaign in Italy. Littlefield, W., in *Current History*, 7, part 1, (1917), 393–398.

14. Trench warfare. *World's Work*, 33 (1917), 602–622.

15. The tanks. Swinton, E. D., in *World's Work*, 34 (1917), 569–576.

16. How the war came to America. Wilson, *The War Message and the Facts behind It.*

17. Shipbuilding to win the war. Hungerford, E., in *Everybody's*, 37 (1917), 114–125.

18. Our first army cantonments. *National Geographic Magazine*, 32 (1917), 421–476.

19. Marshal Foch. Requin, E., in *World's Work*, 36 (1918), 242–245.

Questions

1. Explain as clearly as possible why Germany wanted war in 1913 and 1914. To what extent had Germany prepared for maintenance of her prestige by force? Why were conditions exceedingly favorable for her the last of July, 1914?

2. Why was the assassination of Ferdinand an excuse rather than a reason for war? Show how events of the last week of July, 1914, proved that Germany was determined to rule or ruin. Give a clear summary of the events from July 23 to August 4. Show that Great Britain did her best to maintain peace and that Germany did the opposite.

3. Describe the geography of northeastern France, giving approximate location of the more important series of hills or bluffs facing eastward. Show how the river canyons affect the progress of armies. Could anybody but a German possibly consider the invasion of Belgium as due to "dire necessity"? Where did the Belgians and their friends try to delay the Germans? Give some slight idea of how the Germans treated the Belgian people.

4. Why did not Joffre mass his men along the Belgian border or along the line of the Aisne to stop the Germans? Show how the left wing of the allied army tried to encircle the right wing of the Germans and force the invaders back. Show how Foch penetrated the center of the German line and threw them back in confusion.

5. What was the importance of the Russian invasions of East Prussia and Galicia in August, 1914? How did the Germans overrun Poland, and what good did their advance into western Russia do them? Show on the map what Brusiloff regained. Was it possible for Serbia, surrounded by enemies,

to make war successfully? To what extent was the "conquest" of Rumania due to treachery? Compare Italian plans for "Italia Irredenta" (§ 280) with Italy's aims in the Great War. Why were the Italians forced to withdraw to the Piave river? Point out the location of all places mentioned in § 443.

6. Explain some of the problems of neutral trade during the early years of the war. What is or was the German policy of "frightfulness"? Why should not war have been declared immediately after the sinking of the *Lusitania?* Describe the negotiations over the *Lusitania* and other submarine problems.

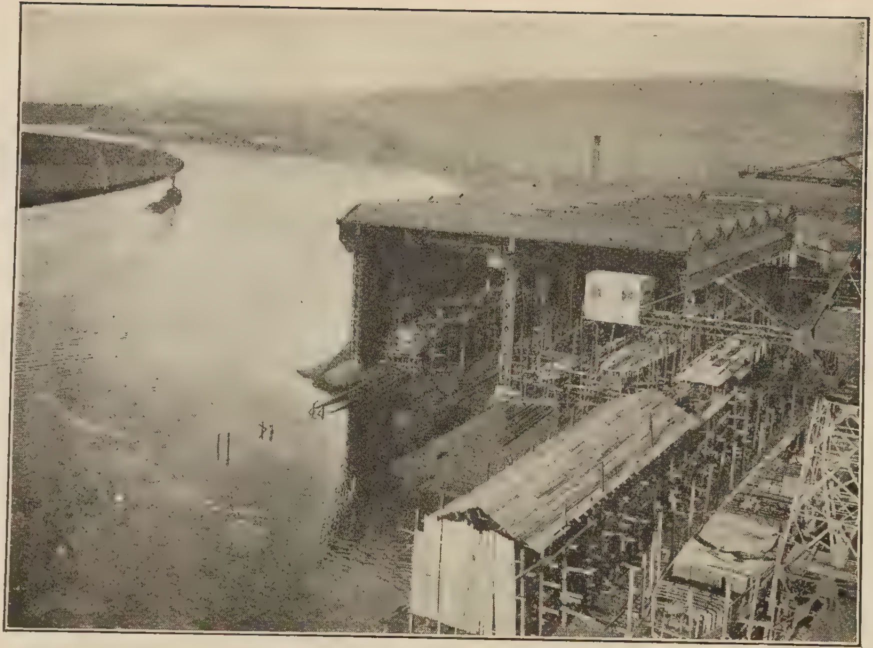
7. Summarize America's reasons for entering the war, noting those which grew out of neutral trade, those due to German interference with America in other ways, and those due to Germany's policy in Europe. Quote the closing clause of our declaration of war.

8. Why did the United States resort to a selective draft rather than make use entirely of voluntary enlistment? How many cantonments are there now in the United States? What one is nearest to your home? Name at least three different means for raising money to finance the war. Give some idea of how much has been raised to the present time. Explain the general character of war taxes in use now.

9. Describe the topography of the region around Verdun. What was the importance of Verdun from a military point of view? What would have been the moral effect of the capture of the place? Compare the gains made by the Allies in 1916 and 1917 in the Somme region with the territory in Picardy temporarily occupied by the Germans in 1918. Compare the German line July 1, 1918, with the line of the farthest German advance, September 8, 1914.

PART V

EUROPE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY



British Of. Photo.

Shipbuilding Plant at Newcastle on Tyne

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENTS[1]

Spread of Popular Government

General history in the eighteenth century.

454. Written Constitutions. — Until the close of the eighteenth century written constitutions were unknown. There were three good reasons for this: first, a constitution is the fundamental law of a self-governing nation; secondly, the written constitution is an American product; and thirdly, the written constitution has little importance except as the basis of a democratic government. Since it was at the beginning distinctly an American institution and since the United States was not independent until 1776, written constitutions in the modern sense were used first by the American states after 1776 and by the American nation after 1781. No European people was in any real sense self-governing until comparatively modern times; consequently it needed no written constitution. The French people, after the third estate in 1789 organized itself into a national assembly, created the first written constitution known to Europe (§ 130).

European constitutions in 1914.

Most of the nations of Europe have become fairly democratic; as a result most of them have some form of written constitution. In fact in 1914 Russia was the only important country which did not have a constitution. European constitutions are not necessarily, like those of America, embodied in a single document; and in many cases European constitutions are quite undemocratic.

---

[1] Unless otherwise specified, all statements in Part V apply only to conditions before 1914.

That of Prussia, for example, was granted by the Prussian king in 1850 and is an exceedingly conservative and illiberal document. The constitution of Great Britain is the best example of one that is called unwritten (§ 356).

Comparison of European and American constitutions.

Sometimes *European constitutions* are granted by monarchs, but in most cases they have been made by the regular national parliaments. In *America*, on the contrary, constitutions are always made by special constitutional conventions. European constitutions are much less important than American because the European countries have not become so democratic as the United States.

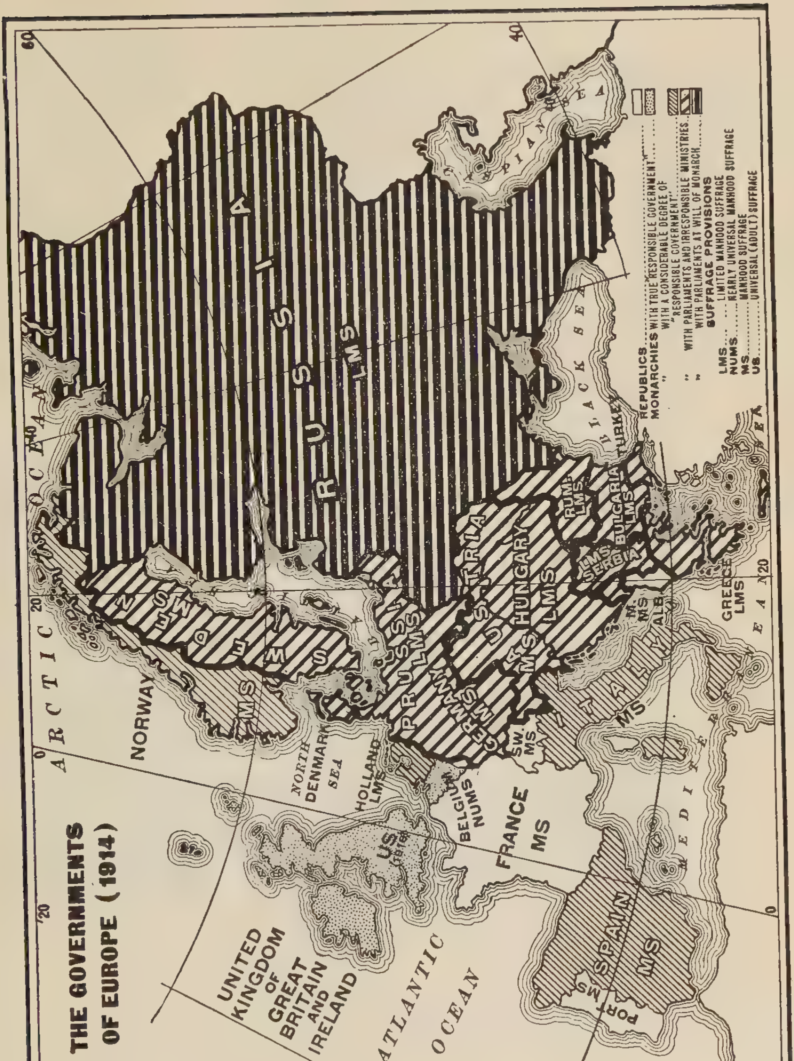
The upper houses.

455. European Parliaments and Degree of Responsible Government. — *At present practically all countries of Europe have national parliaments modeled after that of England.* That is, these parliaments are made up of two houses. The members of the upper house ordinarily come from the upper classes, usually nobles, with possibly some higher clergy. In general the members of these *Houses of Lords*, or *Senates*, are selected for a long term. The bodies are ordinarily considerably smaller than the lower houses. They usually have advisory duties and frequently have some judicial powers which are not possessed by the other chamber.

The lower or popularly elected houses.

The lower houses of these national parliaments are usually bodies somewhat larger than our national House of Representatives. Their members may be chosen for a period of four years, but ordinarily are elected for an indefinite term, since the lower house may be dissolved by the monarch, or by the ministry, or by the upper house. They are usually elected by popular vote, and the qualifications of voters will be described later (§ 457). They frequently have more control of lawmaking and finance than is possessed by the upper chamber.

In Europe, when the people rule at all, they rule through a system which is known as parliamentary, or ministerial, or cabinet, or *responsible government.* The system and


THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE (1914)

Use of ministerial or responsible government.

the names were developed in England (§ 359). If a country has a national parliament and has also a ministry which is the real executive of its national government, it does not have responsible government unless its *ministry* is responsible to the parliament, that is, to one house of parliament, usually the lower.[1]

Limited share of people in local affairs.

456. Local Self-government. — One would expect that the people would have a larger share in local government than in their national government. In general, however, it might be said that *the people of most European countries do not enjoy a large share of local self-government.* One reason for this is that the countries as a rule are comparatively small, and their governments are rather highly centralized, that is, the general governments have far more power than the local governments, and the general governments have considerable authority over local administrative officials.

Contrast between western and eastern Europe.

Of course, in southern and eastern Europe, there is far less autonomy than in either France or Great Britain. In the first place, the local officials are usually selected by higher officials; and in the second place, the powers which the local officials are allowed to exercise are limited in extent. Whereas police systems and courts of even the small communities are integral parts of the complete scheme of state police or of a general judiciary, each village, town, city, and county of at least Switzerland, England, and France is allowed to select the members of the councils which make local ordinances for their own use.

Voters in America and in Europe.

457. Suffrage in Europe — Past and Present. — In America the right to vote is a privilege controlled by the states, not by the national government. Before 1920, in more than one half of the states, only men over twenty-one were allowed to vote. In the other states the elective franchise, that is, the right to vote, was conferred upon women as well as men, before the nineteenth amendment was adopted. Before 1918, Europe was much less democratic than America, and the elective franchise was more restricted on that continent. However, revolution did in two years (1917–1919) more than had been accomplished in the three preceding decades.

---

[1] England has parliamentary government in the truest possible sense. The degree of "responsible" government developed in other countries is shown by the map on page 619.

Changes in the elective franchise.

Universal suffrage is in use to-day in Great Britain (§ 351), Germany (§ 292), Russia (§ 326), and numerous other less important countries. Moreover, practically, manhood suffrage is now exercised in most other European states. If we go back even a quarter of a century, however, we shall find that most of the countries which now have manhood suffrage at that time allowed only a chosen few to vote. We have already noted the important extensions of the franchise in Great

LISBON, THE CAPITAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF PORTUGAL

Britain, France, Germany,[1] Austria, England, and Russia.

Woman suffrage in Europe.

Before 1900 women were not allowed to vote anywhere in Europe. In 1906 the women in Finland were permitted to elect members of the Finnish parliament and to sit in that body. The next year Norway conferred the franchise on women who owned property. During the war Denmark and Great Britain adopted woman suffrage; after the war most other European countries did the same.

Republics and democracies.

458. Direct Popular Government, Especially in Switzerland. — In 1914 there were five republics in Europe: France, Switzerland, Portugal, An-dor′ra, and San Ma-ri′no, the last two of which are of no importance whatever. A *republic* is sometimes called a *representative democracy*, because the people vote for representatives who rule in their stead. If a republic is large or the task of governing complex, it is absolutely necessary that the people should rule indirectly through their representatives. If it is small it may be a true *democracy*, that is, ruled directly by the people.

Reasons for and character of democracy in Switzerland.

Switzerland has been a republic for centuries, and is always considered the best example of a country which is really self-governing. One reason for this is the fact that Switzerland is mountainous, and although small itself — about a third the size of the state of New York — is a confederation of twenty-two cantons, each with an average area of only 700 square miles and an average population of 150,000. Each of these cantons, and the confederation as a whole, has a *constitution* which, like the American state constitutions, can be changed only with the consent of the people.

Ever since the Swiss have had constitutions, they have

---

[1] In Germany only members of the unimportant imperial Reichstag are elected by manhood suffrage. In all other elections the franchise is limited.

Forms of direct government in Switzerland.

used the *referendum*, as we do in our American states, for the popular ratification either of complete constitutions or of separate constitutional amendments. In most of the cantons, and for the confederation, *constitutional amendments and laws* may be proposed through the *initiative*, and must be acted upon either by the councils or by the people themselves in the referendum.

PARLIAMENT HOUSE, BERNE

Civil rights in theory and in fact.

459. Protection of Rights and Administration of Justice. — There is no necessary connection between the right of the people to elect their officials and the enjoyment by those people of the right to life, liberty, and property. Yet those of us who have made a study of the history of past centuries know that, so far as the common people are concerned, there has been a close connection between the two. The Roman citizen in the days of Augustus may have had just as many civil rights as the western European of the twentieth century. But nineteen centuries ago only a few persons enjoyed full rights of Roman citizenship, and not very many others had even partial rights, whereas to-day most persons living within a country and subject to its laws are citizens and enjoy whatever rights citizens of that country may have. Since most of the European countries have constitutions, most of *the constitutions mention general rights*, such as those to life, liberty, and property, which all citizens are supposed to possess. They also provide *courts and other means for the protection of those rights.*

Limitations on exercise of civil rights on the Continent of Europe.

If, however, we examine either the list of rights or the means by which those rights are safeguarded, we find a vast difference between the European scheme and the American plan. For example, freedom of speech and of the press is enjoyed in Great Britain as in America. but on the Continent, even in times of peace, no person is allowed to say what he thinks or write what he pleases, unless the government agrees. In central and southern and eastern Europe a person may have freedom of movement, and may go from one place to another, but every night he is obliged to fill out a blank telling who he is, what his business is, where he came from, how long he intends to stay, and where he is going. In other words, the police keep very careful track of every one, and supervise him and his affairs carefully and constantly. In America we should not consider ourselves free if we were subject to such police surveillance.

Trials and administration of justice on the Continent.

Except in parts of eastern or southern Europe, *trials are held openly* and witnesses are not coerced. The *jury system* for the trial of criminals is in use in Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Switzerland, and some parts of Germany, but is practically unknown in most of Europe. Most accused persons are therefore tried by a bench of judges. Throughout Europe the courts are so anxious to uphold the authority of their governments that they do not give the citizen the benefit of the doubt if the case, civil or criminal, is one of the state *versus* the citizen.

Government of European Cities

460. European Cities: Growth and Characteristics. — The modern city, like democracy, is a product of the last century. In medieval times there were many interesting and important European towns whose commerce was in some cases rather extensive, but cities did not grow rapidly until the Industrial Revolution. With the recent expansion of industry and commerce, cities have developed during the last century, and particularly during the last half century, with marvelous rapidity.

Growth of European cities.

In Europe the cities are small in area. Frequently the modern European city has been built on the site of an old walled town. Within the walls the streets were necessarily narrow and almost invariably crooked. Since space was at a premium, land was expensive and buildings were usually connected and of many stories. In early modern times there was less danger of marauders, and more people made their homes outside the city walls. In order, however, to be near their business, it was necessary to live as close as possible to the center of the city.

Congestion and winding streets.

The city man is usually a worker in a factory or a shop. He is not interested in land, nor is he tied to land in any way. As a consequence, in associating with hundreds of his fellows, he discusses his problems, grumbles at his lot, and demands changes. The cities are therefore the strongholds of democracy and the hotbeds of socialism. In the cities are developing those new political ideas which are modernizing Europe.

Occupation and characteristics of the city man.

461. Housing and Transportation Problems. — Because of the great value of land in and near European cities, the housing problem is of even greater importance than it is in America. In practically all cities of Europe, the congestion in districts occupied by the

Extreme congestion and poor housing conditions.

poorer classes is appalling. German cities have been considered progressive; yet more than two thirds of the people in Berlin, Bres'lau, and Dres'den live in dwellings of either one or two rooms. Almost as large a percentage of the inhabitants of Glas'gow live in small tenements. In East London conditions are very bad indeed. In Paris, on account of the old tax upon doors and windows, it is said that in the nineteenth century one quarter of the people slept in darkened rooms, which had no windows. In general, therefore, it may be stated that the conditions in the poorer quarters of the average European city are much worse than those under which the tenement dweller of the American slums is obliged to live.

Transportation service and rates.

European cities sometimes give adequate transportation to the suburbs, but usually their car systems and coaches have shorter routes than those of the average American street car. Rates are therefore lower than in our cities, frequently, as in Glasgow, being a little less than one penny (two cents) per ride. The rate varies with the distance, however. Especially low rates are given to workmen and to children, and the state railroads in some countries, notably in Belgium, charge very little for transporting workmen from their country homes to city factories. By these means the congestion in these crowded European cities is relieved somewhat, but the problem is at least as serious as it is anywhere in America. In Europe the straphanger is practically unknown, for by law persons are not allowed to stand in busses or street cars.

The Municipal Act of 1835.

462. Government of English Cities. — The most progressive European cities are better governed than those of America. This has been particularly true of the cities in Great Britain. Before the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 (§ 335) English cities were governed in many different ways, but the management of their affairs was alike in one respect; almost without exception it was unsatisfactory. The Act of 1835 is still the basis of the government of English cities; according to it, Parliament[1] grants the charters and controls both the organization of the government and the powers exercised by the municipal authorities.

Organization of English city govern ment.

The British cities are ruled by large councils; the council of London numbers 118 and that of Glasgow 75. The municipal council is made up of two groups, one consisting of *councilmen*, elected by the rate-payers of the city from wards or comparatively small districts, for a period of three years each. The second group consists of *aldermen*, ordinarily one third as numerous as the councilmen, chosen for a period of six years by the councilors, usually from their own number. The whole council sits as one body and elects a mayor for a term of

MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS, GLASGOW

---

[1] This is done through the Local Government Board.

one year and appoints from its own number committees which do most of the business of governing the city.

Municipal administration in Great Britain.

The mayor is little more than the social head of the city, for he has no especially important powers or duties. Most of the departments of the city administration are supervised by trained experts, who were not necessarily, before appointment, residents of the city in which they work.

Finances of British cities.

Since the British city is controlled in the last analysis by the rate-payers, as a rule expenditures are reduced to a minimum in order that *taxes shall be low.* The British cities are distinguished far more than those of America by "municipal trading," that is, *municipal ownership of utilities* such as water, transportation, electric lighting, and gas.

Organization of municipal government in Germany.

463. Government of Other European Cities. — The *German city,* like cities across the North Sea, usually has a large *council.* The councilors are elected for a term of six years in Prussia, and from three to nine years in other German states. A German city is not really governed by its council, because the work of administering municipal affairs is left to a body called the *magistrat,* made up of from ten to forty men, usually experts, who control different administrative departments. The most distinguished official of a German city is a *burgomaster.* His position is one of influence rather than simply of authority.

Municipal activities in Germany.

German cities far more than British cities are interested in *municipal activities* such as publicly owned water plants, street railways, electric lighting plants, markets, slaughterhouses, baths, pawn shops, and other utilities. This is natural because as a country Germany is distinguished for collective action, and the German citizen is far more accustomed than the American to have things done for him by the state or local government.

The government of French cities.

As we noted above (§ 146), the government of France is more highly centralized than that of other countries. In consequence not only is *French municipal government* controlled by the French parliament as fully as that of British cities is controlled by the British Parliament, but in addition the central government of France supervises the *administration* of municipal affairs far more than the British central authorities do those of British cities. For example, the members of the French councils are elected by popular vote, and they in turn elect their mayors, but a French mayor must be approved by the central government before he may take office. To be sure, under the present French republic it is customary to allow the councils absolutely free choice in the election of mayors. French cities are less interested in municipal ownership than are cities in Great Britain or Germany. In fact, the administration of municipal affairs in the French republic is somewhat similar to that of American cities.

General.

464. City Finances. — Any one who has been in Europe realizes that in all businesses, including government, the expenditure of money is watched much more carefully than it is in America. One is not surprised, therefore, to learn that the European city manages its affairs with a smaller per capita expenditure than is found in most cities in the United States.

British and German cities.

The average American city depends for its revenue chiefly upon the general property tax, which is a tax upon land and its improvement, and to a slight extent on personal property. The average *British city* depends to a very large extent upon a *house tax;* the tax amounts to as much as a quarter or a third of the rental of a house, apartment, or lodging, and is paid by the tenant. Most of the larger British cities secure a considerable gross revenue and a fair net revenue from *municipal trading.*

The German city pays about one half its expenses from an income tax, levied upon all incomes in excess of $214 a year. The second item in the revenues of German cities is likely to be a real estate tax.

French cities.

The *French city*, like the American, is financed very largely by a property tax. Many French cities and practically all cities of southern and eastern Europe retain the old medieval *octroi* customs duty, levied at the cities' gates. Each traveler who enters those cities must have his luggage examined, and inspectors go through every basket carried in on street cars and examine the contents of every cart which enters the cities' portals.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

Private and public ownership of railways in Europe.

465. State Ownership of Railways. — In the United States railways have been constructed by private capital and before 1918 were managed by great private corporations. *England* uses a system of private ownership and management somewhat like our own before 1918, but with very much more rigid supervision of new work and of railway management. In *France* a plan of public supervision is followed for most of the railways of the country, which are privately owned; but a provision is made that, by the time the present long-time charters run out, the government shall own all of the railways. It now owns one system in southwestern France. In *Belgium*, *Switzerland*, *Italy*, *Austria*, *Russia*, and *Germany* most of the railways are now owned and managed by the state.

Objects and methods on public railways.

The railways of Italy are fairly well managed, but the service is less satisfactory in that country than in Switzerland and Austria. Service has been prompt in Germany, because the railways have been run on a military basis, and the trainmen are fined if the trains are late.

Rates in Germany have not been low. The reason for this is obvious; the German governments have sought to make money rather than to reduce fares. Particularly *in Germany and Russia the railways have been used as a means of promoting the work of the state. In time of peace the rates are arranged for the purpose of aiding those businesses which the government wishes to help* (§ 300); *in time of war the transportation of troops and munitions takes precedence of all other considerations.*

Comparison of railway rates in Europe and America.

Passenger fares are often lower than in this country, and passenger service is frequently superior to ours; but freight service has not been developed in Europe as it has in the United States, and freight rates are usually higher there than here. There is a simple explanation for these two apparently contradictory facts. First, European peoples live close together and therefore fewer trains, on shorter runs, are necessary for the same number of passengers. Secondly, America is a country of great distances, and consequently more freight is carried farther, therefore at a less cost per ton-mile, than in Europe.

Other publicly owned means of transportation.

466. State Ownership of Forests and Other Utilities. — Ownership by states as distinct from cities is chiefly ownership of means of *transportation,* canals, docks, or other harbor improvements, in addition to railways. A fair amount of revenue is usually obtained by European governments from these sources, and considerable aid is given to commerce by these means. Public *canals* have been constructed more extensively in France and in western Germany than elsewhere. Service rather than revenue is the chief object of these undertakings.

Public ownership of forests and mines.

Germany and Russia are the only important countries that have retained large *public forests.* In both of these countries over one half of all the forest lands are owned by the state. In some countries, particularly Prussia, *mines* are owned by the state as they were by Athens, Carthage, and some of the medieval countries. Naturally the cost of operating the mines is small compared with the sums obtained from the sale of minerals. In the United States we have no publicly owned mines, but, since the conservation movement began a few years ago, we no longer give away or sell at absurdly low prices our valuable public mineral resources or forests.

Municipal ownership in America.

467. Municipal Ownership. — As indicated above, (§ 461) municipal ownership is better developed in Europe than in this country. Most large American cities now own and manage their own *water* systems. A fair percentage of our smaller cities own plants which manufacture and distribute electricity, but we have practically no examples of municipal ownership of street railways, and very few public gas works.

CARS ON MUNICIPAL RAILWAY IN A BRITISH CITY

Development of municipal ownership in Europe.

Contrast with this the situation in Europe! In Great Britain the water supply of several of the larger cities is still in private hands and gas is furnished by private parties, but almost all large cities provide themselves with electricity, and more than four out of every five own their own street railways. Public baths and public markets are institutions found in practically all cities in the British Isles and on the Continent.

Some public utilities of continental cities.

Although many utilities are publicly owned in Germany, most of the street railways in the German Empire are still managed by private parties. Many European seaports own their docks, unless they are owned by the state. The Netherland cities, particularly Antwerp and Am′ster-dam, the French port of Marseilles, Bar-ce-lo′na in Spain, and Gen′o-a in Italy are famous for their docks and other hȧrbor improvements.

Nature and recent development of socialism.

468. The Growth of Socialism. — Socialism, as the term is commonly used, refers to collective control by the whole people of land and the instruments of production, also control of production itself and of the distribution among the members of the society of the goods that are produced. Modern socialism is like many other subjects which we have considered in this chapter and shall consider in the next two, in that it is a product of the last century and a half.[1]

Socialism, economic and political, in Germany.

It is a notable fact that in countries which have considerable popular government and a large degree of personal freedom, socialism has not thrived. We think of *Germany* as preëminently the home of European socialism, and Karl Marx is sometimes called the founder of modern socialism. Like some other reform philosophers, *Marx* believed that wealth is created solely by labor. He sought to organize workers first in Germany, and afterward in other countries.[1] *Lassalle* was even more influential than Marx in organizing a socialist association in Germany, and when in 1875 the two socialist organizations of Marx and Lassalle were combined, the present *Social Democratic party* of Germany (§ 293) was formed. This body, comprising probably fewer than a million men, is considered the world's best example of highly organized and centralized association, for its control of its members is practically absolute. In government the German socialists stood for popular participation in the ruling of Germany, for reforms in the government itself, and for reform legislation. So harmful were all these ideas to the ruling class of Germany that, to a junker, the socialist was practically guilty of treason.

---

[1] Among the leaders of English socialism was *Owen*, a cotton manufacturer who worked unceasingly for the betterment of his employees and their families. Most of the early continental socialists were French philosophers. We have already noted that Louis *Blanc* tried to establish in France at the time of the Revolution of 1848 national workshops (§ 218), giving every man a right to work. Socialism has made considerable progress in France, particularly among the labor unionists who believe in syndicalism (§ 482).

Character of socialism elsewhere in Europe.

In *Russia*, since the industrial revolution, there have been numerous socialist groups which have desired economic and political reforms. The groups are numerous and their plans of reform differ widely. Most of them are agreed in asking a further division among the peasants of land which belonged to nobles or the royal family. They are also fairly well agreed in their dislike of the capitalist classes. Beyond that, their plans have little in common. In *southern Europe* socialism has made less progress than elsewhere. It can be seen from this brief survey that, in continental Europe, socialism is radical and to some extent revolutionary, but it is even more closely identified with the attempt to secure democracy and give the proletarian some share in his own government.

---

[1] It is interesting to notice that considerably more than three fourths of the popular vote in Germany that has been polled by socialist candidates has been cast by liberal Germans who have not been identified with the Socialist party itself.

General References

Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 139–212.
Wilson, *The State.*
Burgess, *The Reconciliation of Government and Liberty.*
Lowell, *Governments of France, Italy, and Germany.*
Lowell, *Governments and Parties of Continental Europe.*
Ogg, *The Governments of Europe.*

Studies

1. The constitution of Great Britain. Macy, *English Constitution*, 9–16.

2. Government of the French department. Poincaré, *How France is Governed*, 64–71.

3. Local government in Italy. Ogg, *The Governments of Europe*, 383–386.

4. The powers of the French city council. Munro, *Government of European Cities*, 50–61.

5. City planning in Europe. Pollock and Morgan, *Modern Cities*, 15–40.

6. The American and the European city — a comparison. Howe, *European Cities at Work*, 345–361.

7. Municipal railways in British cities. Howe, *The British City*, 82–100.

8. Government ownership of railways in Europe. Phelps (ed.), *Government Ownership of Railways* (Debaters' Handbook), 44–47, 57–63, 111–127, 174–194.

9. The growth of socialism in Europe. Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 337–360.

Questions

1. What is a written constitution? How is it different from an unwritten constitution? Name some differences between American constitutions and European written constitutions. What is meant by parliamentary or responsible government? Why are the upper houses of the European parliaments made up of privileged persons? Why are the ministries responsible to the lower house, or to the monarch?

2. Draw a map showing which countries are republics, which have responsible government, and which have arbitrary rule. On the same map indicate the degree of local popular self-government.

3. What is the ordinary age limit of voters in Europe? Why doesn't universal suffrage mean the same share in government there as here? What is meant by plural voting? Which countries to-day have woman suffrage?

4. What is meant by direct popular government? Explain the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. Compare direct government in Switzerland with that in America.

5. Name some rights which we have under our state government and under the national government. Are many or all of those protected in Europe? What is the difference between the American system of courts and the continental? If a person were accused of crime in Austria, and in France, and in Great Britain, and in America, what differences in the method of trial would you note?

6. Why have European cities grown rapidly? Why are they relatively small in area? In what respects are housing conditions bad? Compare transportation problems and service in this country and in Europe.

7. Compare the organization of the English and continental councils. What are the differences between the English mayor, the German burgomaster and magistrat, and the French mayor? Compare the extent and the success of municipal ownership in Europe and America.

8. Explain the taxes used in this city of ours. Give some idea for what objects the revenues are expended. Compare our taxes with the British, French, and German municipal taxes. Has this city made as many wise investments as the ordinary European city has made? Are its streets and public buildings as well planned?

9. Why did Europe adopt government ownership of railroads many years before our American government undertook railroad administration? Why are European passenger rates lower and European freight rates higher than ours?

10. Are most of our canals and harbor improvements publicly or privately owned? Do we have public ownership of any forests? If so, name one. Compare public ownership of mines with the coal policy followed in recent years by our national government.

11. Show that socialism in Europe is different from that in America. Explain why European socialism is closely associated with democracy and general betterment.

CHAPTER XXIV

COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, AND LABOR

The World's Trade

469. European Commerce in General. — International commerce really did not exist before the Renaissance, and the world's trade on a large scale is a nineteenth-century product. A hundred years ago the total commerce of all countries was in value less than a quarter of American exports in the year 1917. By 1870 this had increased to ten billion dollars; and in 1913 it had again expanded fourfold, for in that year it reached the colossal figure of forty billions, or an amount twenty-five hundred per cent in excess of the total trade of the world a century ago.

Extraordinary development of nineteenth century trade.

Before the Great War, *Great Britain* had a larger foreign trade than any other country. Imports exceeded exports because Great Britain was compelled to buy abroad large quantities of foodstuffs and other commodities, in addition to raw materials which she turned into manufactured products. Second of importance in Europe was the trade of Germany, which developed with unusual rapidity after the establishment of the *German Empire* in 1871.[1] Other countries whose commerce was important were *France*, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Russia.

Important commercial countries.

---

[1] Germany's exports exceeded her imports. Until recent years Germany made a business (§ 300) of turning out cheap and frequently inferior goods which were sold, particularly in new countries, under the trade mark "made in Germany."

Causes and character of European commercial development.

The extraordinary development of European commerce is the direct outgrowth of the industrial development which began with the Industrial Revolution in England. It is possible because the last century has seen a marvelous improvement in *means of transportation* by land and sea.[1] Both Europe and America are covered with a network of railroads, which carry passengers at high speed and freight at a cost marvelously low compared with the charges paid for the transportation of goods in ancient times or in the Middle Ages. With the development of surplus capital, *Europe has come to specialize more and more on industry and commerce,* and she imports much of her meat and a large part of her supplies of grain and other foodstuffs.

Partial dependence of Europe on rest of world for food.

470. The Problem of the Food Supply. — Although *most food is consumed within the country in which it is produced,* nevertheless, the trade in foodstuffs is one of the most important in volume, and the most important in character, of the many involved in international trade. Because of their small area and large population, European countries, therefore, are compelled to depend upon the rest of the world for their supply of food. If an agricultural product is bulky, or if it will not stand transportation for any considerable distance, it plays a very small part in international trade. Maize or *Indian corn,* of which three fourths of the world's supply is raised in the United States, and *potatoes* are good examples of foods which are consumed almost entirely at home.[1]

---

[1] A vessel of five thousand tons which could cross the Atlantic in three weeks was unknown at the time of Waterloo, but vessels far larger, which have crossed the Atlantic within less than six days, are no exception at the present time. The largest vessel afloat is the *Leviathan,* a steamship of 54,000 tons. It is said that this vessel, originally known as the *Vaterland,* was constructed for use as a transport to carry German troops for the conquest of the world; it is now being used to transport the world's troops for the conquest of Germany. One passenger vessel, the sister of the *Lusitania,* crossed the Atlantic in 1910 in four days, ten hours, and forty-one minutes.

Place of wheat in international markets.

At the opposite extreme from potatoes and maize is *wheat*, which might be called the international cereal. It is grown in all temperate countries, but very much more extensively in some than in others. The total annual production amounted before the war to less than four billion bushels a year, of which about one fifth was exported.[2]

© *Underwood and Underwood*

WHEAT ELEVATORS AND WHALEBACK SHIP FOR WHEAT TRANSPORTATION

Sugar supplies in recent years.

We will recall that in the eighteenth century the sugar-producing islands of the West Indies were much prized as colonies, because before 1850 practically the whole supply of the world's *sugar* was made from sugar cane.

---

[1] As a matter of fact the amount of maize raised in Europe was more than 500,000,000 bushels in 1913, most of which was raised in a belt from Italy eastward through Austria and Hungary into southern Russia. On the other hand, the crop of potatoes is more important in Europe than in America, but only one and one half per cent is ever sold outside of the country in which they are grown, and those usually are traded to near-by neighbors. The potato crop of Europe before the war amounted to approximately five billion bushels per year, of which three fifths was grown in Germany and Russia. The annual potato production of the United States at the same time was only 350,000,000 bushels.

[2] The world's surplus came almost entirely from six countries, of which Russia, the United States, Canada, the Argentine, India, and Australia were the most important. On the other hand, Great Britain depended

In the later years of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth, the beet sugar industry developed so rapidly that from 1895 to 1910 more than half of the sugar used was made from beets.[1]

Nature of English imports.

471. British Commerce and Methods of Marketing. — It is natural that the largest single item of British *imports* should be foodstuffs, and that three of the most important foodstuffs should be wheat, meat, and sugar. From the near-by countries of the Continent, England imports quantities of fruit, vegetables, eggs, and dairy products. She also imports some manufactured commodities, including iron, steel, and copper articles. Strange as it may appear in connection with the wool trade, which was so important for England during the Middle Ages,[2] imports of manufactured wool are an important item.

English exports.

The leadership which England took a century and a half ago in the manufacture of cotton cloth accounts for her chief *export*, that of textiles, chiefly cotton. However, since the British Isles contain deposits of coal and iron, she is still able to send abroad rather large quantities of cutlery, machinery, and other forms of steel or iron manufactures. England's trade with her *colonies* (§ 369) constitutes nearly half of the total trade of those pos-

---

upon the outside world for more than three fourths of her wheat. After the outbreak of the Great War much less wheat was grown in Europe than formerly, and owing to the short crops in the United States and the shortage of ships to carry wheat from distant countries, Western Europe and the United States were placed on short wheat rations for a number of years.

[1] About three fifths of this beet sugar was produced in three countries, Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. Naturally those three countries *exported* large quantities of sugar, as did Cuba, Java, Hawaii, and other semitropical islands or countries. The greatest *importers* of sugar have been the United States and Great Britain. After the war broke out, there was a *shortage of sugar*, because the beet sugar supplies almost failed and there was not enough sugar produced to meet the world's needs.

[2] E. E. C., § 563.

sessions, and her commerce with the United States is especially important.

Characteristics of English commercial methods.

There can be no doubt that in the last quarter century British commercial methods have been conservative in comparison with those of other peoples. Where Englishmen have been forced to meet keen foreign competition, naturally they have not been able to hold their old secure monopoly, partly because their methods of manufacturing were frequently of an older type and therefore less economical than those of some other producers. A second reason was undoubtedly found in the fact that they did not take enough pains to please their customers.

Shipping and Docks on the Thames below London

Place of German education in her industrial expansion.

472. German Trade and Methods of Selling Goods Abroad. — The expansion of Germany's industry and trade, the product of unusual natural resources, especially coal and iron, has been the result also of a carefully planned scheme. For a large percentage of her men her school instruction is of an industrial type, and is designed for the purpose of making good artisans rather than good citizens, because in that country the man who obeys best and produces most is the best German, in time of peace.

Government aid to exporters.

Because the Germans are industrious, and because they have specialized on those industries for which they have raw materials, trained workmen, or other special facilities, the German people have been able to turn out cheap, though usually inferior, goods. These commodities would not naturally have undersold similar articles of foreign producers. In the German scheme of underselling all competitors it was necessary therefore not only to use the best methods of exporting and selling but also to secure *government help and protection* at every stage of the process.

Use by German exporters of ways outlawed in America.

One of the means used by the Germans was to organize the producers into groups, called *cartels*, somewhat similar to the old trusts which we declared illegal in the United States more than a quarter of a century ago. These cartels, in coöperation with the government, secure special favors on the railroads and are enabled through government connivance to sell goods far cheaper abroad than they are sold within Germany. *German exporters make a business of underselling their competitors until other merchants have been driven out of the market;* then they raise the prices and control the situation. If necessary, the imperial government pays *bounties* on exports or *subsidies* on freight sent out, in order that no competitor shall have a fair chance. We can see from these statements that the German exporters used, and the government encouraged, methods which have been declared illegal and therefore have been outlawed within the United States during recent years. It certainly stands to reason that after the Great War other countries will not tolerate the use by Germany of those outlawed practices; at least they will insist upon a "fair field and no favors."

Relation of commercial development to merchant marine and navy.

473. The Significance of Commercial Expansion. — Ordinarily, but not necessarily, the expansion of foreign commerce has gone hand in hand with the development of a merchant marine and a navy. In the Middle Ages Venice owed her commercial supremacy largely to her fleet. The Han-se-at′ic League was important commercially because its merchant vessels were numerous. In the seventeenth century Dutch control of the commerce of the world was due to the merchant marine of Holland. Great Britain's commercial success in the last two centuries has expanded continually, keeping pace with the creation of the largest merchant fleet and greatest navy the world has ever seen.[1]

© *Underwood and Underwood*

Largest Freighter in Use, 1916

---

[1] Yet, in the middle of the nineteenth century the British fleet was only a little larger than that of the United States. At the outbreak of the Great War, however, Great Britain controlled more than half the

Commercial advantages of colonies.

The Great Powers desire extensive international trade for political as well as commercial reasons. They are anxious to get rid of their surplus products, and they are absolutely dependent on the importations of raw materials in large quantities, but colonies have often been desired less because that would extend trade than because that would increase international prestige. The acquisition of colonies, protectorates, or spheres of influence has therefore been an important phase of the commercial rivalry of the great nations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We have already studied the policy of Germany in relation to colonies, to a commercial empire, and to political expansion (§ 300). Especially in the case of Germany, but even in that of other countries, *there is a close connection between commercial development and colonial expansion, and between those two together and political domination.*

The Producer and his Goods

Recent development of capital.

474. Development of Modern Capitalism. — In medieval times there was very little capital, that is, wealth which was used to produce more wealth. During the Renaissance and especially after the development of international trade in early modern times, capital became somewhat more abundant, but the evolution of modern capitalism is, in a real sense, like the development of international trade, an affair of the last century. It was necessary to produce goods in large quantities and to sell them at a considerable profit before it was possible to accumulate in the hands of capitalists a very large amount of surplus wealth.

ocean mercantile tonnage of the world and did considerably *more than half of the carrying trade* of the great countries. Great Britain owed the extraordinary expansion of her shipping to her position and the development of her steel industries. Other countries less favored in those respects tried to compete on even terms by granting *ship subsidies*.

Relation of modern machinery and power to capitalism.

With the creation of machines, such as were developed at the time of the Industrial Revolution,[1] and the improvement of those machines, it was possible to turn out uniform goods in large numbers or quantities. When first water power and then steam were applied to these machines, not only was the number of articles produced per hour and day increased greatly, but it was also possible to make the machines larger and stronger and therefore capable of producing ten, a hundred, or a thousand times as much as the smaller machines of earlier years. If we compare a modern locomotive weighing one hundred tons with the "Puffing Billy," of which a picture was given on page 237, or if we compare a modern rotary press, which prints in an hour forty thousand eight-page newspapers, with Gu′ten-berg's hand press,[2] or even with Benjamin Franklin's improved eighteenth century press, we can get some idea of the extraordinary increase in size and productive power of modern machines.

THE BANK OF ENGLAND, LONDON

---

[1] See chapter IX.

[2] E. E. C., § 633.

Capitalism and large scale industry.

If a large number of machines is necessary for any industry, modern business must therefore be done on a large scale. Consequently the modern factory is huge, and it employs thousands of workers, most of them skilled or at least prepared to do a certain type of work.[1] A large amount of capital is necessary even to equip a modern factory, and still more capital is needed for the purchase of raw materials which are turned by the factory into a completed product.

Dependence of modern industry on iron and coal.

475. Natural Resources and Production. — It is impossible to make very large machines of wood or of the materials which one finds in an ordinary household or shop. They must be strong and capable of standing for years the wear and tear of exceedingly heavy work. They must therefore be made of iron, and they must also be made of that form of iron which will stand the greatest strain. Accordingly the largest, finest, and best machines are made of *steel.* As steel is an exceedingly modern product — the year before our Civil War broke out only three thousand tons was produced in the United States — it has been possible to make these great machines only during the last five or six decades. Modern industrial progress of the highest degree has been possible only in those countries which have had good supplies of iron and which have turned that iron into steel, and from the steel created good machines. *Steel machines* might be produced in one country and sold to another, but they cannot be used by the people of the second nation unless those people have or can get large supplies of *coal.*

Past and possible future industrial regions.

In the past, and at the present time, more use is made of these commodities by Great Britain and Germany than by other countries; but, in the future, it is probable that in Spain, the Balkan regions, Asia Minor, and Russia the coal beds will be utilized to a greater extent.

---

[1] This is called *division of labor.*

Enormous increase of power due to use of coal.

476. Coal as an Industrial Factor. — The chief use of coal is the development of power. *A ton of coal burned on the grate of a stationary engine generates steam that can do the work of a thousand men in a ten-hour day;* and a ton of coal can be procured, by a factory which is not far from a coal deposit, at a cost varying from two to five dollars a ton. We can readily see that it is cheaper to buy coal than to pay for labor; and, as every country's supply of labor is limited, the use of coal increases its man-power a hundredfold. The nation which uses machines operated by steam can therefore produce more articles than its neighbors which depend little on machinery, and it can produce them very much more cheaply.[1]

Great coal mining countries.

Some of the countries which have very fine supplies of coal mine very little; others which have comparatively little mine a great deal. The United States produces more coal every year than any other country, almost as much as any other two countries, but Great Britain and Germany also mine large quantities, these three producing more than eighty-five per cent of the world's supply.

Making of iron and steel.

477. Iron Manufactures and Uses. — Iron is the most valuable of all the metals and, next to coal, of all the minerals. In fact, as shown above, coal and iron are interdependent. In order to change iron ore into iron, it is necessary to place the iron with some fuel in a furnace which is capable of withstanding intense heat. The iron ore is then melted and the impurities such as carbon are burnt out.[2] About the time of our Civil War, but a little more then a half century ago, an Englishman, *Bes'se-mer*, invented a process of making steel in large quantities, and his methods have been improved since.

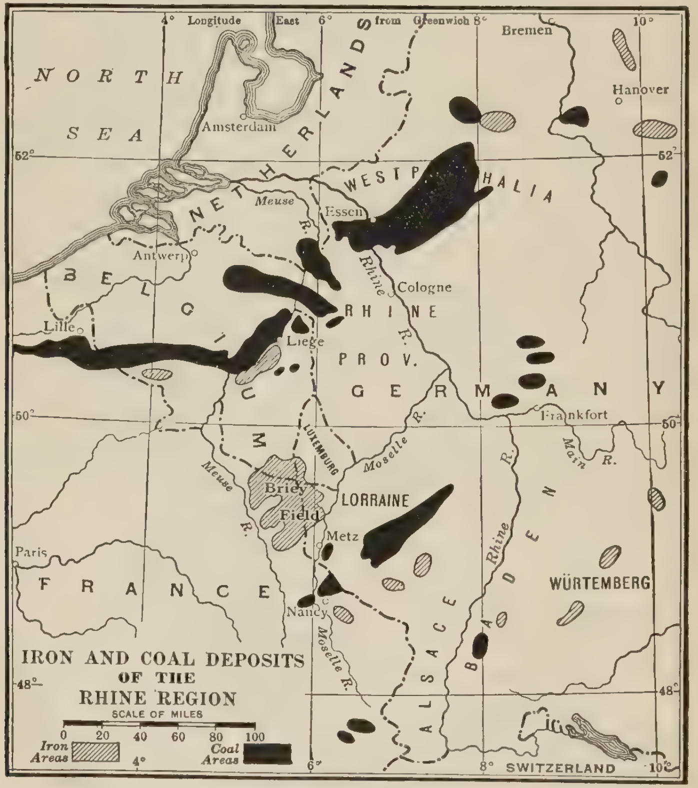
---

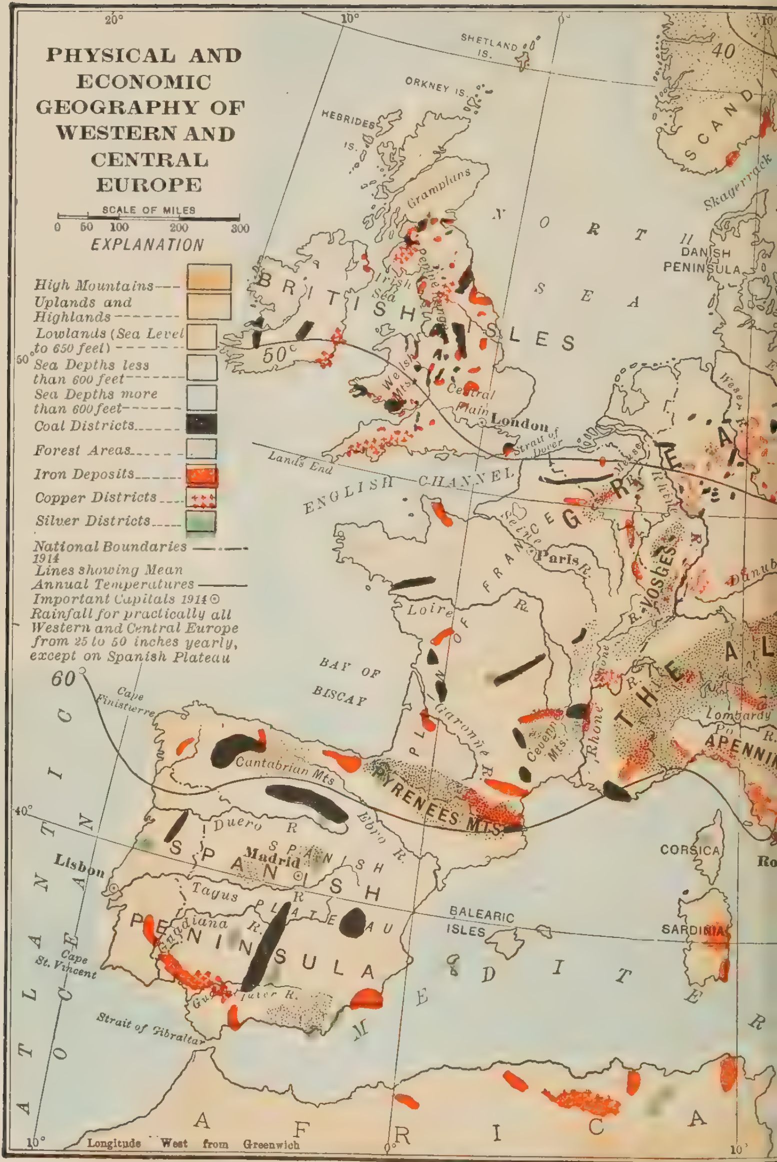
[1] If one quarter of all the coal consumed in the United States were used in industrial plants for the manufacture of goods, the power generated by the coal would be equivalent to the labor of several billion men.

[2] A century and a half ago *charcoal* was used almost exclusively as the fuel, but it is impossible to use charcoal in a country which lacks great supplies of wood. In Great Britain, whose forests were limited in extent, coal was converted into *coke*, and the coke was then put into the furnace with the iron ore, and the iron ore was converted into pigs or bars of cast iron.

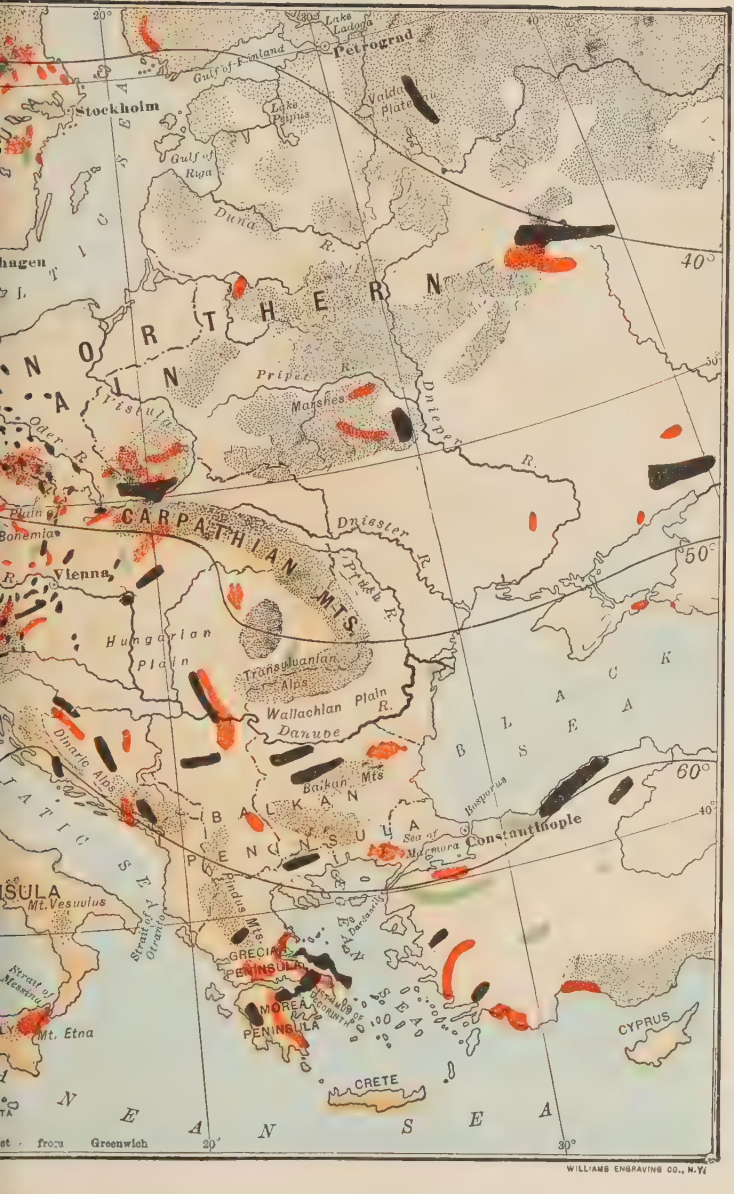
Some transformations due to iron and steam.

The present age has been called an age of iron; it has also been called an age of steam. It is both. The steam engine would never have become an important factor in modern life if we had not had iron and in fact if we had not had steel. *Iron and steam* have therefore been the


IRON AND COAL DEPOSITS OF THE RHINE REGION



PHYSICAL AND ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE



WILLIAMS ENGRAVING CO., N.Y.

most important elements in the creation of the modern industrial world. It stands to reason that if man's machines have enabled each worker to do the work of a hundred men, if they have increased the distance which man may travel from twenty-five to forty times, the world is a very different place to live in than it was before these marvelous changes occurred. The modern city is to a large extent, at least in the business districts, a city of steel buildings. Huge steel bridges span rivers which a few years ago it was impossible to cross except by ferry-boat. The uses of iron are legion, and the transformations of modern national life, due to steel and steam, are more wonderful than those of the genii summoned by rubbing Aladdin's lamp.

Compariso with America.

478. The Use in Europe of Large Scale Production. — As stated above, the typical industrial plant cannot be a small factory. The modern railroad in a similar way must cover a wide area and have at least one important trunk line with probably several subsidiary feeder lines. In Europe the countries are smaller and therefore distances between large cities are shorter. Moreover, the supply of labor is much greater compared with area and resources than in the United States. In consequence, although factories are very much larger than they were a half century ago and very much larger indeed than they were a century ago, what we call large scale production has not been developed as much as in the United States.[1]

---

[1] In Great Britain there were in 1850 forty-five thousand establishments of a certain kind; sixty years later the number had been reduced to five thousand, although the production was greater in 1910 than at the early date. In Germany the number of persons employed in small establishments has remained about stationary, but the number of workers in large factories increased from less than a hundred thousand in 1882 to more than a million and a half thirteen years later. A similar change has occurred in other industrial countries.

Different forms of European trusts.

In Europe there are many *trusts*, but true *consolidation* [1] of industry has not been conspicuous. In Germany a few companies have become *monopolies* in the manufacture of their line of articles, and in some cases have secured control also of raw materials from which their goods are made. To some extent that has happened in Great Britain also. In general, however, where *combination* has taken place, it has been in a different form. For example, in Great Britain most of the thread is produced by a single trust which also controls the largest American thread factory. Besides these producing monopolies there are loosely organized selling syndicates. The best examples of these are the *cartels* of western Germany (§ 472), particularly those connected with the iron and steel industry of the Rhine valley. These leave to each producer complete control of his production, with the possible exception that they may limit his output, but they take charge of all the goods produced by the different plants and sell them for the producers.

Attitude of government toward private business.

479. Government Regulation of Business. — When a business such as a steam railway or an electric lighting plant is owned and managed by a government, there is no problem of government *supervision;* but, even in the countries which have gone farthest in adopting different forms of public ownership (§§ 465–467), it is necessarily true that most business is financed with private capital, is subject to private enterprise, and is managed by individuals or private corporations. The attitude of government toward these businesses depends upon several things. First, it depends upon the government itself. In some countries and particularly in some ages *govern-*

---

[1] In this country the best example of consolidation is the United States Steel Corporation. It absorbed more than half of our steel plants and also bought large supplies of raw materials, as well as steamships and railroads for transporting raw materials to the company's plants.

ments like that of Colbert (§ 56) *have been distinguished for their paternalism.* We will recall that Colbert went so far as to designate the width of cloth that should be woven, and the number of threads per inch. A second condition affecting government supervision is the *nature of the business itself.* Some businesses, like banking or the construction of roads, are of such nature that they must be controlled largely by the public. If they are left in private hands, as for example banking in this country, then careful supervision is necessary to protect the savings of the small investor and to safeguard the person who lends or borrows.

Promotion and restraint of business b legislation.

Ordinarily agriculture and industry are somewhat more subject to supervision and control in Europe than in this country, although both here and abroad business is allowed a comparatively free hand. One means used by the continental countries and by the United States to promote industry is the *protective tariff.* Great Britain does not have a tariff of this type. Since European governments do not give corporations so many privileges or so much freedom in doing business as we give ours, they do not need and do not have, for the purpose of protecting the public from combinations, as severe laws as our state anti-trust laws or the national Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Another reason that European laws are more lenient than ours is that they are enforced better. Still a third arises from the fact that government ownership has gone much farther in Europe than in America, partly because the continental countries have always been accustomed to a benevolent paternalism, whereas America, like Great Britain, has favored individual freedom and initiative, and has always given individual enterprise as free a hand as possible. In the more progressive European countries there is more interference in behalf of the *worker* than we have in the United States.

CAPITAL AND LABOR

Change in possible relations between employer and employee.

480. Modern Relations of Capital and Labor. — The Industrial Revolution revolutionized not only the methods of producing goods by machinery and in large factories but also the relations of capital to labor. In earlier centuries each employer dealt with a comparatively few workmen, many or all of whom he knew personally, and with whom frequently he worked. With the development of large scale industry in production and in transportation, *conditions have changed absolutely*.[1] Instead of the relations between the employer and employee being personal and intimate, they are between paid overseers on the one hand, and on the other employees whom the foreman may not know well, and in whose welfare he has little interest.

Old laws and customs and new laws.

In spite of the revolutionary changes in the organization of industry in Europe during the last few decades, a great many of the older laws, customs, and usages still survive. Of course, these older laws were made for conditions such as existed centuries ago. They may have been very satisfactory with the old type industry, but they cannot apply well to the entirely different conditions of the present time. During the last quarter century all progressive countries of western-central or northern Europe have adopted new laws.

Labor legislation of different types.

Some of these new laws regulate the organization of labor groups, usually labor unions; others protect the workers in their relations with their employers, or provide for industrial conciliation or boards of arbitration. Still others deal with the protection of labor by social insurance (§§ 485–489).

---

[1] In the first place, even in Europe, much of the work is done through *corporations* which combine the capital of a great many different persons; therefore, frequently there is no single master or owner. The corpora-

British labor unions before 1825.

481. Labor Unions in Great Britain. — The English labor unions are the direct product of the Industrial Revolution and of large scale industry. Under the old common law, *combinations of workers were illegal*, even if the workers combined only to secure better wages, or to reduce hours of labor, or in other ways improve their conditions. Those restrictive laws remained in force until about 1825. In that year all of the old laws were repealed, and temporarily the new labor unions were legalized.

Labor unions during the nineteenth century.

Although labor unions were not greatly encouraged by this half-hearted legislation, they grew rapidly, and became an important influence in the industry of Great Britain. About the time that the second reform movement of the nineteenth century started (§ 345), the unions were declared to be legal and were allowed to look after their own affairs much better than ever before.[1]

British labor unions in recent years.

New laws have been passed since 1906 for the special protection of the British unions. Now the labor unions of the British Isles are very well protected by law, and their rights are safeguarded more carefully than those of any other labor organizations in the world. One is not surprised, therefore, to learn that in Great Britain a far larger percentage of the workmen are organized into unions than in any other country, including the United States. Before the outbreak of the Great War, the unions, with their four million members, practically dominated the labor situation; they were able to dictate to many employers the amount which the latter should produce, because they limited the output per worker to a point far below the amount that each was capable of doing.

---

tion, or the owner of any large establishment, must necessarily deal with its men through superintendents and foremen, and indirectly.

[1] In the first year of the twentieth century, however, the House of Lords, which is the highest court in England, practically took away many of the rights given by the newer reform laws.

Early labor unions and labor legislation in France.

482. Labor Organizations on the Continent. — Old continental laws, like those of England, made it illegal for workers to combine in order to gain for themselves any economic advantage.[1] Nevertheless, modern labor unions were organized in France during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and those workmen, as we have already noticed (§ 218), took an active part in a number of revolutions, particularly that of 1848. Louis Napoleon secured the enactment of several laws favorable to the workers, because he wanted their support. In fact, France did more than any other country in Europe in the help that she gave directly and indirectly to the working classes.

History, aims, and methods of syndicalism.

Before the close of the nineteenth century a large number of French unions (syndicates) formed a general federation. Although this included only about one tenth of the industrial workers of France, it has played a part in continental industrial history out of proportion to its size. It looks upon the relations of capital to labor as a species of *warfare*, in which the two are enemies. The workers try, by use of the *general strike*, that is, by all striking at the same time, to force the employers to grant their demands. They use such methods as destroying machinery by throwing into it a wooden shoe, or sabot, a custom which has given the name *sabotage* to attempts to injure machinery or employer's property. These are some of the methods used and aims desired by *the syndicalists*, a name which is used now outside of France by those who have similar aims.

Although there are many more workmen in Germany than in France, and although a larger number of Ge man workers are organized in unions, the unions do not have the share in German industrial life that the syndicates do in that of France. This is partly due to the fact that years ago the government passed several severe laws against the Socialists (§ 296) and unionists that used similar methods. Most of the German unions are found in the industrial and mining districts of West Germany. The German unions are in the nature of social organizations rather than of the economic type of union found in France and Great Britain.[1]

---

[1] Since the gilds (§ 12) had been far more prominent on the Contine than in the British Isles, the *brotherhoods of gild workers* were more important in continental countries, and survived until the nineteenth century. With the introduction of machinery and factories, they ceased, however, to have influence that they had exercised in previous centuries.

German industrial unions.

483. Employers and Employees. — It is inevitable that the employers and the workmen should desire radically different provisions for the *contracts* under which the workers are employed. In consequence, disputes are exceedingly numerous, and are frequently of such a character that *strikes* result. One strike in France in 1909 presented a more serious problem than any strike that we have had in America since the Pullman Railway strike of 1894.[2] The miners' strike in England in 1912 also caused widespread distress, and presented a serious national problem.

Disputes over conditions of work.

Usually strikes, even important strikes, have been settled without interference by the government of the country in which they have occurred, but *several of the continental countries* have had for years *industrial courts* or councils in each community, to which the individual workman may bring his dispute with his employer. Usually these courts or councils, which are made of equal number of workmen and employers, deal only with individual problems, but in a few countries disputes of *groups* of workers may also be taken to these courts.

Settlement of industrial disputes on the Continent.

In *England* less progress has been made in arranging *permanent boards* for *conciliation*, that is, for bringing to-

---

[1] Labor organizations are to be found in Austria, Italy, and in other European countries, but in none of them are the unions important.

[2] See Ashley, *American History*, § 474.

Labor problems in England.

gether employers and employees, and settling their differences, or for *the arbitration of labor disputes*, that is, the submission of the dispute to a group of outsiders.

Low wages paid in central and eastern Europe.

484. The Problem of a Living Wage. — Although wages are higher to-day than they were three fourths of a century ago (§ 211), a large number of workers are still employed at practically starvation wages. Moreover, the farther east and south we go from Great Britain and France, the lower is the daily wage. In Germany wages were little more than one half what they are for the same kind of work in the United States, and in Austria and Russia the daily pay of workers has been still lower.

The problem of a minimum wage in Great Britain.

In spite of the fact that the English workers have been fairly well paid compared with continental workmen, in *England* there have been a large number of underpaid industries. Among these have been the work done in tenement houses, usually known as the *sweated industries*. By a trades act of 1909 *wage boards* were created in each community to fix a *minimum wage* in any one or all of the sweated industries. When the miners' strike occurred a few years later, demand was made by the miners for a minimum wage of five shillings per day. The employers were unwilling to grant this, and the government did not care to make such a law; but it did authorize wage boards in each mining community to fix a minimum wage for regular adult *miners*. No employer dared pay a sum lower than the wage which the board fixed, except to apprentices.

War problems of labor legislation.

Other countries in which a minimum wage law is even more necessary than it is in Great Britain have thus far failed to fix such a minimum standard. Nowhere in Europe do we find a minimum wage provided for women workers, as in many American states, in order that they may maintain a proper standard of living. The war brings heavier pressure to bear upon workers in all industries, and makes it easier for employers and officials to overlook the laws that exist. It will therefore be especially necessary *in the years following the war* to enforce all existing laws, to make better laws for the protection of labor, and in other ways to take better care of workers who are first citizens and second employees.

General References

Day, *History of Commerce*, Part IV.
Herrick, *History of Commerce and Industry.*
Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, 191–269.
Hobson, *Evolution of Modern Capitalism.*
Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century — Economic and Industrial Progress.*
Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe.*
Ashley (ed.), *British Industries.*
Dawson, *Evolution of Modern Germany.*
McPherson, *Transportation in Europe.*
Hauser, *Germany's Commercial Grip on the World.*
Whelpley, *The Trade of the World.*
Ashley, *Modern Tariff History.*
Gompers, *Labor in Europe and America.*

Topics

COAL IN MODERN INDUSTRY: Brigham, *Commercial Geography*, 79–91; Day, *History of Commerce*, 270–279; Smith, *Industrial and Commercial Geography*, 371–394.

BRITISH LABOR UNIONS SINCE 1871: Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, 256–269; Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 429–449; Hayes (ed.), *British Social Politics*, 77–106.

Studies

1. Progress of sailing and steam-navigation. Gibbins, *The Nineteenth Century*, 478–480.
2. The world's food supply. Roorbach, G. B., in *Annals of American Academy*, 74 (1917), 1–33.
3. British resources and industries. Smith, *Commerce and Industry*, 351–363.

4. Present and future of England's commerce. Day, *History of Commerce*, 381–389.

5. The part of the German state in economic expansion. Hauser, *Germany's Commercial Grip on the World*, 140–155.

6. Trade strategy. Whelpley, *The Trade of the World*, 3–37.

7. Methods used by Germany to increase commerce. Hauser, *Germany's Commercial Grip on the World*, 157–171.

8. Cape to Cairo railway. Freeman, L. R., in *Review of Reviews*, 50 (1914), 64–80.

9. Modernization of Asia by railway. Freeman, L. R., in *Review of Reviews*, 47 (1913), 193–208.

10. Coal and iron — and the domination of the world. Barker, J. E., in *Nineteenth Century*, 83 (1918), 698–714.

11. Development of large scale industry. Hobson, *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, 117–125.

12. Iron machinery, and manufactures. Day, *History of Commerce*, 280–286.

13. Effect of free trade on Great Britain. Tickner, *Social and Industrial History of England*, 609–620.

14. Effect of government control on railway rates and finances. McPherson, *Transportation in Europe*, 158–175.

15. British labor unions in the mid-nineteenth century. Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, 201–212.

16. French unions. Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 463–470.

17. British views on minimum wage. Hayes (ed.), *British Social Politics*, 238–247.

18. Meaning of the minimum wage. Bruere, R. W., in *Harpers*, 132 (1916), 276–282.

Questions

1. Why is international trade to so large an extent a product of the last century? What are some of the important objects of commerce? Where are they produced, and where are they consumed?

2. Give some idea of the volume and character of British commerce. To what extent is it carried on between the mother country and the colonies? between America and England? What are some characteristics of British export methods? Why is London the clearing-house of the world?

3. Give reasons for the rapid development of German industry and commerce in the last half century. Name some methods used by German exporters which we have discontinued in this country because they are unfair. What is the nature of a German cartel? To what extent are colonies an advantage or a disadvantage economically? What are the political gains and opportunities that come to a country from a large share of the world's trade?

4. What is capital? What is the connection of capital with the Industrial Revolution? Why do we have large scale industry, and division of labor, in modern production?

5. To what extent is production dependent on natural sources? What part is played by coal in the industrial development of a nation? Why is iron so much more important in modern times than it was in the medieval and ancient worlds? What is the part played by steel in the present age? Name several uses of steel unknown a century ago.

6. Name the different types of industrial combinations found in Europe and America. Explain each as fully as possible. Why has there been more governmental supervision of industry in Europe than in America? Compare our tariff and anti-trust laws with those in use in Europe.

7. Show how the relation of employer to employee has changed radically since the Industrial Revolution. Is the labor union the natural accompaniment of large scale production? Why are labor unions relatively larger and more important in Europe than in America? What has the British government done for the labor unions in recent years?

8. What is meant by "direct action," which is employed by the syndicalists? Explain the terms general strike and sabotage. What are the industrial courts or councils found in continental Europe? How does England handle her labor disputes? Should there be a minimum wage for European workers? How is the war affecting the labor situation and problem?

CHAPTER XXV

BETTERMENT AND PROGRESS

SOCIAL INSURANCE

Social insurance *vs.* charity.

485. Need and Forms. — Since wages are lower in Europe than in America, it is less easy for European workers to save money and thus provide for themselves or their families in case of sickness, invalidity, old age, industrial accident, or death. It has been especially necessary, therefore, that the European governments should help them in case one of these misfortunes overtook them. Formerly the governments gave aid only in the form of charity to those who applied for it, but charity seemed a gift, whereas the worker had earned a rest if he were old, or care if he had been injured.[1] Forms of social insurance were developed for the further reason that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

Character and forms.

By *social insurance* is meant the plan of providing, through the coöperation of the public, the worker, and the employer, for future emergencies. It is usually provided against sickness, invalidity, old age, accident, death, and unemployment. The methods used in different European countries are numerous, but the same ideas are found in most of the plans. For example, the worker would naturally pay a larger share into the fund from which he would draw in case of sickness or old age than he would in the case of an industrial accident, for the accident would not be due to his fault, whereas the sickness might be prevented by him, and he has a great many years in which to pay for an old age retirement wage.

---

[1] In other words the worker had given his time and labor for society when he was young and well. Society therefore owed him such care as he needed, and society could not pay what it owed by charity.

Why the public should pay for industrial accidents through the employers.

486. Compensation for Industrial Accidents. — Nowadays most industrial accidents are due either to the perilous nature of the business or to the use of dangerous machines. The building of bridges or "sky-scrapers," the use of locomotives and trains, even the ironing of collars or napkins on unprotected machines lead to many accidents. The fault is not necessarily that of the worker, because he may have been careful; nor is it that of the employer, because he may have the safest machines that he can buy. *The cost of accidents should then be borne by the public,* which demands the goods that these workers are making. It should be counted as part of the cost of the articles just as the materials or the labor are a part of the cost, and it should therefore be paid *through* employers, because they can add the amount paid for accidents to the price of the articles.

Payment in case of temporary disability.

At the present time practically all Europe provides compensation for the worker who is disabled, or for his family in case of death. These laws make a distinction between an accident that is temporary and one that is permanent. Little injuries that keep a worker away from employment a day or two are not counted, but if a laborer is disabled for six months, he receives from the accident fund an amount equal to part of his former wage, usually from one half to two thirds of the sum that he has been receiving.

Two systems for payment in case of permanent disability or death.

In case of permanent disability the worker receives, or in case of death his family receives, compensation in order that they may not become public charges dependent on charity. There are two main systems of paying for *permanent disability.* The first consists of a *lump sum* of from two years' wages to six years' wages; it is used in

Great Britain, some smaller European countries, in some British colonies, and in many American states. The other system provides for payment during the lifetime of the worker, or in case of death, during the dependence of his widow or young children, of an amount equal to from *one fifth to two thirds of the worker's wages*, according to the number of people who have been dependent on him.

Purpose of sickness insurance law.

487. Sickness Insurance. — In America, men who wish to avoid the losses due to unexpected sickness insure themselves. In most countries of Europe, however, ordinary wage-earners are compelled or expected to take out insurance in companies approved by the government. In this way laborers provide for their families in case they are out of work because of sickness; and as a result fewer people are obliged to apply for charity.

Comparison of compulsory and voluntary plans in Europe.

Compulsory insurance against sickness for workers in most industries is enforced in Great Britain; in Germany it is demanded of workmen who earn less than $500 a year, and in Austria and Norway for some workers. In Europe *voluntary insurance* by workers against sickness is quite as common as compulsory insurance. This is provided usually in the form of government aid and encouragement to private societies or companies, in which workers may insure or not, at their option. Before 1914, for example, about fifty per cent of all French workmen had taken advantage of this opportunity and had actually insured in private organizations.

Provisions of the British sickness insurance law.

The *British law* may be described as a good type of sickness insurance. If a worker earns more than 15 shillings ($3.65) a week, he pays four pence (8 cents) per week into the insurance fund, and his employer and the government pay a somewhat smaller amount; but, if he receives less than 15 shillings, he pays less than four pence. He does not pay anything if he earns less than 9 shillings a week, and his employer and the government pay a correspondingly larger amount. The very poor man is therefore not compelled to take anything out of his starvation wages in order to be insured against sickness. There is also this slight inducement for the employer to pay larger wages.

Reasons for and character of contributory pension system.

488. Old Age Pensions. — The care of the aged poor is an important problem in practically all European countries. Since many European laborers work for only a little more than is necessary to keep the body provided with food, clothing, and shelter, they are able to save very little. Unless there is some special inducement to make them save for old age, most of them are likely to lay aside far less than they will need when they are no longer able to earn. Years ago the problem of the aged poor was solved in part in poorhouses, or workhouses, or by outdoor relief to those that were needy.[1] In order that the worker should look forward to something better than assistance as a pauper, many countries, especially France, encouraged and helped the ordinary worker to save. Old age pensions under government supervision were first used about thirty years ago; but in all older systems of government pension, the workers were compelled to contribute a small sum per week, or per year. These systems are now found in France and in Germany.

Provisions of British law.

Great Britain gives old age pensions of from one to five shillings a week to men or women over seventy years of age who need that help. No one may receive a pension if he has an independent income of his own amounting to more than $153.40 a year. About a million old men and women now benefit by this help from the government. A few of them are absolutely dependent upon it, but ordinarily an aged person who has no income whatever must be cared for in a government institution.

---

[1] E. E. C., §§ 507, 713, 715, and this volume § 99.

Provisions of British laws.

489. Unemployment. — In the opinion of Europeans, necessary public protection for workers has included not only the forms of social insurance which have just been treated, but also provisions to reduce unemployment. Although not a pioneer in state aid to the unemployed, *Great Britain* has gone farther than other countries. In 1909 a *labor exchanges act* was passed by Parliament; under this more than four hundred labor exchanges have been organized. It is the purpose of these bureaus to enroll men out of work, to classify them according to their capacity, or experiences, and to bring employers and employees together, giving each opportunity to make a contract with the other. By *the British national insurance act* of 1911 about two and a half million workingmen in building and engineering trades *were compelled to insure against unemployment.* A fund was created to which workmen contribute 5 cents a week, the employers paying a similar amount, and the state about two thirds as much. In case of unemployment, the workman is entitled for a period of fifteen weeks to $1.75 per week.

Unemployment insurance elsewhere in Europe.

In some of the European countries, especially Denmark, the government gives help to properly organized private employment organizations. *Private insurance against unemployment*, however, is quite irregular and rather unsatisfactory. In spite of the great development of state-controlled social insurance schemes in Germany, employment bureaus are maintained not by the imperial government, but by the German cities. Of all forms of social insurance, that dealing with unemployment has made less progress in Europe than any other.

Social Welfare Work

Unsatisfactory poor laws before 1834.

490. Care of the Poor in England. — A century and a half ago no one thought of doing much more than relieving poverty (§ 99), and many of the poor laws were quite unwise. By 1830 ten times as much revenue was raised by the poor rates as in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Character and effect of the law of 1834.

By the *Poor Law of 1834* most of the abuses of the old system were checked or actually removed. The care of the poor was intrusted to a smaller number of officials than before, and they were not allowed to help able-bodied applicants for relief either in workhouses or in their homes. The number of paupers, which had reached one in twelve of the whole population, was reduced by one half, although the population was growing rapidly.

Old remedies and new for poverty.

In recent years the administration of the poor law has been improved considerably, but the present aim of the authorities in England is to solve the problem of poverty through old age pensions, compensation for accidents, and other remedies which will keep the worker from becoming a pauper.

Care of the continental poor in the early modern period.

491. Care of the Poor on the Continent. — In the Middle Ages the poor of the Continent were cared for exclusively by the church authorities. When northern Europe broke away from the older church, at the time of the Protestant Revolution,[1] it was necessary for the authorities of the local governments to take care of paupers, and other needy persons in their own communities. Most of the Belgian towns, notably Ypres, began to devise better means of caring for the poor than the more conservative church authorities had deemed necessary. Until the nineteenth century, however, the care of the poor in both Catholic and Protestant countries of continental Europe was far less satisfactory than it should have been.

Private and public charity in France.

In *France* the poor and the sick have been looked after more largely by voluntary organizations than was the case in England after the time of Elizabeth.[2] At the present time, the French governments do not raise taxes for the care of the poor in general, and even the pauper must depend chiefly upon private charity. However, French public officials provide hospitals and homes for the aged poor, orphans, and others absolutely incapable of taking care of themselves. The French also have some dispensaries similar to those maintained in American cities,[1] and considerable outdoor relief is also furnished by the local governments.

---

[1] E. E. C., §§ 675–686.

[2] E. E. C., § 715.

Systems of poor relief in the Rhine valley.

In *Germany* the care of the poor has been left to the local authorities, and strangely enough, there is little uniformity through the different states of the empire. In a few cities of western Germany systems of poor relief have been developed which are administered by some of the most public-spirited citizens of those towns. Poorhouses are used for those who need them, and poor farms for those who wish work but cannot find it, or for those who can work but will not do it.

Seriousness of problem of poverty in southern Europe.

In *southern and eastern Europe* beggars abound, and poverty is so common as not to be exceptional. It would be difficult for most of these peoples to devise perfectly satisfactory systems of poor relief, because their problem is so great. Possibly for that reason, state systems of caring for the poor are considerably less satisfactory in those countries than elsewhere in Europe or in America.

Contrast between areas of small farmers and of large proprietors.

492. The Land and the Landless. — In the United States, at least until recent years, the problem of poverty has not been nearly so serious as in Europe, chiefly because we had an abundance of western land, a parcel of which could be acquired by any earnest, hard-working citizen at little expense. In Europe, however, people are numerous and land is scarce. In studying the countries of Europe we are impressed, however, with *the great differences in the systems of landholding or tenure which are*

---

[1] See Ashley, *The New Civics*, § 254.

in use in different sections. In Great Britain,[1] in Germany, and in much of Spain, Italy, Austria, and Russia, most of the land is held by *large landed proprietors* who are, as a rule, members of the aristocracy, and possibly influential in the government of their country. On the contrary, in France (§ 202), Belgium,[2] and some parts of Holland, Switzerland, and of western Germany, the large landowner is almost unknown. In those countries the land is divided into small areas or farms, and the number of *peasant proprietors* is amazingly large, although many of these small farmers, or "little landers" are tenants.

The land problem in *central* and *eastern* Europe.

In *Russia* one of the first acts of the revolutionary government in 1917 was to confiscate the royal lands, and a large part of the nobles' land, for subdivision among the peasants. What the ultimate solution of the land problem in Russia may be only the future can show. In Germany, Austria, and Italy it is hoped that social changes which should follow the Great War will reduce the size and the number of large estates, and will give at least a fair number of farmers ownership of their own land.

Old disabilities and newer rights of British women.

493. Position of Women. — The lot of a European woman is one not to be envied. To an American girl, accustomed to a remarkable amount of freedom in public, as well as elsewhere, the restricted life of even a British girl seems antiquated, and the secluded lives of continental girls and women scarcely less than medieval. *In no European country did a married woman have many legal rights before the Great War.* It does not seem credible that even enlightened Great Britain had refused to let married women keep control of their own property. One wonders what may have been the status and social position of women on the Continent! The war has brought to English women some relief from legal oppression; it is also conferring upon them privileges which grant them a share in the government of Great Britain.

---

[1] We have noticed that, by the use of the *Irish land purchase acts* (§ 365), nearly one half the Irish farmers have begun to pay for their farms, which they formerly held as tenants. *Recent English laws* permit the county councils to acquire land which they can let out to tenants on favorable leases. A far larger number of farmers are taking advantage of this law than of an earlier English land purchase act.

[2] In *Belgium*, before 1914, the number of owners of farms was not large, although the number of small farms was great, especially in the more prosperous and fertile districts of northwestern Belgium. Before the war there was great demand among Belgian tenant farmers for land, as was the case with the Irish a century ago; in consequence exorbitant rents are paid, and even the well-known intensive cultivation of the Belgians produces barely enough to enable the tenant farmers to pay their expenses.

Status of continental women.

In comparison with the English girl, the girl of France has been brought up in retirement and seclusion. The continental woman has been allowed one "privilege" which her British or American sister has not used, that of working in the fields. Especially in Germany have women been treated with little consideration (§ 303), for in that respect Germany clings to the semi-medieval order still found in many parts of eastern and southern Europe.

Influence of the Great War on the position of women in allied countries.

The Great War has had a considerable influence upon the position of European women, and will undoubtedly have a greater effect as the years pass. At the outbreak of war, not many more than two million British women were engaged in industry, about two thirds of whom were in textile or clothing factories or shops. Because many men were called to the front, and were taken from their work at machine or desk, women were in many cases forced to take their places. The effect of these *new occupations,* in which women are brought in contact with people in general, will probably do away with the habits of seclusion in which women formerly lived, especially in France. The war, however, has added to the burden of women workers. In France, for example, several million women undoubtedly have been obliged to carry heavier work in the fields than was necessary before the men of the families were called to the army. The problems of providing properly for the women of the war areas, especially if they have become active workers with the public, and of giving all European women more rights and privileges, are among the most serious that confront the future.

Essential work for child welfare.

494. Care of the Child. — The real development of any people may be measured rather accurately by the care that they take of children; for those far-seeing persons have spoken truly who say that children are the nation's greatest asset. Something has been done in modern Europe, even if very little, to improve the *home conditions* of the small child; and modern medical science and *sanitation* have reduced considerably the death rate among infants. Even yet, Europe has made less progress in that respect than has America, and we hope that we are only beginning that great work.[1] Great Britain, France, and Germany have *compulsory education* laws for boys, and presumably for girls, until they have finished the common schools; nevertheless at least two thirds of the British children over twelve years of age are not in school. Moreover, the type of education that is offered everywhere leaves much to be desired.

Incomplete and unsatisfactory child labor laws.

Although Europe is so well supplied with workers, their *child labor laws* are decidedly inferior to ours. In practically no country do we find laws similar to those enacted in our American states,[2] which prohibit the work of children in factories and other occupations before the age of fourteen. To be sure, France and Germany forbid much child work under thirteen, and Great Britain[3] and most other European countries do not allow children to work until they are twelve. Usually, however, the younger children are allowed to work before or after school, even in factories, at occupations which would not be permitted by American laws.

---

[1] See Ashley, *The New Civics*, §§ 8, 9, 130, 251, 255–259.

[2] See Ashley, *The New Civics*, §§ 262–263.

[3] Among the educational provisions for children granted by the recent reform laws of Great Britain is the law of 1906, which provides meals for poor school children who otherwise would be hungry.

Inadequate protection of youthful and women workers.

Young persons above the age of thirteen are not safeguarded as well as children, but almost everywhere in Western and Central Europe boys and girls under eighteen and women are forbidden to work in mines or at night. In this respect Germany is an exception, because she allows boys of fourteen to work in her coal mines. Moreover, the hours of work for European women are practically the same as for men, and are usually at least eleven hours a day. In France and Belgium, however, one day a week must be taken as a day of rest, and one or two other countries declare that no work shall be done on Sunday.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

General education before the nineteenth century.

495. Public Education before the Nineteenth Century. — Public education is distinctively a thing of the last century; usually it is closely associated with the development of democracy. As we shall recall, schools were fairly numerous during the Middle Ages, and particularly after the beginning of the Reformation. But these were not public schools because they were connected with the churches of the different parishes, and were usually taught by the priests or their assistants. *Scotland* was among the first of the countries to make provision for grammar schools in practically every parish, yet each Scotch school belonged to the "kirk" rather than to the community; it was for the purpose of preparing a boy for the university in order that he might enter the ministry rather than that he might be educated for other work.

France, with the beginning of the great Revolution, planned a complete scheme of public education (§ 169), but her plan was an unfulfilled dream.

496. Education in England. — Although church schools and some town schools were in use in England as early as the sixteenth century,[1] little progress was made in development of public education in England before 1870. After the middle of the nineteenth century the government made grants of money to some schools, but the amount was proportional to the results obtained, and the results were determined by inspection and examination. The evils of the system of "payment by results" were numerous and serious.

Slow growth of public education in England.

By the educational act of 1870 (§ 345), in each community there was created a board which had charge of free primary schools. If necessary, books, clothing, and some meals were furnished to the students, and the *board schools* long carried the stigma of being the charity schools which they had replaced. Later, all schools, public and denominational, were brought under the county councils (§ 360), and to-day most English primary schools are supported by the public, although some of them are controlled by the established church or by the Wes′ley-an church.

Educational acts of 1870 and 1902.

Public education has not made great progress in Great Britain, and the system of primary schools is not well organized or developed. English *grammar schools* frequently have advanced courses for boys and girls to the age of fifteen or sixteen. Many reforms were proposed in the educational act before Parliament in 1918. Most of the *high schools* of England are private, and many of them, such as E′ton, date back to the period of the Renaissance. There is real need of reorganizing secondary education throughout the kingdom. Some of the older universities, such as Oxford and Cambridge, furnish an excellent education, and many cities, such as London, Birmingham, and Manchester, have established

English schools, public and private.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 718.

colleges which give a more practical education than is found in the classical universities.

Character and purpose of English education.

The English system is not very democratic, nor is the instruction as thorough as one might expect. Teachers are likely to be selected for their influence rather than for their ability, because stress is placed upon the development of character rather than upon the acquisition of knowledge.

General purpose of German elementary education.

497. Education in Germany. — In Germany education is under the supervision of the separate states of the empire; but the school system is an integral part of the whole German scheme (§§ 302–303). *German schools are class institutions* with lower or semi-trade schools for the common people[1] and higher schools for the upper classes. Particular attention is paid to giving students an immense amount of information, and severe examinations occur with remarkable regularity.[2] Nevertheless, the main object of the *elementary schools* is to teach the child to obey and to understand that he is but a part of the great state machine. He is therefore not trained to do his own thinking, or to be independent, but to work hard, and to do as he is told. Coupled with the characteristics of the north German, who is "incapable of freely understanding the moods of other nations, and of living in harmony with other people,"[3] this education has produced dire results, as shown in the history of recent years. It can thus be seen that Germany educates the classes in one way and the masses in another.

---

[1] In some industrial centers of southern and western Germany *continuation schools* have been established, in which instruction is given about six hours a week to youthful workers in the shops and factories, the time being taken from their hours of work. *It is of course practically impossible to go from the higher grades of the elementary school and from the continuation schools into higher institutions of learning.*

[2] So strenuous is the German method, and so exacting the examinations, that more than 10,000 suicides occur each year among students of the country. Some of these are due to overstrain, but many are caused by failures in examination.

[3] Rohrbach, *German World Policies*, p. 221.

Higher schools in Germany

For the student who belongs to the higher social classes, or who has shown in the primary grades particular aptitude, there are *gymnasia* or classical schools, in which special attention is given to *Greek and Latin*, and boys' schools and some girls' schools in which particular attention is given to modern languages and *science*.

Highest classical and scientific institutions.

The German *universities* are well attended. Besides the older classical universities there are *technical institutions* which specialize in *science* and applied science. It is to be noted, however, that although these German institutions are graduating very well-informed scholars whose work is characterized by excessive thoroughness, Germany has produced comparatively few of the world's great scientists or thinkers.

Centralized French system of elementary education.

498. Education in France. — The French system of education, based as it is upon the scientifically arranged scheme of Napoleon (§ 169), is the most orderly and complete to be found anywhere in the world. It is very highly centralized, for the educational authorities in Paris direct the whole scheme, and the prefect, who is the political head of the department, legally if not actually appoints all school teachers. The French system provides for *compulsory education* of girls as well as boys during the *primary and grammar grade* school ages. Each community has its public school, in which particular attention is given to moral and civic instruction, mathematics, French, history, geography, and science. The students are taught carefully, but out-of-door sports and independent methods are not encouraged. For a student who finishes the grammar grades and secures his certificate of promotion, *higher schools* are provided.

The *French secondary school* covers the years corresponding to our intermediate and high schools. The

Secondary and higher schools.

public schools are of two kinds, those maintained by the state, the Lycées,[1] and the local schools known as colleges. Besides these public schools are the *private colleges* maintained by the Jesuits and other religious orders. Particular attention is paid to Latin, Greek, and French, but foreign modern languages are taught, and many students take history, geography, and science. The instruction is frequently of the lecture notebook character, and the work of the school is described by all observers as rather lifeless and uninteresting. Above the higher grammar schools and the regular secondary schools are the *French universities.* About one half of the university students in the whole of France are to be found in the University in Paris, which has a large number of distinguished colleges.

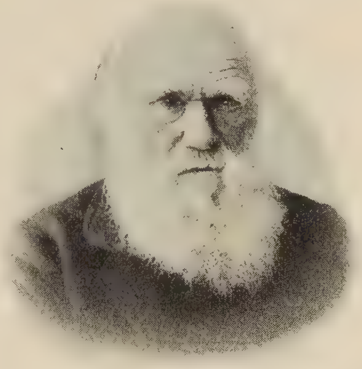
A French Lycée, Paris

---

[1] The courses in history for upper grammar grades and secondary schools are considered, by many competent scholars, the best in the world.

499. Modern Scientific Progress. — The last hundred years are distinguished not only as a century of public education, but as a century of marvelous scientific and technical progress. It seems incredible that less than four centuries ago Co-per′ni-cus[1] was afraid to publish his epoch-making ideas in regard to the nature of our universe. We do not know very much yet about the solar system in which we live, but with the improvement of giant telescopes, with the progress of astronomical mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, and zoölogy, we do know more than we did about ourselves, the animal world, the earth, our solar system, and the universe of which our planet is an infinitesimal part. It would be impossible in a single section even to give a list of the names of the great scientists of the last century or two.

Great advance in human scientific knowledge.


CHARLES DARWIN

Our knowledge of ourselves and of this earth owes much to two men. One of these is the geologist, *Lyell*, who first gave us in scientific and popular form a good idea of the extreme antiquity of the earth.[2] Following Lyell came Charles *Darwin*, who in 1859 published his book on "The Origin of Species." Darwin's writings gave impetus to the modern ideas that all organisms and organ-

The world's debt to Lyell and Darwin.

---

[1] E. E. C., § 728.

[2] He showed that some of the layers of rock found exposed on the earth's surface or at considerable depth must have been made ages ago by processes similar to those occurring at the bottoms of lakes and oceans, at the present time. By the finding of fossil remains, he showed that animal life must have existed on this planet in very remote ages.

izations grow, that some of them as they change are better adapted to their environment, that is, conditions in which they exist, than others, and that those which are best adapted are most likely to survive. These ideas, applied at first only to animals and plants, have revolutionized practically all sciences and other studies, because nowadays history and sociology, as well as zoölogy and botany, are studies of organizations which are growing and changing. To the general process of orderly growth the name evolution is applied, but evolution must not be confused with the specific ideas suggested by Darwin, *i.e.* with Darwinism. In the realm of philosophy the writings of Herbert *Spencer* were influenced by Darwin.

Progress of some sciences especially valuable to man.

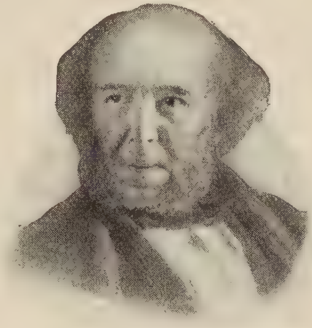
Among the marvelous scientific discoveries of recent decades have been those connected with *electricity*, which is not only a modern but a recent subject, and those associated with *chemistry*, particularly the character of the elements of nature and the way in which those elements are combined to form substances and compounds. Many scholars specialize on the study of physico-chemical energy. Among the most distinguished achievements of the nineteenth century were the discoveries by Louis *Pas-teur′* regarding the nature of *bacteria*, the minute organisms which are found everywhere in the animal and plant world. His researches showed that many diseases are due to special kinds of bacteria or germs, and many of his successors have been able successfully to combat a deadly disease by learning the nature and habits of some of these dangerous parasites.

Preparation before 1800 for rapid mechanical development.

500. Inventions and Development. — The nineteenth century and of course later years are distinguished for *marvelous mechanical changes*. The close of the eighteenth century witnessed the invention of a series of machines which revolutionized methods of spinning and weaving, and the perfection of the steam engine, which utilized the wonderful forces of steam. It is not strange, therefore, that the nineteenth century should have seen the creation of mechanical processes and instruments which make it possible in the early twentieth century to create and to destroy much more than in previous centuries, and to travel on land, by sea, under the sea, or in the air.

Nineteenth century wonders.

Even a list of new inventions or mechanisms would be appallingly long. The *steam locomotive* and the *steamboat* we mentioned in connection with early nineteenth century history (§ 192). The *telegraph* also belongs to that period, but the *telephone* is a development of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. *Photography*, which is performing miracles now commonplace, in sketching scenes on the battlefield or in the study of stars which otherwise are unknown and invisible, may be practiced by those who can afford an inexpensive camera and know enough to press a button and to turn a roll. The *cylinder printing press*, invented less than a hundred years ago, makes possible a diffusion of knowledge which in turn demands that all men should read. Control of fire, for which Prometheus, according to the Greek legend, dared the wrath of the gods and suffered unending torture, is furnished to all practically without cost by the humble friction *match*.



HERBERT SPENCER

Among the mechanical wonders of modern years are the arc light, the incandescent lamp, the automobile, the airplane, and hundreds of others, less known perhaps, but

More modern mechanical miracles.

filling a very important place in the newer world. Without the development of great factories, huge modern cities would not be needed, but it would not be possible to construct them if we did not have steel sky-scrapers or huge reënforced concrete buildings. Commerce over seas could not be developed to the vast proportions attained in recent years but for the huge steel steamships longer than a city block, and as high as most city buildings.

Progress and Problems

The old order and the Great War.

501. The Old Order. — Every one understands that before the French Revolution there was an old order or "ancien régime"; but many people do not realize that before the Great War there existed, at least in Central and Eastern Europe, another old order, more modern than that of the eighteenth century and different in many respects, but nevertheless a true ancient régime from the standpoint of America and the twentieth century. Wars always bring great changes, and the greatest war of history undoubtedly will produce greater changes than any previous series of conflicts. For years to come, the old order will be changing, "yielding place to new."

Absolutist, militarist, and unjust character of autocratic rule.

The old order of the early twentieth century was distinguished by the extreme development of separate nations; and each nation was often out of sympathy for, and contemptuous of, its neighbors. To carry out their own national plans, ideas, and schemes, many of the Great Powers depended upon systems of *militarism*, maintained by conscription, and involving vast expenditures, and therefore heavy taxes. As a rule, *these nations and schemes were not democratic*, but were intended to further the ambitious plans of absolute rulers and of military court parties that cared nothing for the people who fought their wars and paid their bills. As a rule, also, these members of the royal house and these nobles had vast estates and an extraordinary amount of political power or influence, and numerous *privileges which were denied to the ordinary citizen.* They looked upon themselves as the lords of creation, and they acted accordingly.

Degraded condition the comm people.

The *common people* were as numerous as the third estate and the lower estates of France before 1789, and they had just as little real share in the government of their country or in opportunities to better their condition and gain for themselves decent standards of living. They were to a large extent in a state of bondage. This was especially true of *women,* who had no real social or legal rights, and of those people whose ignorance prevented them from rising out of the state into which they were born.

Peace and general humanita- rian move ments.

Even before 1914 there were movements, in addition to those mentioned in this chapter and the preceding chapters, for the general betterment of Europe. Efforts were made, chiefly by America and the countries of the Triple Entente, to create peace tribunals, and to agree upon certain rules and regulations which would be observed by all civilized peoples. *Two Hague Conferences,* held in 1899 and 1907, sought to maintain peace, to make such rules, to create peace tribunals, and to bring about a better understanding among the Great Powers. Events since 1914 show how fanciful were the ideas and how futile the plans of the peace advocates under the old order of the early twentieth century. Organizations such as the Red Cross, started by a large-hearted humanitarian after the battle of Solferino (§ 238), had grown to giant proportions, ready to relieve suffering and distress everywhere.

War powers, w govern- ments, an condition after peac

502. War and Changed Conditions. — We cannot foresee what may be the ultimate effect of the Great War on the old order of the early twentieth century; but we do know that it has already changed absolutely many conditions in Europe and America. *Every country has* *reorganized its government on a war basis and has conferred upon some person or group of persons almost dictatorial powers.* Human life has been sacrificed on a scale unprecedented since the days of the Assyrians and Attila the Hun. Wealth as well as men has been placed at the complete disposal of the different governments, which in addition have regulated food supplies and controlled many details of life hitherto undisturbed even in Germany or Russia. The extreme concentration of authority in the hands of a few becomes, however, a menace to democracy if retained after war ceases. In many countries a struggle will ensue between those who have gained power and those who have conferred it. *Undoubtedly the ultimate victory will be with the people,* but the temporary advantage may be with a new autocracy, unless peace terms can make democracy universal.

Human losses and handicaps.

Although *conditions* growing out of the war may be favorable to the creation of a new and better order of things, that is only one side of the picture. Temporarily at least the outlook seems discouraging. Already millions have been killed and tens of millions maimed. In every one of the warring countries there will be *armies of cripples,* maimed or so weakened by disease or wounds that they cannot carry the full burden of a man's work; and in some cases they may be purely and simply a burden to society. Everywhere schools have been opened for the training of these war cripples in the work for which they are fitted. In many cases their *education* must begin anew, because by education they can retain their self-respect and become useful workers.

Financial burdens after war.

Before January, 1918, the total increase in *war debts* amounted to more than the total wealth of Great Britain before the war broke out. This vast sum did not include huge amounts raised by taxation, nor did it take any account of property destroyed, nor of wealth that would have been produced had there been no conflict, nor of other indirect costs of the war. It is impossible to measure these losses. But the burden of *heavy taxes* and the weight of huge debts will remain with the nations for years and possibly generations to come. These are a few of the numerous handicaps with which the generation after the war will start its new struggle along the upward path of civilization.

503. Future Policies and Problems. — *Peace terms may mark out new national boundaries, but peace treaties cannot solve national problems.* Neither peace conferences nor governments, but the peoples must decide what ideas should be theirs in the years to come. Shall they keep their old class distinctions, or shall those be abandoned? What privileges can and should be retained? To what extent shall the law recognize democracy, not in prescribing who may vote, but in giving a government "*of* the people, *for* the people, and *by* the people"? To be really democratic there must be an economic democracy as well as one that is political. Will the proletarian find that this struggle will give him rights and opportunities such as he deserves, because he has fought bravely and without thought of self? Or will the shortage of labor, the increased influence of capital, make him more than ever the tool of the man of wealth?

Some pro
lems of tl
governments aft
war.

The work of reconstruction will be world wide, and yet the actual task of restoration will be different in the war area from that found elsewhere, since the people of heroic little Belgium, of devastated eastern France, of stricken Poland, and of ravaged Serbia have paid for humanity a price that is inestimable. Upon humanity should be laid the burden of reconstruction for those suffering races. The method by which this work shall be

The task
restoratio
in the wa
areas.

done differs in different areas, but it should be done, and well done, by others.

Dangers and needs.

It is futile to ask whether war losses will exceed war gains. Certainly many of the present losses will have been useless if such a world conflict could ever again arise. Humanity will be agreed that in the future no "Potsdam gang" and Potsdam conference can drench Europe in blood. If there is militarism, it will be militarism established by a league of the nations to maintain the peace, not only of those countries, but of the whole world.

Democracy and successful development.

The great problem of the future is not the organization of leagues for the maintenance of the peace of the world, but rather a true comprehension of humanity and its problems. We cannot change the old order of the twentieth century into a Utopia. If history teaches any lesson, it teaches this, that progress must be slow, that humanity does not develop through gifts, nor by abrupt development, but acquires its civilization by a severe upward struggle, a little at a time. If we but have judgment to know what is best of the old, and are permitted to keep some of that, we shall have made some progress. Better education is at the foundation of any really successful change. The European nations must learn what democracy is before they can become democratic. They must learn to use that democracy before they can understand what human rights are, and they must comprehend human rights and the obligations which go with human rights before they can work out problems of human welfare. As we have sent our soldiers by millions across the water to fight the battles of humanity, in the years following the great struggle, we must help our European brothers, through our better knowledge and through our greater experience of the ways of democracy.

General References

Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 227–292, 308–336.

Hayes (ed.), *British Social Politics.*

Alden, *Democratic England.*

Frankel and Dawson, *Workingmen's Insurance in Europe.*

Rubinow, *Social Insurance; Standards of Health Insurance.*

Woods, *English Social Movements.*

Aschrott and Thomas, *The English Poor Law System, Past and Present.*

Hughes, *The Making of Citizens, a Study in Comparative Education.*

Farrington, *The Public Primary Schools System of France; French Secondary Schools; Commercial Education in Germany.*

Sedgwick and Tyler, *Short History of Science*, 328–398.

Burns, *The Story of Great Inventions.*

Cochrane, *Modern Industrial Progress; Wonders of Modern Mechanism.*

Wallace, *et al.*, *The Wonderful Century.*

Cressy, *Discoveries and Inventions of the Twentieth Century.*

Topics

SICKNESS INSURANCE: Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 258–260, 272–274, 279–280, 283–292; Alden, *Democratic England*, 122–143; Frankel and Dawson, *Workingmen's Insurance in Europe*, 147–159, 169–227; Rubinow, *Social Insurance*, 224–280.

UNEMPLOYMENT: Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 250–254, 274–279; Alden, *Democratic England*, 87–121; Hayes (ed.), *British Social Politics*, 185–216; also Ch. X; Pigou, *Unemployment*, 203–241; Rubinow, *Social Insurance*, 441–479.

CARE OF THE CHILD: Alden, *Democratic England*, 28–61; Hayes (ed.), *British Social Politics*, 107–129; Bliss (ed.), *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, 177–187.

GERMAN EDUCATION: Tower, *Germany of To-day*, 129–159; Howe, *Socialized Germany*, 208–247; Barker, *Modern Germany*, 453–484.

Studies

1. Industrial accidents and their compensation. Carlton, *History and Problems of Organized Labor*, 300–310.

2. The problem of old age from the British point of view. Alden, *Democratic England*, 144–164.

3. Opposition in the House of Commons to the British Old Age Pension bill. Hayes (ed), *British Social Politics*, 143–151.

4. The English poor law of 1834. Slater, *Making of Modern England*, 99–106.

5. Report of the Poor Law Commission (1909). Hayes (ed.), *British Social Politics*, 187–191.

6. Land-holding on the Continent. Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 188–192, 201–204.

7. Land monopoly and relief in England. Alden, *Democratic England*, 243–253.

8. The war and women workers. Abbott, E., in *Journal Political Economy*, 25 (1917), 641–678.

9. Care of children's health in England. Alden, *Democratic England*, 28–52.

10. Improved sanitation in England. Slater, *Making of Modern England*, 160–173.

11. English educational systems in the nineteenth century. Tickner, *Social and Industrial History of England*, 621–636.

12. Education under the Third French Republic. Guérard, *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century*, 239–252.

13. German colleges of commerce. Farrington, *Commercial Education in Germany*, 196–218.

14. Progress in printing. Cochrane, *Wonders of Modern Mechanism*, 348–362.

15. The electric locomotive. Cochrane, *Wonders of Modern Mechanism*, 187–196.

16. The telegraph. Burns, *The Story of Great Inventions*, 126–139.

17. The telephone. Burns, *The Story of Great Inventions*, 140–147.

18. Wireless telegraphy. Burns, *The Story of Great Inventions*, 208–221.

Questions

1. What are the objections to charity as a real remedy for social problems? Why should society help pay the bills for

industrial accidents, unemployment, old age, and sickness? Name objections to public help as a relief for any of them.

2. Compare the plans used in Europe or in this country for the compensation of injured workers. What is the difference between compulsory sickness insurance and voluntary insurance? Describe the British system.

3. If workers should be pensioned by society when they become old, can society compel them to work in their youth? Explain the old age pension systems in use in England and on the Continent. To what extent have voluntary agencies been able to solve the unemployment problem? How have Great Britain and Germany attempted to work out that problem?

4. How was poverty relieved in the Middle Ages? What systems were used after the Reformation, but before modern times? Compare the English poor laws from the time of Elizabeth to the present, explaining excellencies of each. What have been the French and German methods of caring for the poor?

5. Do you find that the countries with the smallest area and largest population have large or small landholdings? In what parts of Europe do you find small holdings predominating? Can you explain why? Show what has been done in Great Britain to increase the number of small proprietors or tenants. Has anything been done since 1914 in central and eastern Europe to distribute land from large estates among former tenants?

6. Compare the position of the American girl and woman with that of her sisters in Great Britain. Show how English women are better off than those on the Continent. (In each case consider social position, legal rights, marriage customs, business opportunities, and conditions of work.) Compare child labor laws in this country and in Europe.

7. Which countries of Europe have free public schools for all, and give real opportunity for their use? Why was Scotland a pioneer in education? Give the history of education in England from the Middle Ages. Why does the English educational system leave much to be desired? How does Germany insist upon class education? What are the defects of elementary instruction in that country?

8. Give the commercial advantages of scientific education in German technical institutions. Why should science be taught more and better in the high schools of America? In what respects is the French educational system exceptionally well organized? What can we learn from the French system, for

example, in historical instruction? Name two defects of French schools.

9. Can you name any period in history before the Renaissance particularly distinguished for its scientific advance? Explain. Give some idea of modern scientific progress from Copernicus to Lyell and Darwin. How did those two men change our ideas in regard to our universe? Give some idea of progress in physics and chemistry.

10. Why do we refer to the last hundred years as the wonderful century? Name some machines or processes which did not exist in 1800, and explain at least three in a general way.

11. Make a careful study of the old régime that existed before the French Revolution (§§ 140, 146). Show what was the status of the people and the governments, in the early twentieth century, in central and eastern Europe. (Consider the same subjects as before, and if necessary others.)

12. Name a danger that has arisen out of the Great War. If military dictatorship survives in this country and in Europe after the war, would it not prevent the further development of democracy? What must be done to make European countries and governments democratic after the conflict has closed? Name several reasons why "the world must be made safe for democracy" and also name several ways in which it may be done.

13. Discuss fully at least two other problems of readjustment or reconstruction after the Great War. What can we do to help solve these problems? In the study of recent European history, what is the importance of knowing American history and of understanding conditions and problems in America to-day?

APPENDIX

I. TABLE OF SOVEREIGNS

England	France	Other Countries
Stuart Line (1603–1714)		
James I (1603–1625)		
Charles I (1625–1649)		
Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector (1653–1658)		
Richard Cromwell (1658–1660)		
Charles II (1660–1685)	Louis XIV (1643–1715)	Frederick William (1640–1688) (Brandenburg)
James II (1685–1688)		Peter the Great (1682–1725) (Russia)
William and Mary (1689–1702)		Philip V(1700–1746) (Bourbon king of Spain)
Anne (1702–1714)		
Hanoverian Line (1714–1901)		
George I (1714–1727)	Louis XV (1715–1774)	Frederick the Great (1740–1786) (Prussia)
George II (1727–1760)		
	Louis XVI (1774–1792)	Maria Theresa (1740–1780) (Austria)
George III (1760–1820)		
	The First Republic (1792–1799)	Joseph II (1765–1790) (emperor)
	The Consulate (1799–1804)	
	Empire of Napoleon (1804–1815)	Alexander I (1801–1825) (Russia)
	The Restoration (1814–1848)	
	Louis XVIII (1814–1824)	
George IV (1820–1830)	Charles X (1824–1830)	
William IV (1830–1837)	Louis Philippe (1830–1848)	
Victoria (1837–1901)	*The Second Republic* (1848–1852)	
	The Second Empire (1852–1870)	Alexander II (1855–1881) (Russia)
	The Third Republic (1870–)	Victor Emmanuel (1861–1878) (Italy)
		William I (1871–1888) (Germany)
		Francis Joseph I (1848–1916) (Austria-H.)
Windsor Line (1901–)		William II (1888–1918) (Germany)
Edward VII (1901–1910)		Nicholas II (1894–1917) (Russia)
George V (1910–		Victor Emmanuel III (1900–) (Italy)
		Karl I (Austria-H.) (1916–1918)

II. EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS

Country	Capital	Ruler	Parliament	Upper House	Lower House
Austria-Hungary	Vienna	Emperor-King Karl I	A.–Reichsrath	Herrenhaus (159)	Abgeordnethaus (516)
	Buda-Pest		H.–Orszaggyules	House of Magnates (303)	House of Representatives (453)
Belgium	Brussels	King Albert		Senate (120)	Chamber of Representatives (186)
Bulgaria	Sofia	King Boris	National Assembly (245)		
Denmark	Copenhagen	King Christian X	Rigsdag	Landsthing (72)	Folkething (140)
France	Paris	President Poincaré		Senate (300)	Chamber of Deputies (602)
German Empire	Berlin	Kaiser William II		Bundesrath (61)	Reichstag (397)
Great Britain	London	King George V	Parliament	House of Lords (670)	House of Commons (708)
Greece	Athens	King Alexander	Bulé (184)		
Italy	Rome	King Victor Emmanuel III	Parliament	Senate (401)	Chamber of

Montenegro	Cetinje	King Nicholas I	National Assemby (76)		[illegible]
Netherlands (Dutch)	Amsterdam	Queen Wilhelmina	States-General	First Chamber (50)	Second Chamber (100)
Norway	Christiania	King Haakon VII	Storting	Lagting (31)	Odelsting (92)
Portugal	Lisbon	President Machado		Second Chamber (71)	National Council (164)
Rumania	Bucharest	King Ferdinand I		Senate (120)	Chamber of Deputies (183)
Russia [1]	Petrograd	Tsar Nicholas II			
Serbia	Belgrade	King Peter I	National Assembly (166)		
Spain	Madrid	King Alphonso XIII	Cortes	Senate (343)	Congress (412)
Sweden	Stockholm	King Gustav V	Diet	First Chamber (150)	Second Chamber (230)
Switzerland	Berne	President	Parliament	Standerath (44)	Nationalrath (189)
Turkey	Constantinople	Sultan Mohammed V	(Committee of Union and Progress)		

[1] European Russia in 1916.

Figures in parenthesis give number of members.

III. STATISTICS OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

	Area	Population by Most Recent Census	Railway Mileage	Annual Exports[1]	Annual Imports[1]
Austria-Hungary	261,241	51,016,513	29,328	562,247,000	691,538,000
Belgium	11,373	7,423,784	5,451	717,152,000	974,623,000
Bulgaria	33,647	4,337,516	1,824	34,634,000	38,474,000
Denmark	15,582	2,940,979	2,271	209,101,000	213,137,000
France	207,054	39,252,245	31,958	931,131,000	1,225,397,000
German Empire	208,780	64,925,993	39,600	2,403,311,000	2,563,354,000
Great Britain	121,633	45,370,530	23,709	2,096,105,000	2,925,550,000
Greece	41,933	4,699,941	1,396	28,209,000	30,428,000
Italy	110,632	34,671,377	11,708	428,055,000	556,236,000
Montenegro	5,603	516,000	11	486,000	1,658,000
Netherlands (D.)	12,582	6,339,705	2,113	1,239,360,000	1,574,990,000
Norway	124,643	2,391,782	1,972	102,084,000	148,022,000
Portugal	34,254	5,545,595	1,854	38,110,000	96,096,000
Rumania	53,489	7,508,009	2,382	133,502,000	109,961,000
Russia	1,997,310	149,764,000	48,955	782,869,000	707,627,000
Serbia	18,650	2,911,701	977	22,565,000	22,277,000
Spain	194,783	20,500,287	9,225	163,855,000	195,480,000
Sweden	173,035	5,757,566	9,249	219,049,000	226,872,000
Switzerland	15,976	3,741,971	3,571	265,645,000	370,525,000
Turkey	10,882	1,891,000	3,842[2]	105,009,000[2]	193,024,000[2]

[1] Before the Great War.

[2] Whole Ottoman Empire.

IV. IMPORTANT FACTS AND EVENTS (1648–1919)[1]

1648	Peace of Westphalia
1649–1660	Commonwealth and Protectorate in England
1660	Restoration (English)
1643–1715	Reign of Louis XIV
	Early wars of Louis XIV
1685	Revocation of Edict of Nantes, France
1688	Glorious Revolution in England
1701–1713	War of the Spanish Succession
1713	Treaty of Utrecht
1682–1725	Reign of Peter the Great, Russia
1715	Beginning of Hanoverian rule, England
1740–1748	War of the Austrian Succession
1740–1785	Reign of Frederick II, Prussia
1756–1763	Seven Years' War
1759	Capture of Quebec
1763	Treaty of Paris
1763–1775	New British policy of control for English colonies
1765	Stamp Act
1776	American Declaration of Independence
1776	First successful steam engine
1777	Battle of Saratoga
1781	Siege of Yorktown
1783	Treaty of Paris, end of Revolutionary War
1785	Invention of power loom
1789	States-General in France
1789	Beginning of French Revolution
1792	First use of illuminating gas
1792–1799	First French Republic
1793	Beginning of General European Wars
1796	Napoleon's first campaigns
1799	Battle of the Nile. French Consulate
1801	Peace of Lunéville
1802	Peace of Amiens
1804–1814	Empire of Napoleon
1805	Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz
1806	End of Holy Roman Empire
1807	First successful steamboat
1807	Beginning of Napoleon's continental system

---

[1] Consult also chronological tables on pages 132–133, 196, 218, 272, 476–477, 606–607.

1807	Peace of Tilsit between Napoleon and Alexander of Russia
1812	Napoleon's disastrous Russian campaign
1814	First steam rotary printing press
1814–1815	Congress of Vienna
1815	Waterloo. Reaction in Europe
1820–1822	Congresses under Metternich to suppress republicanism
1823	Monroe Doctrine
1825	First successful railways First friction matches
1829	Independence of Greece
1830	July Revolution in France
1831	Belgian independence
1832	Reform Act in England
1834	German Zollverein
1837–1901	Reign of Victoria, England
1839	First daguerreotype photographs
1844	First successful telegraph
1846	First sewing machine
1848	Revolutions in France, Austria, Hungary, Prussia, Italian states, etc.
1848–1852	Second French Republic
1849	Suppression of Hungarian Republic and of Italian states
1850	"Humiliation of Olmütz"
1852–1870	Second French Empire
1854	Crimean War
1855	Invention of Bessemer steel process
1856	Congress of Paris
1859	Austro-Sardinian War
1860	Unification of Italy
1861	First typewriter
1861–1865	Civil War in America
1864	War between Denmark, Prussia, and Austria
1866	Austro-Prussian War
1867	North German Confederation organized
1867–1870	Reforms in England
1869	Opening of Suez Canal
1870–1871	Franco-German War
1871	Organization of German Empire
1876	First telephone

1878	Treaty of Berlin
	First electric light
1882	Triple Alliance organized
1889	First automobile
1890	End of Bismarck's rule
1891	Dual Alliance organized
1894	Chino-Japanese War
1900	Boxer revolt in China
1904	"Entente Cordiale"
1904–1905	Russo-Japanese War
1905–1906	Revolution in Russia
1906	Algeciras Conference
	First successful airplane
1907	Triple Entente completed
1908	Annexation of Bosnia by Austria-Hungary
1911	Agadir affair
	English parliamentary act
	Republic of China
1912–1913	Balkan Wars
1914	Outbreak of Great War
	Violation of Belgium's neutrality
	First Battle of the Marne
	Battle of the Aisne
	German invasion of Russia and Poland
1915	German submarine warfare
	Sinking of the *Lusitania*
	Conquest of Poland and Serbia
1916	German attack on Verdun
	German defeat on Somme River
	Conquest of Rumania
1917	Revolution in Russia
	American entrance into war, April 6
	Forced withdrawal of Germans to the "Hindenburg Line"
1918	German advances in northeastern France
	Franco-American victory in Marne salient
	Allied victories over Germans along whole line
	Allied victories in Turkey, Serbia, and Bulgaria
	Withdrawal of Bulgaria and Turkey from war
	Italian victory over Austrians on Piave River
	Withdrawal of Austria from war
	American First Army reaches Sedan

1918	First armistice with Germany, November 11
1918–1919	Allied peace conference at Versailles
	Bolshevik outbreak in Russia, Hungary, and Germany
1919	Treaty of Peace

INDEX

Abdul Hamid II, 537, 542–543
Absentee landholders, Irish, 466–467, 468–469
Absolutism;
  early modern, 2–3, 31–37, 41–42, Ch. III, 129–130, 131, 134, 142, 211–215
  German in twentieth century, 368, 382, 383
Accidents, industrial, 661
Act of supremacy, the, 20
Addison, Joseph, 52
Administration, municipal, 628, 629.
  See also Government under different countries
Afghanistan, 502
Africa;
  exploration of, 527–529
  French in, 336–337
  geography of, 526–527
  Italians in, 350
  partitions of, 529–533
Agadir affair, 533, 564
Agrarian question in Germany, 380.
Agrarian revolution in England, 228–231
Agriculture;
  early modern, 6–7, 222–223, 228–230, 248–253, 423–434, 438
  at present, 341–342, 347–349, 355, 380, 388–390, 400, 402–403, 407, 457, 516
Air forces, work of, 603–604
Aix-la-Chapelle, conference at, 213
Albania, 351, 545, 568
Albert, king, 356
Aldermen, British, 627
Alexander II, 400–402
Alexander III, 401, 402
Alexandria, 492, 494
Algeciras conference, 532, 562–564
Algeria, French conquest of, 531
Alliances;
  German with Austria, 551–552
  Japanese, 521
  Triple, 552–553
  See also Ententes
Alsace-Lorraine, 332, 338–340
  German seizure of, 320
America. *See* United States
Amiens, peace of, 176
Anne, queen of England, 45–46
  England during reign of, 49–56
Anti-corn law league, 439
Anti-trust laws, 650–651
Antwerp, 365, 584 n.
Apprenticeship laws, British, 435–436
Arbitration, industrial, 656
Arkwright, 232
Armed neutrality, 176
Armenians, massacre of, 535 n.
Army;
  American, 595–596
  European, 573
Arthur, Port, 520
Asia;
  French in, 337
  English in, 495–502
  new nations of, Ch. XIX
Assembly of the notables, 149
Assignats, French, 156–157
Association, French act of, 1901, 335
Atrocities, Belgian, 357, 582
Augsburg, peace of, 20
Augustine age of English literature, 52–53
Ausgleich, the Austro-Hungarian, 385, 386–387
Austerlitz, 181–182
Australia, 485–488

Austria;
  after 1796, 173–174, 176, 180–182, 186–187, 189–191
  Balkan interests of, 566
  See also Bosnia and Jugo-Slavs
  empire of, 182, 201
  failure of, after 1851, 304–305
  near-eastern policy of, 551, 568–569
  restoration in, 212
  revolutions in, 274–281
  territorial changes of, 211
  war of France with, in 1792, 158, 165–166
  war of, with Sardinia, 298–299
Austria-Hungary;
  government of, 384–386
  history and problems of, 384, 386–390
  land and people of, 383–384
Austrian Succession, War of, 79, 99

Bacon, Sir Francis, 24
Bagdad, 379, 542, 591
Balance of power, eighteenth century plan of. *See* Hundred Years' War, Second
Balfour, A. J., 448, 455
Balkan;
  alliances, 544
  policy of Russia, 411–412
  problems of the, 539–541, 544–545
  wars, 508–509, 544–545
Ballot, Australian, 446
Baltic provinces, 397, 414
Bank;
  of England, 48
  German imperial, 372, 378
Banking, 48, 342–343, 378
Baptists, 56–57
Barrage fire, 603–604
Bastile, fall of, 153
Batavian republic, 166
Beauharnais, Josephine, 173
Beccaria, 121
Belgian atrocities, 357
Belgian Congo, 530
Belgian Netherlands, war of Louis XIV on, 67
Belgium;
  army of, 573
  care of poor in, 665
Belgium — *Continued*
  conquest of, 580–582
  independence and neutrality of, 354–357
  land problem of, 667 n.
  restoration of, 681
  violation of neutrality, 579, 580
  wars in, 67, 627
Beluchistan, 501–502
Bengal, province of, 104, 499
Berlin to Bagdad railway, 379, 542
Berlin decree, 183
Berlin, rioting in, in 1848, 280
Berlin, treaty of, 538–539
Bessemer, 648
Bethmann-Hollweg, 573, 580
Bill of Rights, 42–43
Bismarck, Otto von, 530
  appointment of, 306
  character and training, 306
  colonial policy of, 530, 554
  empire-building work of, 307–311, 317–320
  methods of, 306–309, 317–318, 373, 550
  policies of, as imperial chancellor, 372–375
  relations of, with Austria, 308–310, 550–553
  relations of, with France, 309, 316–320, 556
Blanc, Louis, 273, 633 n.
Blenheim, battle of, 69
Blood and iron, German policy of, 306–307, 381
  See also Germany
Blücher, 191
Board of trade, English, 97
Boer War, 449, 490–491
Boers in South Africa, 489–491
Bohemia, Czech movement in, 277–278, 387
Bolsheviki, 414–415
Bonaparte, Joseph, 186
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 172–195, 200–202, 205, 206–208
Boroughs, rotten, 426, 427, 429
Bosnia, 539, 543, 551–552, 564–565
Boulanger, General, 332–333
Bourbons, overthrow of, in France, 268

Bourgeoisie, French, 13–14, 146, 330
Boxer revolt, 512–513
Brandenburg, early history of, 77
Brest-Litovsk, 414
Bright, John, 438, 439
British characteristics, 459–460
British empire, 481–483
  in Africa, 489–495
  in Australia, 485–489
  in Canada, 483–485
  historical development of, 91–97, 101–105, 483–484, 489–491, 498–500
  in India, 495–501
  reorganization of, after 1763, 105–106
British India;
  government of, 500
  provinces of, 500–501
Brusiloff, 585
Bucharest, 545
Buckingham, Duke of, 34
Buddhism, 497 n.
Budget, Lloyd George, 451
Bulgaria, 537, 538, 539–540, 544–545, 568, 587
Bundesrath, the, 311, 369

Cabinet government, British, 46–48, 420, 421, 462–463
Cadets, Russian, 409
Cadorna, General, 590
Cahiers, 150–151
Campo Formio, treaty of, 174
Canada;
  economic conditions of, 485
  European struggle for, 101–103, 105
  government of, at present, 484
  political development of, 483–484
Canals, public, 235, 631
Cape Colony, 489, 491
Capital and labor;
  economic relations of, 652–657
  other relations of, 660–664
Capitalism, modern, 223, 240, 342, 644–646, 652
Carbonari, the, 282
Carlsbad decrees, 214
Carnot, Lazare, 165
Carolinas, settlement of, 96
Carrying trade;
  early Dutch, 90
  modern British, 459, 643
Cartels, German, 642, 650
Cartwright, 232
Castes, Indian, 497
Catherine II, 74–75
Catholic emancipation, 433, 468
Catholics;
  English laws regarding, 41, 433, 466, 468
  German laws against, 372–373
Caucasus region, 398
Cavaignac, General, 273, 274
Cavour, Camillo de, 295–301
Centralization, 142, 177, 367, 372, 620, 627, 629, 673
  See also Absolutism
Chamber of Deputies;
  French, 328–330
  Italian, 345–346
Chamberlain, Joseph, 447, 448, 450
Chambord, Count of, 268, 325, 327–328
Champlain, 97
Chancellor, German, 368–369
Characteristics, national;
  British, 359–360
  French, 344–345
  German, 381–383
Charles I of England, 34–39, 465
Charles II, 40–41
Charles X of France, 267–268
Charles XII, wars of, with Peter the Great, 73
Charles Albert of Sardinia, 284, 285, 295
Chartists in Great Britain, 430–431
Chemistry, 259, 676
Cheney, E. P., quoted, 231 n.
Children, 262–263, 435–437, 669–670
  See also Education
Chimney sweeps, legislation protecting, 435
China;
  history of, 509–514
  land and people. 508–509
  problems of, 514–515
Chinese Gordon, 510 n.
Chino-Japanese war, 511, 520

Church;
  medieval, 17
  Roman Catholic, 18–20, 178–179, 301, 334–336, 347–348
Church and State, 19–21, 44
  in England, 20–21, 433, 446, 466
  in France before 1800, 19–20, 157
  in France, 1801–1905, 178–179, 334–336
  in Germany, 20, 372–373
Cities;
  early modern, 9–10, 49–51
  at present, 341, 625-626, 630
Civil constitution of the clergy, French, 157
Civil liberty. *See* Liberty, civil.
Civil rights, 623–624
Civil war, English, 38
Civilization;
  in early nineteenth century, 204–208, 285–289, 432–437, Chs. IX, X
  in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Ch. I, 140–147
  in twentieth century,
    British, 455–464
    European in general, Chs. XXIII–XXV
    French, 337–345
    German, 378–383
Clergy, position and privileges of, before 1789, 144–145
Clothier capitalists, English, 227
Coal, 235, 457, 509, 647
Coalition cabinet, 454–455
Cobden, Sir Richard, 439
Codes, law, 74, 80, 131, 178, 207
  German, 372
  Japanese, 518
  Napoleonic, 207
Coffee houses, English, 50–51
Coke, 234, 647 n.
Colbert, 65–66
Colonial empire, struggle for, Chs. IV, XX
Colonies;
  in Africa, 528–533
  in America, 91–99, 101–108
  British, 481–501
  commerce of, 483, 485, 528–529, 530, 532, 643–644
  French, 336–337, 531–533
Colonies — *Continued*
  German, 376, 530
  Italian, 350, 530–531
Colonization, early European
  extent of, 93–105
  motives and methods of, 91–93
Combinations, industrial, 650
Commerce;
  African, 529
  American, and war, 592–594
  British, 183, 215, 242, 244, 423, 483, 510–511
  early modern, 14–17, 85–91, 100–101, 103, 240–244, 422–423
  eastern, 16
  European with America, 17, 86–91
  French, 255–257, 637
  German, 257–258, 376, 378–379, 641–643
  international, 637–644
  Japanese, 519
  later modern, 255–258, 349, 355, 439–440, 483, 519, 637–644
  Napoleon's continental system, 183–185
  Russian, 405
Commercial advantages, struggle for, Chs. IV, XX, XXIV
Committee of Public Safety, French, 161–163
Commons, British House of, 35, 44–45, 426, 428–429, 451–453, 461–463
Commonwealth of Australia, 486–488
Commonwealth, English, 39–40
Compensation, industrial, 661–662
Compulsory arbitration, 488–489
Conciliation, industrial, 655
Confederation of the Rhine, 187, 201
Confucius, 510
Congo Free State, 530
Congress of Berlin, 538–539
Congresses, European, after 1815, 214
Conscription, military, 573
  in America, 595
  in Great Britain, 1916, 455
  in Prussia, 1807, 203

Conservatives, British, 430, 447, 448–449
Constantinople, capture of, 533
Constituent assembly, French, 155–157
Constitution;
  British, 35, 42–43, 428–429, 452–453, 460–461
  Chinese, 514
  French, 155–157, 328–330
  German, 367–368
  Japanese, 519
  written European, 617–618
Consul, Napoleon as French, 175
Continental congresses, 108–109
Continental system of Napoleon, 183–185
Continuation schools, 672 n.
Contracts, labor, 655–657
Convention, French, 160–165
Copernicus, 24, 675
Cordelier club, 160
Corn, Indian, 638–639
Corn laws, British, 424, 438
  repeal of, 438–440
Corporations, 646, 650–651, 652
  See also Factories, Gilds, *and* Industry
Cort, 234
Corvée, 143–144, 149
Cotter, 226, 230
Cotton gin, invention of, 233
Cotton;
  exports and imports of, 242
  manufactures of, 231–233, 458
Councilmen;
  British municipal, 430, 627
  French municipal, 629
  German municipal, 628
Council of soldiers' and workmen's delegates, 414, 415
Councils, British county, 463–464
Counter Reformation, the, 18
Counties, government of British, 4, 463
Courts, European, 119–120, 624
Crete, 539 n.
Crime;
  extent of, in eighteenth century, 117–118
  punishment of, 118–121, 434–435, 624
Crimean war, 297, 536–537
Cripples, care of war, 680
Crispi, 346–347
Croatia-Slavonia, 386
Crompton, 232
Cromwell, Oliver, 38–40, 465
Crown prince, Prussian, failures of, 597, 601
Customs Union, Prussian, 303
Custozza, battle of, 284
Czecho-Slovaks, 277, 387, 602

Daimios, Japanese, 517
Danton, 160–163
Dardanelles campaign, 587
Darwin, Charles, 675
Deák, Francis, 384–385
Declaration of Independence, American, 109
Declaration of London, 1852, 308
Declaration of Rights, French, 1789, 155
Defoe, Daniel, 52
  quoted, 225
Delcassé, Theophile, 337, 349, 449, 531, 558–560, 563
Delegations, Austro-Hungarian, 385–386
Democracy, attempt of French to secure, 1789–1794, 153–154, 155, 164
Democracy, limited, 328–330, 345–346, 365–371, 385–386, 401–402, 408–411, 425–431, 445–447, 452–453, 460–464, Ch. XXIII, 678–679, 680, 681, 682
  See also Absolutism *and* Political parties
Denmark, 664
Departments, French, creation of, 155
Descartes, René, 24
Despots, the enlightened, 129–134
Diderot, 128
Directory, the French, 166, 173, 175
Disability, payment of workers for, 661, 662
Disraeli, Benjamin, 445
Dissenters, laws against, 41 n., 433
Divine right, Stuart theory of, 31, 34, 41–42, 44
Dominion of Canada. *See* Canada

Dominions, British imperial, 482
Dreyfus affair, the, 333–334
Dual alliance, the, 333, 557–558
Dual monarchy, the;
  See also Austria-Hungary
  formation of, 384–385
  races of, 384
Dumas, Russian, 410–411, 412
Dupleix, General, in India, 104
Dutch;
  colonial empire, 353
  commercial success of, 86–88, 90–91
  kingdom of, 352–354

East India Company, English, 103–104, 498–500
East Prussia, campaigns in, 585
Eastern Question, 534–539, 541–545
Economic conditions. *See* Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, etc.
Economic reforms, 228–237, 240–244, 435–440, 249–259, 646–664
Education, public, 23–24, 207–208, 670–674
  Asiatic, 513, 518
  in France, 165, 207–208, 331, 335, 673–674
  in Germany, 208, 381, 642–643, 672–673
  in Great Britain, 446, 671–672
  in Italy, 351
  in Russia, 72, 401
  scientific, 677
  technical, 674
Edward VII, 449, 559–560
Egypt;
  before 1883, 174–175, 491–492
  British in, 492–495
  Great Britain and France in, 331
  Napoleon's campaign in, 174–175
Egyptian Sudan, conquest of, 492–493
Elba, Napoleon at, 191
Electricity, 676, 677
Eliot, Sir John, 35
Elizabeth, Ireland under, 465
Emancipation of serfs, Russian, 400
Embargoes, American, 184
  Central and Western European, 201, 203, 205, 249, 251
Emigration from Ireland, 468
Emigrées, French, 157–158
Empire;
  British, 481–483
  French, 176–178, 179, 186–187
  German, 319, 364–383
  Holy Roman, 197, 201
  Japanese, 521–522
  Russian, 396–398
Employees. *See* Labor
Employers. *See* Capital
Ems dispatch, 318
Enclosure system, 229–230
Encyclopedists, the, 128
England;
  See also Great Britain *and* Table of Contents
  American colonies of, 91–97
  central government of, in 1600, 3–4
  church in, 20–21
  colonial contest of, with Dutch, 86–88, 90–91, 96
  colonial contest of, with French, 97–105
  colonial policy of, 96–97
  contest of, with America, 105–111
  early Stuart kings and, 31–39
  growth of constitutional government in. *See* Cabinet *and* Parliamentary government
  insular position, 458–459
  later Stuart kings and, 40–42, 45–46
  living conditions in, 54–57, 122–125, 222–226
  local government of, in 1600, 4
  Napoleon, wars of, with, 174–175, 180–192, 421–423
  revolutions in, 42–45
  social conditions in eighteenth century, 49–58, 117–125
  struggle for constitutional government in, 31–48
  wars of. *See* Wars
Entente Cordiale, 337, 449, 493, 559, 560
Epidemics in eighteenth century, 124
Ericsson, John, 236
Eugenie, Empress, 313
Europe, countries of, in 1600, 1–2
  See also Table of Contents

Evolution, 676
Exiles, Siberian, 402
Expansion, German, 375–376, 378–379
  See also Empire
Exports;
  British, 640
  German, 378–379, 642
  Russian, 405

F's, the three, in Ireland, 468–469
Factory;
  conditions of work in, 435–436
  legislation, 436–437
  system, 239–241, 645–646, 649–650
Fairs, early modern, 15
Famines;
  Irish, 468
  Indian, 501
Fashoda affair, 493, 533, 559
Federation;
  British imperial, 483
  use of, in British colonies, 482, 484, 486, 491
Fenian movement, 471 n.
Ferdinand, Czar, 543; Prince, 574
Ferry, Jules, 331–332, 337
Festivals of Liberty and Supreme Being, 163
Feudalism;
  dues of, 130
  early modern, 5–7, 129–131, 140 147, 153–154, 197–198, 199–201, 248–251, 286
  survivals of, 382–383, 402–403, 516–517, 518
Finance;
  municipal, European, 628–630
  war, 423–456, 604–605, 680–681
  See also Taxes, War finance
Finland, 396, 407, 414, 622
Fisheries, early modern, importance of, 86–89
Foch, General, 584, 601–602
Food, 226, 229, 262, 638–640
  administration, American, 596
  problem, war, 606, 638–640
  See also Great Britain
  regulation, British, 456
  in 1600, 8
  in 1700, 54
Foreign investments, French, 343
Forests, public, 631–632
Forts, French defensive, 556
Fouché, 212
Fourth of August, night of, 153–154
France;
  See also Table of Contents
  agriculture in, 248–250, 251–252, 341–342
  army of, 573
  care of poor in, 665–666
  cities in, 625–626, 629, 630, 633
  child labor laws in, 262, 669
  Church and State in, 19–20, 157, 178–179, 334–336
  commerce of, 255–256
  condition of peasants in, 248, 249–250
  constitution of, 328
  expansion of, 97–99, 336–337, 531–533
  first empire of, 176–178, 179, 186–187
  government of, before 1789, 142
  government of, under first constitution, 155–157
    to-day, 329–330, 337–338
  in Great War, 578, 580–584
  See Ch. XXII
  industrial courts in, 655
  industrial insurance in, 662, 663
  industry in, 66–67, 253–255
  July revolution in, 268–270
  labor unions of, 654
  lack of uniformity in, in 1789, 141–142
  land and people of, 146–147, 154, 248–250, 251–252, 340–341
  landholding in, 251–252
  living conditions in, 142–144, 146–147, 260–262, 341–342, 344–345, 663, 665–667
  national development of, 64–66, 140–142, 176–180, 330–338
  occupations in, 341–343
  old régime in, 140–147
  Orleanist monarchy of, 270–271
  present conditions in, 337–345
  railways in, 255, 630
  relations of, with Germany, 199–202, 316–320, 550, 556–557, 562–564, 569

France — *Continued*
  restoration in, 211, 212, 267
  Revolution in, 139–171
  revolution of 1848 in, 271–274
  revolutionary wars of, 157–158, 160, 165–166
  second empire of, 311–320
  status of woman in, 668
  Third Republic of, 325–338
  war with Austria, 158, 165–166
Francis Joseph II, 278, 384–385
Franco-Prussian war, 318–320
Frankfort, parliament, German, 280–281
Frankfort, treaty of, 320, 376, 556
Frederick the Great, 78–81
Frederick III, Kaiser, 374
Frederick William IV of Prussia, 276, 279–280, 281
Free cities, German, 197, 365 n.
Freeholders, English, 226, 230
Free trade, British, 439–440, 550
French Revolution, the, 139–171
Friedland, battle of, 182
Fry, Elizabeth, 122
Fulton, Robert, 236
Fur trade, American, 89

Galicia, campaigns in, 583, 585
Galileo, 24
Gambetta, Leon, 319, 320 n., 331
Garibaldi, 300
Gas, use of, 600, 604
General staff, Prussian, 368
Geographical conditions;
  See List of Maps; Resources, natural, etc.
  insular, of England, 243–244, 459, 560
George III, 420–421
  American policy of, 107–109
  character of, 107
George IV, 426
George V, 452
German Confederation, 204, 302
Germany;
  See also Table of Contents
  agriculture in, 250–251, 252–253
  America and, 591–596, 598, 601–606
  attempted union of, 1848, 280–281

Germany — *Continued*
  care of poor in, 666
  characteristics of, 381–383
  child labor laws in, 670
  Church and State in, in 1600, 19-20
  cities in, 197, 625–626, 628, 630, 633
  colonies of, in Africa, 530
  commerce of, 257–258, 378–379, 637, 641–643
  condition of peasants in, 248–249, 250–251
  disunity of, before 1801, 197–198
  education in, 378, 381, 641–642, 672–673
  Empire, formation of, 320, 367 n.
  government, 365–371
  history of, early. *See* Prussia, Austria, Holy Roman Empire; recent, 302–311, 316–320, 371, 376, 380, Chs. XXI, XXII
  industrial insurance in, 378, 662, 663, 664
  industry in, 258–259, 378
  influences of, in Near East, 541, 542, 564–565, 568–569
  international policy of, 550–556, 559, 560–562, 565, 567–569
  land and people of, 364–365
  living conditions in, 381–383
  national problem of, 1848, 275
  policy of, 377–379
  railways in, 631
  relations of, to France, 199–202, 316–320, 550, 556–557, 562–564
  responsibility of, for Great War, 568, 573, 575–578
  restoration in, 212–214
  Socialism in, 633–634, 654–655
  status of women in, 383, 668
  underhanded commercial methods of, 642–643
Gibraltar, 70 n.
Gilds, 12–13, 260, 654 n.
Girondists, the, 158
Gladstone, William E., 440, 445–447, 448, 537
  Irish home rule policy of, 447, 448–449, 469–470
  reform acts of, 445–450, 469

Glasgow, 626, 627
Goethe, 198
Gordon, Chinese, 492, 511 n.
Government;
  See Absolutism, Democracy, Parliament, Parliamentary government, Suffrage, *etc.*
  ownership, 630, 633
  popular, 617, 623
  regulation of industry, 13, 650–651
Great Britain;
  See also England *and* Table of Contents
  agriculture in, 222–223, 225–226, 228–231, 423–424, 438, 457
  change in colonial policy after 1763, 105–108
  child labor laws in, 435–437, 669
  cities in, 625–628, 629, 632–633
    See also London
  colonial policy of, in eighteenth century, 96–97; recent, 481–483
  commerce of, 240–244, 422–423, 439–440, 483, 510–511, 637, 640–641
  compensation for accidents in, 662
  education, public, in, 446, 671–672
  empire of. *See* British Empire
  government of, at present, 460–464
    See also Cabinet government
  in Great War, 453–456, 576–578, 598–602
  industrial boards in, 655–656
  industry in, 223–225, 226–228, 231–235, 240–243, 438–439, 457–459
  labor exchanges act in, 664
  labor unions, 653
  land problem of, 222–223, 229–230, 423, 466–467, 468–469, 667 n.
  living conditions in, 229, 239–241, 423–425, 434, 435–439, 457–460, 656, 662–665
  naval policy of, 459–460
  old age pension law of, 663
  poor laws of, 122–124, 664–665
  railways in, 630
Great Britain — *Continued*
  sickness insurance law of, 662–663
  status of woman in, 668
  territorial gains of, 1815, 211
  unemployment law of, 664
Great Elector of Brandenburg, 77–78
Great Russia, 397
Great War;
  America and, 591–596
  beginnings of, 573–579
  in Belgium, 579–582
  causes of. *See* Germany, international policy of, *also* Eastern Question, *and* Morocco
  in France, 582–585, 597–602
  frightfulness, German, 593, 595
    See also Atrocities
  Great Britain and, 453–456, 576–578, 598–602
  Italy and, 352, 589–591
  outside of France, 585–591
  Russia during, 412–415
  submarine warfare in, 592–595
Greece, 216–217, 534, 539, 544–545
Grévy, President of France, 331
Grey, Lord, 427–428; Earl, 576–577
Guizot, 271

Habeas Corpus act, 41, 44
Hague conferences, 679
Hampden, John, 36–37
Hampton Court Conference, the, 33
Hapsburgs, Austrian, 384
Hargreaves, 232
Hay, John, 513
Helgoland, 376
Herzegovina. *See* Bosnia
High prices in 1600, 12
High schools, 671, 673–674
Highways;
  eighteenth century, 53, 236
  French, 255
Hindenburg, 585
Hindenburg line, 597, 601
Hinduism, 495
Hohenzollerns, military methods of early, 77; later, *see* Frederick *and* William II
Holland;
  and Belgium, 353, 354–355
  and France, 67, 166, 185, 352
  in recent years, 353–354

Holstein in German politics, 307 308
Holy Alliance, 212–215
Holy Roman Empire, 1, 197, 201
Holy wars, German preaching of, 555
Home Rule bills, Irish, 447–448, 448–449, 453–455, 469–471
Hong Kong, 510
Hoover, Herbert, 596
Household industry, 223–224
House of Lords, reform of, 452–453, organization of, 461
Housing conditions in Europe, 261, 625–626
Howard, John, 122
Huguenots;
  dispersion of, 78
  emigration of, from France, 67
  weavers in England, 226
Hundred Years' War, Second, 68–70, 99–105, 108–111
  See also Napoleonic Wars
Hungary;
  republic of, 279
  revolution in, 1848, 276, 278–279
Hun speech, kaiser's, 513 n.

Imports, British, 242–243, 640
Improvements, public, made by Napoleon, 179–180
Income tax, British, 451
Indemnity, heavy German, upon France, 337, 342
Independents, 32
India;
  before 1750, 103–104
  British, 495–497
  European struggle for, 103–104, 105
  history of, 103–104, 497–500
Indian corn, 349, 639
Individual liberty;
  British, 43–44, 459
  influence of Revolution of 1688 on, 43–44
  lack of, in Germany, 381–382
  on the Continent, 259
Indulgence, declaration of, 42
Industrial courts, 655
Industrial Revolution;
  in central and eastern Europe, 258–259, 388, 403–405, 408
  in England, 222–247, 231–235, 241–244
  in France, 253–255
  in Russia, 403–405, 408
Industry;
  Austrian, 388
  early modern, 10–12, 13, 14, 48, 66–67, 225, 226–228, 231–235, 240–243
  French, 66, 253–255, 342
  German, 364, 378
  household, 223–225
  Italian, 349
  Japanese, 519
  labor problem cf, 652–657
  later modern, 253–255, 258–259, 342, 349, 355, 388, 400, 404–405, 438–439, 457–459, 519, 644–651
  Russian, 404
Inheritance tax, British, 451
Initiative, Swiss, 623
Insurance, social, 660–664
Insurrections, Polish, 398–399
  See also Revolutions
Intemperance, extent of, after 1700, 55–56
Intendants, French, 142
Interpellation, 330
Intervention by Austria, after 1815, 214–215
Inventions;
  early modern, 232–234, 236–237
  recent, 676–678
Ireland, 464
  conquest of, 39, 465
  famines in, 468
  home rule problem of, 469–471
  land laws of, 446, 468–469
  living conditions in, 466–469
  troubles of, with England, 466–471
Irish Home Rule bill. *See* Home Rule bills, Irish
Irish land acts, 446, 468–469
Irish nationalists, 447, 448, 469–471
Irish question, the, 464
Iron, 233–234, 242–243, 457, 509
Iron and steel, 458, 646, 647–649

Italia Irredenta, 351
Italy;
  colonies of, in Africa, 530–531
  government of, 345–346
  in Great War, 589–591
  Napoleon's campaigns in, 174, 176
  national beginnings of, 206
  problems of, 346–348, 350–352
  railways in, 630
  revolutions in, 282–285
  taxation in, 349–350
  in Triple Alliance, 350, 553
  unification of, 295–302
Ito, Count, 519, 521
Ivans, the Russian, 71

Jacobins, 160–161
Jacquard, 254
James I, 31–32, 33–34
James II, 41–42
Jameson Raid, 377, 490, 560
Japan;
  demands of, on China, 515
  in Great War, 590–591
  history of, 516–521
  land and people of, 515–516
  as world power, 519, 521–522
Jena, battle of, 182
Jerusalem, 591
Jesuit schools, 335, 373, 674
Jesuits, suppression of, in eighteenth century, 125–126
Jews, Russian, 407
Joffre, General, 583–584
Johnson, Doctor Samuel, 52 n.
Joseph II of Austria, 131, 134
Jugo-Slavs, 541
July revolution, French, 268
Junkers, the, 365, 371
Jury system, 624
Justice, administration of, 624

Kay, 232
Kerensky, 414
Kiao-chau, 376, 512, 515, 590
Kiel canal, 560, 561
Kimberley diamond fields, 490
King William's war, 99
King's Friends, the, 421
Kitchener of Khartoum, 449, 492–493
Korea, 511, 520–521
Kruger, Paul, 377, 490, 560
Kulturkampf, 372–373

La Vendée, Insurrection in, 161
Labor;
  and capital, 652–657
  early conditions of, 237–241, 435–437
  in England, 424–425
  exchanges act, 664
  later conditions of, 260–261, 262–264, 271, 408
  party, British, 448
  unions, British, 446, 653
  unions, French, 654
  unions, German, 654–655
  See also Gilds; Unions, labor; Insurance, social, *etc.*
Lafayette, 154, 269
Land tenure, 6–7
  in France, 146–147, 154, 248–250, 251–252
  in Germany, 203, 250–251
  in Great Britain, 222–223, 229–230, 423, 466–467, 468–469
  at present, 666–667
  in Russia, 400, 402–403, 407 n., 415, 667
Large scale production, 649–651
Lassalle, 634
Laud, Archbishop, 35–36
League of the Three Emperors, 551
Lecky, Edward, quoted, 56
Legion of Honor, French, 179
Legislation, social, 262–263, 435–437, 660–664
Legislative Assembly, 158
Legislatures, early American, 93, 95
Leipzig, 189
Leo XIII, Pope, 335, 347–348
Leopold, Spanish candidacy of, 317
Liao-tung peninsula, 512, 520, 521
Liberal movements after 1815, 213–214, 275–276
Liberal Unionists, 447, 448–449
Liberals, British, 430, 447, 448, 450–453
Liberty;
  civil, 3, 4, 43–44, 155, 259–260, 459, 623–624
  lack of, in Germany, 381–383

Liberty — *Continued*
  religious. *See* Religious liberty
Liberty, equality, fraternity, 153–155, 177, 205
Liberty loans, 605
Liège, siege of, 581
Literature in Augustan period, 52–53
Lithuania, 397
Little Russia, 398, 407
Living, standards of;
  before 1789, 8, 54–57, 122–125, 142–144, 146–147, 222–226
  early nineteenth century, 229, 239–241, 260–262
  recent European, 341–342, 344–345, 349–350, 355, 381–383, 388–390, 402–405, 411 n., 423–425, 434, 435–439, 457–460, 466–469, 655–657, 661–670, 679
Livingstone, David, 527
Living wage, 656–657
Lloyd George, David, 451, 455
Lloyd's, 51 n.
Loans, French, 557, 558
Local government, British, 463–464, 620
  See also Cities, British
Lombardy, addition of, to Sardinia, 299
London;
  in 1600, 9
  in 1700, 49–51
Lords, British House of, 428, 452–453, 461
Louis XIV, 64–70
Louis XVI, 147–148, 152, 158, 159, 161
Louis XVIII, 267
Louisiana, sale of, to United States, 178
Lucerne, the lion of, 159
Lucknow, relief of, 499
Lunéville, peace of (1801), 176, 199–201
Lusitania, the, 592, 594
Luxemburg, violation of neutrality of, 579, 580
Lyell, 676
Lyons;
  manufacturing in, 254, 342 n.
  revolution in, 162
Macadam, 236
Macaroni, a, 55
Machinery, 232–234, 252, 254–255, 259, 645–646, 648, 650
MacMahon, Marshal, 327, 330–331
Madagascar, French in, 337
Magistrat, 628
Magyars and subject races, 384, 386
Mahratta, confederacy of, 103–104, 497–498
Manchuria, 508, 512, 515
Manchus, 510–514
Manhood suffrage, 620–622
Manners and pastimes about 1700, 54–55
Manufacturing;
  See also Industry
  English, 225, 227, 231–235, 241–243, 458
  French, 66, 253–255, 342
  German, 258–259, 364, 378
March Laws, Hungarian, 278
Marchand, Captain, 493
Maria Theresa, 78, 131, 134
Marie Antoinette, 147–148
Markets, early modern, 15
Marlborough, Duke of, 69
Marne, battles of, 583–584, 600, 601, 602
Married women, status of, 668
Marseillaise, the, 159
Marx, Karl, 634
Massachusetts, 94, 108
Match, friction, 677
Maximum, French law of, 162
May laws, German, 373
Mayors, European, 628–629
Mazarin, Cardinal, 64
Mazzini, Joseph, 282–283
McAdoo, William G., 596
Meat, British imports of, 457
Mehemet Ali, 491
Mercantilism, 16
Methodism, 58
Metternich, 209, 212–215, 267, 276–277
Metz, 319
Mikado, Japanese, 516, 517–518
Milan decrees, 184
Militarism, German, 382, 568, 573, 678

Milton, John, 40
Milyoukov, Paul, 409
Minerals in Great Britain, 457–458
  See also Resources, natural
Miners, wages of, 656
Mines, legislation regarding workers in, 262, 437
Minimum wage, 656–657
Ministerial government. *See* Parliamentary government
Ministry, British, 462 n.
Mirabeau, Count de, 150, 152
Mirs, Russian, 403 n.
Missionaries, African, 528
Mississippi basin, European struggle for, 101–102, 105
Modena, 299
Moguls in India, 497
Mohammedanism, 495
Moltke, von, 319
Monarchists, French, under Third Republic, 326–328, **352**
Mongolia, 508
Mongols, 510
Monopolies, 650
Monroe Doctrine, Holy Alliance and, 215–216
Montenegro, 538
Montesquieu, 126–127
Morocco, European contest over, 532–533, 562–564
Moscow;
  Napoleon at, 188–189
  princes of, 70
"Mountain," the, in French assembly, 158–164
Mukden, battle of, 520
Municipal corporation act, British, 420, 626–627
Municipal government, 626–630
Municipal ownership, 628, 632–633
Municipal trading, 628, 629
Munitions, British war problem of, 456, 606
Mutsuhito, Mikado, 517–518

Nantes;
  revocation of edict of, 66–67
  revolution in, 162
Naples;
  annexation of, to Italy, 300–301
  revolutions in, 282, 284
Napoleon;
  Austrian campaigns of, 180–182, 186–187
  boyhood of, 172
  in Egypt, 174–175
  as emperor, 176
  final overthrow of, 189–192
  as first consul, 175–176
  first Italian campaign of, 173–174
  marriages of, 173, 187
  and papacy, 178–179
  reorganization of Europe by, 199–204, 205–208
  reorganization of government by, 176–178, 187, 200–202
  Russian campaign of, 187–189
  wars of, with England, 174–175, 180–192, 421–423
Napoleon III, Cavour and, 298
  aid of, to Italy, 298–299
  Second Empire of, 311–320
Napoleon, Louis
  capture of, 319
  early history of, 274
  as emperor, 312–318
  as president, 274, 312
National assembly, French, 151–152, 153–157, 329
National insurance act, British, 664
National workshops, French, 273
Nationality, 140–141, 152, 205–206, 275, 286, 288, 381, 385, 387
  definition of, 205–206
  development of, in Napoleon's time, 206
  problem of, after 1918, 681–682
  problem before 1914, 678
    See also Alliances
  problem in 1848, 275
Navigation policy of England, 40, 91, 97 n., 422–423
Navy;
  British, 175, 180, 459–460, 560
  German, 377, 560
Near East. *See* Eastern Question, Turkey, *and* Balkans
Necker, 149, 151, 153
Nelson, Admiral, 175, 180
Netherlands, Dutch. *See* Holland
New England colonies, 94–95

New Netherland, Dutch, 96
New South Wales, 485
New Zealand, 488–489
Newcomen, 233
Newfoundland fisheries, 88–89
Newspapers, 51, 464
Newton, Sir Isaac, 25
Ney, Marshal, 189, 212
Nicholas I, 398, 536
Nicholas II, 408, 412
Nicholas, Grand Duke, 585, 591
Nihilism in Russia, 401
Nile, battle of the, 175
Nobles, position and privileges of, in 1600, 5–6
  before 1789, 145–146
North, Lord, 421
North Sea fisheries, 86–88
Northcliffe, Lord, 455
Norway, 211
Novara, battle of, 285

O'Connell, Daniel, 467
October reforms, Russian, 410
Octroi, 144, 630
Old age pensions, 663
Old order, twentieth century, 678–679
  See also Child labor; Democracy; Living, standards of; Militarism; Woman, *etc.*
Old régime, 2–21
  in France, 140–147
Olmütz, humiliation of, 281–282
Open field system;
  in Middle Ages, 6
  in eighteenth century, 222–223
Opium war, 510
Orange Free State, 489–490
Orders in Council, British, 184
Orleanists, the, 269–271, 325, 327
Ottoman empire. *See* Turkey
Overman Act, 596
Owen, Robert, 436, 633 n.

Palatinate, War of, 68
Palmerston, Lord, 432
Pan-Germanism, 379, 553, 556, 566, 573, 575
Pan-Slavism, 277–278, 566–567, 575
Papacy, the, 52, 176, 178–179, 301, 335, 336, 347–348
  See also Church, Roman Catholic
Papal states, 299, 301
Paris;
  commune of, 326
  Count of, 271, 325, 327
  drive on, 1914, 582–584
  peace of, 1763, 104–105
  peace of, 1783, 109–111
  revolution, events in, 150–153, 154, 160, 162–165
  siege of, 319–320
  treaty of, 297–298, 537
Parish, government of, British, 4, 464
Parliament;
  Austrian, 386
  Chinese, 514
  French, 328–329
  German, 369–370
  Hungarian, 386
  Japanese, 519
  Prussian, 366–367
Parliament, British;
  at present, 461–463
  growth of, 4, 35, 44–45, 428–429, 445, 446–447, 452–453
  later reform of, 445, 446–447, 452–453
  Long, 37–39
  need of reform of, 425, 426
  reform of, 426–429
  Rump, 39
  and Tudor monarchy, 4
Parliament, Act of;
  1911, 452–453
  1918, 453
Parliamentary government, 618–620
  British, 46–48, 420, 421, 462–463
  British colonial, 484
  in France, 329–330, 337–338
  in Italy, 345–347
Parliaments, European, 618
  See also Parliament
Parma, 299
Parnell, Charles Stewart, 469
Pasteur, 676
Paternalism, governmental, 66, 650–651
Peace, the Great War and, 576–577, 681–682

Peace movement, 679
Peasants;
  condition of, before 1789, 143–144, 146–147, 248–249
  after 1789, 249–251
Peel, Sir Robert, 432 n., 434, 439
Peers, British, 461
Peninsular wars, 185
People, life of;
  in 1600, 7–9
  on continent, early nineteenth century, 259–264
  in England before 1760, 223–226
  See also Living, standards of
Perry, Admiral, 517
Persia, partition of, 502
Persian Gulf, international struggle for, 542
Peter the Great, 71–73
Peterloo massacre, 424
Petition of Right, 35
Petrograd, founding of, 73
Philanthropy, eighteenth century, 124
Philippe, Louis, king, 269–271
Philosophers, reform, 126–129
Photographs, 677
Physiocrats, the, 128–129
Piave river, fighting on, 590
Picardy, battle of, 600
Picquart, 333–334
Pilgrims, the, 34
Pitt, William, the younger, 421–423
Pius IX, Pope, 276, 283, 347
Pius X, Pope, 347
Plassey, battle of, 104
Poland, 396, 398–400
  former greatness of, 75
  partitions of, 75–77
Policemen, early modern, 10, 118
Political parties;
  British, 41, 427, 430, 445, 447–448, 450
  French, 337–338
  German, 370–371, 634
  Italian, 346–347
  Russian, 409, 414–415, 634
Political systems and individual liberty, 620, 624
Poor, care of the, 122–124, 664–666
Pope. *See* Papacy
Population, shift of English, eighteenth century, 237–239
Portugal;
  colonies of, in Africa, 529–530
  commercial development of, 86
  England and, 56, 185–186
Postal systems, early English, 51–52
Potatoes, 252, 341, 467, 468, 638–639
Potsdam conference, 574, 682
Poverty. *See* Poor, care of
Power loom, first, 232–233
Prefects, French, 177
Presbyterians, 32
Press, freedom of the, 433–434
Pride's purge, 38
Primary schools, 351, 671, 672, 673
Printing press, 677
Prisons, eighteenth century, 121–122
Privileges of nobles and clergy before 1789, 5, 19, 144–146, 154
Privy council, 462 n.
Protectorate, the, 39–40
Prussia;
  beginnings of, 77–81
  government of, 366–367
  relation of to Germany, 365–366
  revolution in, 1848, 279–280
  territorial gains of, 211, 310
  war of, with France, 1792, 158, 165–166, 182, 189–192
Prussianism, 366, 368, 382, 383, 567–569, 575, 582
"Puffing Billy," the, 237
Puritanism, decline of, 40
  reaction against, 40, 57
Puritans, the, 32–34
  American colonies of, 94–95
  Commonwealth of, 39–40
Pyramids, battle of the, 174

Quakers, 57
Quebec, capture of, 102–103
Quesnay, 128
Quirinal and Vatican, 347–348

Races;
  in 1848, 275
  in Austria-Hungary, 384, 387–388
"Race for the sea," 481 n.

Radetzsky, 284
Railways, government owned, 404, 630–631
Reconstruction, war, 681–682
Red Sunday, 408–409
Referendum;
  use of, in Australia, 487
  Swiss, 623
Reform act of;
  1832, events leading to, 426–428
    provisions of, 428–429
  1867, 445
  1884, 446–447
Reforms, 72–73, 80–81, 120–122, 129–131
  British, in Egypt, 493–495
  British, in India, 500–501
  legal in Russia, 401
  social legislation in France, 343
Reformation, the, 18
Regulation of business by government, 650–651
Reichstag, the, 380–381, 369–370
Religious conditions;
  in eighteenth century, 56–58
  in seventeenth century, 17–23
Religious liberty, 22–23, 432–433
  toleration, 21–22
  See also Church
Reorganization, European, under Napoleon, 199–202
Repressive acts, the, 108
Republic;
  First French, 160–176
  Second French, 274
  Third French, 325–338
Republics, European, 622
Resources;
  British, 456–458
  natural and modern industrial, 646–650
Responsible government, 329–330, 337–338, 345–347, 618–620
  in British colonies, 484
  See also Parliamentary government
Restoration, the English (1660), 40
Restoration, the, in Europe, 1815, 211–215
Revolutions;
  of 1688, 42–45
  after 1815, 214–215
Revolutions — *Continued*
  of 1848, in Central Europe, 274–280, 283–288
  of 1848, in France, 271–273
  economic, on the Continent, Ch. X
  economic, in England, Ch. IX
  Great, in France, Ch. VI
  political, on Continent, 1830–1849, Ch. XI
Revolutionary tribunals, French 162
Revolutionary war, 109
Richelieu, Cardinal, 64
Riga, 585
Roads. *See* Highways
Robespierre, 160, 163–164
Romanoffs, first, 73 n.
  See also Russia
Rome, 285, 301
Rousseau, 128
Rumania, 534, 540, 587
Russell, Sir John, 426, 427
Russia;
  army of, 573–574
  districts of, 396–398
  economic conditions in, 400, 402, 405
  Europeanization of, 72–73
  expansion of, 73–74
  in Great War, 576–578
  history of, before 1815, 70–77, 187–189
  land problem of, 400, 402–403, 407 n., 415, 667
  living conditions in, 402–405, 411 n.
  and Napoleon, 182, 184, 187–189
  Near Eastern policy of, 412, 566, 567
  opposition of Teutonic powers to, 551–552, 562, 564–569
  railways in, 631
  recent history of, 398–402, 406–415
  revolutions in, 408–410, 412–415
  rise of, 70–77
  socialism in, 414–415, 634
  in southeastern Asia, 501
  territorial gains of, 1815, 209–211

Russian Empire, 396-398
  See also Russia
Russification, policy of, 399-400, 406-407
Russo-Japanese war, 411, 520

Sabotage, 654
St. Helena, Napoleon at, 192
Saloniki force, 589
Salt tax, French, 142-143
Samurai, 517, 518
Sanitation in eighteenth century, 124-125
San Stefano, treaty of, 538
Saratoga, battle of, 109
Sardinia, kingdom of;
  constitutional government in, 295
  operation of, for united Italy, 295-299
  revolution of 1848 in, 284-285
  work of, in uniting Italy, 299-302
Saverne affair, 340
Saxony, kingdom of, 211
Schiller, 198-199
Schleswig-Holstein question, 307-308
Schools;
  See also Education
  in 1600, 23-24;
  modern, 671-674
Schwarzenburg, 282
Science;
  early modern, 24-25
  later modern, 675-677
Scotch Irish, 464, 470
Scotland;
  See also Great Britain
  Charles I and, 37, 38
  public schools in, 670
  union of, with England, 46
Sebastopol, 536
Sedan, 319
Senate;
  French, 328
  Italian, 345
Separatists, 32, 34
Sepoy revolt, 499
September massacres, French, 160
Serbia, 534, 538, 540-541, 544-545
  in Great War, 574-575, 576, 586-588
Serbo-Croats, 541
Serfs;
  condition of, in 1600, 7
  emancipation of, in Russia, 402-403
Serfdom, 7, 130, 201, 248, 250
  in 1600, 7
  abolition of, 201, 203, 205
  Russian, 399, 400, 402-403
Seven Years' War, 79, 100, 102-105
Sheep, new kinds of, 249
Shimonoseki, treaty of, 512
Ship money, levy of, 36-37
Shipping, British, 459
  See also Carrying trade
Shogun, Japanese, 516, 518
Shuttle, invention of, 232
Siberia, 74, 398
Sicily, 283
"Sick Man" of Europe. *See* Turkey
Sickness insurance, 662-663
Siéyès, Abbé, 150
Sinn Feiners, 471
Six acts, English, 425
"Six Points" of Chartists, 430
Slave trade, 90
Smith, Adam, 129
Smuggling, 48, 81
Social classes, 5-7, 123, 144-147, 225-226, 365, 380, 402, 497, 68]
Social conditions, bad, due to factory system, 240-241
Social Democratic party, German, 371, 634
Social insurance, 488-489
  extent of, 344, 374, 451, 660-664
  in Germany, 374
  need of, 660
Socialism, growth of, 633-634
Socialists;
  French republic of, 273
  German, 371, 373, 380, 634
  Russian, 414-415, 634
Social reforms;
  See also Living, standards of
  in Australasia, 488-489
  British, 432-437, 450-452
  early, 117-125, 130-131, 237-239, 249-253, 259-264, 432-437
  recent, 343-344, 660-674, 679-682
Social welfare work. *See* Social insurance; Poor, *etc.*

Solferino, battle of, 299
Somme, battles of, 596, 597–598, 600, 601
South Africa, British, 489–491
South Sea bubble, 49
Spain; expansion of, 85, 86
  independence of American colonies of, 215
  restoration in, 212, 214
Spanish Succession, War of, 69–70, 99
Special privileges of local districts, 3, 141
Spectator, the, 52–54
Spencer, Herbert, 676
Spheres of influence, European
  in China, 512
  in Africa, 529
Spinning machines, improvement in, 233
Squire, English, 5
Stamp act (1765), 107–108
Standards of living. *See* Living, standards of
Stanley, Henry M., 528
Star Chamber, court of, 35, 37
State socialism in Germany, 374
States-General, French, in 1789, 150–151
Steam, age of, 645, 648–649
Steamboats, early, 236
Steam-engine, invention of, 233–234
Steel, 647–649
Stein, Baron, 203
Stephenson, George, 237
Stolypin, 410–411
Strafford, Earl of, 37, 465
Street railways, 632–633
Strikes, labor, 408, 654, 655
Stuarts, the English, 31–46
Subsidies, government, 642, 644 n.
Sudan, Egyptian, 449
Suez canal, 491–492, 494
Suffrage;
  Australasia, 487–488
  Austrian, 388
  British, 429, 445 n., 446, 453
  European and general, 620–622
  French, 155, 313, 621
  German, 369
  Prussian, 367 n.
Sugar, 253, 639–640
  act of 1764, 107
  early modern commercial importance of, 89–90
  use of beet, 253, 640
Sun Yat-sen, 514
Surgery, early, 124–125
Sussex affair, 593
Sweden, 211
Swift, Jonathan, 52
Switzerland, popular government in, 622–623
Syndicalism, 654

Taj Mahal, 497
Talleyrand, 200–201, 209–210
Tanks, use of, 604
Tariffs;
  See also Tolls
  Austrian, 387
  British, 440, 450
  early modern, 16
  German, 372, 376, 380
  modern, 303–304, 372, 380, 400, 404, 439, 450, 651
  Prussian, 80
  Russian, 404
Taxes;
  American, 605
  British, 423, 451, 457
  French, 142–144, 156
  municipal, 628, 629–630
Teachers, 335, 672
Telegraph, 677
Telephone, 677
Tenant farmers, English, 226, 230, Irish, 468–469
Tennis court oath, 152
Terror, reign of, 161–164
Terrorists, Russian, 401
Thiers, 325, 327
Third estate, the, 150–152
Third French republic, 325–338
"Third section," the Russian, 402
Thrift, French, 342
Tilsit, peace of, 182
Tobacco, commercial importance of American, 93–94
Tolls system, 15–16, 257
Tories, beginning of, 41
Torture, use of, 119, 120–121
Town meeting, New England, 94

Townshend Acts, the, 108
Townshend, "Turnip," 228
Trafalgar, battle of, 180
Transportation, 235–237, 255, 404–405, 638, 643–644, 677
  in England, 53, 235–237
  in European cities, 626
  in France, 255
Transvaal, 490
Travel, after 1700, 53–54, 236
Treitschke, 383 n.
Trenches, war, 602–603
Trentino, the, 351, 589
Trials;
  eighteenth century, 119–121
  twentieth century, 624
Trieste, 589
Triple Alliance, 552–553
  Italy and, 350
Triple Entente, 449, 502, 562
Tripolitan war, 531
Tropical colonies, British, 482–483
Trusts;
  European, 649–651
  control of, 650–651
Tuileries, the, 159
Tull, Jethro, 228
Tunis, 553
  French occupation of, 531–532
Turgot, 148–149
Turkey;
  expansion of, 533–534
  in Great War, 586, 591
  loss of territory by, 534, 538, 444–445
  reforms in, 542–544
Tuscany, 284, 299

Ukrainia, 398, 414
Ulstermen, 470
Ultimatum, Austria to Serbia, 575
Unearned increment, tax on, 451
Unemployment, 664
Union of Great Britain and Ireland, 467
Union of South Africa, 491
Unions, labor, 263–264, 408, 446
United Kingdom. *See* Great Britain
United States;
  first constitution of, 111
  first organization of government of, 108–109
United States — *Continued*
  German intrigues against, 554–555, 594
  in Great War, 594–596, 601–602, 605–606
  present constitution of, 111–112
Utrecht, treaty of, 70, 100–101

Valmy, battle of, 160
Vatican, prisoner of the, 301–302, 347, 348
Venice, 174 n., 301
Verdun;
  forts of, 556
  in Great War, 582, 596–597
Versailles;
  French court at, 64–65
  march of the mob on, 1789, 154
Victor Emmanuel II, 285, 295, 299, 300, 301
Victoria, Queen, 431, 449, 485
Vienna;
  Congress of, 208–211
  revolution in, 1848, 276–278
Villeins, position of, 6–7. *See* Peasants
Villeneuve, 180
Vinogradoff, 423
Virginia, early history of, 93–94
Voltaire, 127–128
Volunteer enlistment, British, 455
Von Plehve, 407, 408
Von Tirpitz, Admiral, 377

Wage boards, 656
Wages, 260–261
Wagram, battle of, 186
Walpole, Sir Robert, 46–47
War;
  Austrian Succession, 79, 99, 102
  Austro-Prussian, 308–310
  Balkan, 544–545
  Boer, 491
  Chino-Japanese, 511–512, 519
  Crimean, 314, 536–537
  Danish, 307
  Dutch and English, 91, 96
  effect of Great, 679–682
  English civil, 38
  Franco-Prussian, 318–320
  of Frederick the Great, 78–79

War — *Continued*
  French revolutionary, 157–158, 165–166
  Great, Ch. XXII
  Louis XIV's, 67–70
  Napoleonic, 173–192, 421–423
  Revolutionary, 100, 108–111
  Russo-Japanese, 411, 520
  Russo-Turkish, 536–539
  Seven Years', 79, 100, 102–105
  Spanish Succession, 69–70, 99, 100–101
War cabinet, 455
Warsaw, Grand Duchy of, 187, 202, 209–211
  capture of, 585
Watch, the, 10
Water, municipal ownership of, 632
Waterloo, campaign of, 191–192
Watt, James, 234
Weaving, method of, before 1750, 231
Wellington, Duke of, 186, 191–192, 427
Welt-Politik, German, 554–556
Wesley, John, 58
Western theater of war, 578–579
West Indies;
  British, 483 n.
  commerce of, 89, 100–101
Westphalia, kingdom of, 202
  peace of, 20
Wheat, 256 n., 341, 349, 639
Whigs;
  beginning of, 41
  and early Hanoverians, 46–48
Whitefield, George, 58
Whitney, Eli, 233
Wilhelmina, 353, 354
William I of Prussia, 305, 306
William II, Kaiser, 374, 375, 377, 554, 562–564, 565, 573, 577
William III of England, 45–46
William IV of England, 427
Williams, Roger, 23, 56
Windischgratz, 277–278
Wine, 56, 252, 342, 349
Witte, Sergius, 404, 410
Woman;
  attitude of Germans toward, 383
  position of, at present, 455, 667–669, 679
  protective legislation for, 436–437
  suffrage, 622
Woolen manufacturing, 223–225, 227–228, 458
Workers;
  See also Labor
  discontent of early nineteenth century, 263, 271
  relation of, to capital, 652–657
  social insurance and, 660–664

Yangtse river basin, 509, 515
Yorktown, battle of, 109
Young India, 501
Young Italy, 283
Young Turks, the, 542–544
Ypres, 584 n., 665
Yuan Shih-kai, 514

Zemstvos, Russian, 400, 408
Zola, Emil, 334
Zollverein, German, 257–258, 303–304, 372

Printed in the United States of America.

Italy - Rome
King Victor Emanuel

Turkey — Constantino
Sultan Mohammedan I

England - London
King - George V

Metternick

Present Ruler of
Germany
Bega President
at Berlin - Ebert
Fredrick

Ruler of France
Alexandre Milleran
2nd 1st
at Paris

Russia
President of Counci
at Petrograd
Lenine Nicoli

no property for member
Payment of members
annual Parl.
equal electoral district
manhood suffrage
vote by ballot

Lusitania
Clemenceau
Foch (Fosh)
Joffre (Zhoff)
Aisne (Ains)